IRELAND AND SCOTLAND: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE GAELIC DIMENSION 1560-1760.

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Is obair-latha tòiseachadh

Ach is obair-beatha crìochnachadh

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a general overview of the links between the Scottish Gaels of the western seaboard of Scotland and the Gaelic-speaking peoples of Ireland, especially of Ulster, between 1560 and 1760. It covers a period of dramatic transformation in Gaelic society, from the age of Reformation to the collapse of Jacobitism and the decline of clanship. The focus of fresh interpretation is on religious, social and, to a lesser extent, economic links, but political, military and cultural connections are also considered, in order to reach an understanding of the encompassing historical perspective which governs the relationship between the Gaels.

Most connections in 1560 were related to the trade in Highland mercenaries to Ulster and Connacht, and to the growing territorial aspirations of a small colony of MacDonald settlers in Antrim. The Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the coterminous completion of the Tudor conquest of Ireland had a number of consequences on pan-Gaelic relations. The mercenary trade came to an end, leading to the creation a pool of redundant swordsmen in both countries. Highlanders were officially excluded from the plantation of Ulster in 1610, which introduced more of an English-speaking dimension to Scoto-Irish relations. In physical terms, the presence of English and Lowland Scots settlers in the north of Ireland divided the Gaels. In order to survive in Ulster, the MacDonnells of Antrim were forced to conform to the government in Dublin. This rendered the split between them and the Clan Donald South in Scotland permanent, and further undermined Gaelic solidarity in Ulster. The pan-Gaelic military connection is traced from the mercenary trade through the political realignment of 1603, to the Royalism of the civil war period when the Gaels entered the national arena, and finally to the limited links of the first and last Jacobite rebellions.

The contribution made by the Gaels to each other's religious heritage was substantial. The factors which rejuvenated and sustained Catholicism in the Highlands and Islands after the Reformation are examined, particularly the role of the first missionaries, who were almost exclusively Irish regulars. During the seventeenth century, Irish Franciscans, Vincentians, Dominicans, Barnabites, lay Capuchins and secular priests were present on the Highland mission who, by the end of the century, were all working together under the Scottish secular mission head. In the eighteenth century, the number of Irish dropped as native Highlanders assumed responsibility for the mission. Conversely, the role of Gaelic-speaking ministers in the Church of Ireland, and in the presbyterian church in Ulster from the late sixteenth century, is examined. The contribution of Gaelic-speaking, University-educated Scots to the embryonic Protestant Church in Ireland, when few Irish-speakers were conforming, was particularly significant.

There was a considerable volume of commercial traffic across the North Channel, both legitimate trade and smuggling, in which the Gaelic élite played their part. The trade in military contraband

and victuals during the Ulster rebellion (1594-1603), the grain trade, the Highland fishing industry in the late seventeenth century and their expeditions to Ireland, and the leasing of west coast forests by Irish tanning merchants in the eighteenth century, are all evaluated. There was also a substantial smuggling trade in salt, fish, grain, livestock, and various incidental items.

The various factors between 1560 and 1760 which resulted in the permanent settlement of Highlanders in Ireland are elucidated, as well as the seasonal interchange of migrant workers and refugees from ecclesiastical and judicial discipline. Periods of war and the political realignment after them usually affected migration, and there was, thus, substantial Scottish settlement in Ireland in the Cromwellian period and after the 1690 Revolution, when land devastated by warfare was made available for settlement. On a more occasional basis, evidence indicates that Highlanders most often fled to Ulster to escape sanction, whereas the Irish were most attracted by the better provision made for poor relief in Scotland, particularly in Argyll and the southern Isles.

Cultural links between the Gaels, which have proved most enduring in the long term, were marked in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by the movement of Scots to Ireland to be educated in the traditional schools of learning, particularly in the medical and bardic disciplines, but also to study with virtuoso musicians. With the decline in Gaelic institutions in both countries, cultural ties between the Gaels became less formal. Those pursuing a medical career either became apprentice apothecaries or enrolled at universities, though musicians continued to travel in the *Gaidhealtachds* without attention to national boundary. Many more from the Gaelic learned class redeployed into the ranks of the Established Church in Scotland or the Catholic Church in Ireland.

Throughout the thesis there are undertones of the antipathy which existed between the Campbells of Argyll, and the MacDonalds of Kintyre and Islay, their offshoot the MacDonnells of Antrim, and various clans previously associated with the Lordship of the Isles, who tended to take opposing sides in any conflict because of their antagonistic stance towards each other. Attitudes among clans on the western seaboard to the role of the Campbells as agents of the government was an important factor in the polarisation of the Highland clans in the 1640s civil war and during the Jacobite rebellions, into Stewart and government camps. Included in the traditionalist stance was a concept of a pan-Gaelic unity connecting the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland. Though, by the end of the seventeenth century, this had little basis in reality, the idea was fostered and developed, almost exclusively by the MacDonald bards, probably as part of an anachronistic identification with the role of the Lordship and the MacDonalds' own long-term relationship with Ireland. Nonetheless, it is worthy of note that it is the MacDonald viewpoint which significantly colours surviving concepts of Scottish Gaelic history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume 1

Volume 2

LIST OF FIGURES

Volume 1

Volume 2

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I thank collectively, the staff of the Scottish Record Office in both General Register House and in West Register House, in the National Library of Scotland, in Edinburgh, and in the manuscript department of the British Library, in London. Rev. Mark Dilworth and Dr. Christine Johnston in the Scottish Catholic Archives, Columba House, in Edinburgh were both helpful and hospitable. The staff of the Public Record Office of North Ireland kindly allowed me to view three boxes of the Papers of the MacDonnells of Antrim which were then uncatalogued, and drew my attention to the Gaelic material in the Papers of Dr. MacDonnell of Belfast. I am also grateful to Mr. Andrew Jackson and Dr. Irene O'Brien, Principal and Deputy Principal Archivists at Strathclyde Regional Archives in Glasgow, who pointed out economic sources relevant to the Highlands, and to Mr. Murdo MacDonald, Argyll and Bute District Archivist who always gives so generously of his archival knowledge. I especially thank the staff of my own University library in Glasgow, who have dealt with a multitude of inter-library loans over a number of years.

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It would be impossible to deal with such an inexhaustible subject, over a period of two hundred years, without deficiencies, inaccuracies and lacunae emerging. This is particularly true with reference to genealogical material and the tracing through of ecclesiasts. I have tried to minimise these, and hope that the new material which emerges in this thesis, and its interpretation, will provide a basis for future discussion.

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Dates: Dates are given throughout in New Style. Prior to 1600, the new year is taken to begin on 1 January (Scottish usage) rather than 25 March (English usage), and for these months the year is given in its modern form.

Money: Monetary values are given as either Sterling or Scots, but where unstipulated are Scots.

Quotations: All abbreviations from primary sources have been extended but the spelling is original. Punctuation is mainly original but in long sentences, full stops have been inserted where this is necessary to assist the sense. Quotations from official State Papers occur both in single and double quotation marks. This is because much of the text of these nineteenth century publications has been modernised. Where a precised sense is given, passages occur in single quotation marks. Where the text is original, passages are given (as in the published papers) in double quotation marks.

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

Add. Ms.	Additional Manuscript, British Library, London.
Alasdair MacColla	*Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century,* David Stevenson, (Edinburgh, 1980.)
A New History of Ireland II, III, IV, IX	*A New History of Ireland, II, Medieval Ireland 1169-1534,* Art Cosgrove (editor), (Oxford, 1987); *A New History of Ireland, III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691,* T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (editors), (Oxford, 1976); *A New History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800,* T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (editors), (Oxford, 1986); *A New History of Ireland, IX, Maps, Genealogies, Lists,* T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (editors), (Oxford, 1984.)
Clan Donald I, II, III	*The Clan Donald,* Rev. Angus J. MacDonald and Rev. Archibald MacDonald, 3 vols., (Inverness, 1896, 1900, 1904.)
CSPI	*Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1509-1670,* H. C. Hamilton, E. G. Atkinson, and others (editors), 24 vols., (London, 1860-1910.)
CSPS	*Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603,* J. Bain and others (editors), 13 vols., (Edinburgh, 1898-1969.)

Fasti	*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae,* Hew Scott and others (editors), 10 vols., (Edinburgh, 1915-1981), I, II, IV, VII.
IFM	*The Irish Franciscan mission to Scotland, 1619-1646. Documents from Roman archives,* Cathaldus Giblin, (Dublin, 1964.)
Irish Fasti	*Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church,* Rev. James McConnell, and Rev. S. G. McConnell, (Belfast, 1937-50.)
MacDonnells of Antrim	*An historical account of the MacDonnells of Antrim: including notices of some other septs, Irish and Scottish,* Rev. George Hill, (Belfast, 1873, reprint, Shannon 1980.)
MLRBMC	Mitchell Library Rare Books and Mss. Collection, Glasgow
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast
RPCS	*The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland,* 1st series, J. H. Burton and D. Masson (editors), 14 vols., (1545-1625), (Edinburgh, 1877-1898); 2nd series, P. H. Brown and D. Masson, (editors), 7 vols., (1625-1643), (Edinburgh, 1899-1906), 3rd series, P. H. Brown, H. Paton and E. W. M. Balfour-Melville (editors), 16 vols., (1661-1691), (Edinburgh, 1908-1970.)
RSCHS	*Records of the Scottish Church History Society,* (Edinburgh, 1926-)
SCA	Scottish Catholic Archives, Columba House, Edinburgh
SGS	*Scottish Gaelic Studies*, (Oxford, Aberdeen, 1926-)
Scots mercenary forces	*Scots mercenary forces in Ireland (1565-1603),* Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy, (Dublin, 1937.)
Scottish Migration to Ulster	*The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I,* Michael Perceval-Maxwell, (London, 1973.)
SHR	*The Scottish Historical Review,* (Glasgow, 1903-)
SHS	Scottish History Society, (Edinburgh, 4 series: 1887-1911, 61 vols.; 1911-1920, 20 vols., 1921- 1964, 55 vols.; 1964-)
SRA	Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow
SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
TGSI	*The Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, (Inverness, 1872-)
UJA	*Ulster Journal of Archaeology,* (Belfast, 3 series: 1853-62, 9 vols.; 1895-1911, 17 vols.; 1938-)

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an overview of the major links between the Gaelic-speaking peoples of Ireland, particularly Ulster, and of the west Highlands and Islands of Scotland between 1560 and 1760. It looks at a broad spectrum of interaction between Irish and Scottish Gaels, highlighting the military, religious, social, economic, demographic, and cultural aspects of their relationship, in an attempt to reach an understanding of the historical perspective which encompasses the whole. The period covered, from 1560 to 1760, has been chosen because the traditional mould of Irish and Scottish Gaelic society was broken apart during this time and replaced by a political system within which the Gaels were only able to retain their distinctiveness in a linguistic and cultural sense. This period of 200 years largely charts the political transition from fairly autonomous Gaelic units in both Ireland and Scotland - lordships and clans - with distinct social and economic frameworks, to the absorption and assimilation of the *Gaidhealtachds* into their respective nation states. Stretching from the age of Reformation and the subsequent growth of the Counter-Reformation movement to the collapse of Jacobitism and the decline of clanship, these dates are also thematically appropriate for such a study.

This tremendous change in the fabric of Gaelic society was executed over a number of decades by military, political and ecclesiastical action. It was a gradual process, but there is evidence of a good deal of coercion, particularly in Ireland with the extensive land expropriations which occurred there. In Scotland, legislative and military coercion by the central government only extended to expropriation in the case of four clans, though there were annexations following the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite rebellions. The clan chiefs still commanded more authority than the government until after the 1745, when there was a suppression of their independent power and heritable jurisdictions.[1] In Ireland, on the other hand, native Irish political power was largely eroded after the failure of the Ulster rebellion at Kinsale in 1601 and the planting of the six escheated counties in Ulster from 1609, though the native Irish were still strong enough to make concerted attempts in the 1640s and 1689-91 to regain control of Ireland. 'The writing on the wall,' in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, did not go unheeded by the *literati* of either Gaelic societies, especially the bards who found their security and social status in jeopardy as the Gaelic social structure and, thus, their patronage came under threat.

To place these two regions in a context which facilitates their comparison, it is necessary to discuss the nature of the geographical areas and social systems. (For the geographical relationship of these regions, see fig. I.1, The Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland in relation to East Ulster.) In today's sociological climate, historians have become particularly interested in the historical structures of society. There is a substantial tract literature which elucidates Irish laws and the

Fig. I.1
THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND IN RELATION TO EAST ULSTER

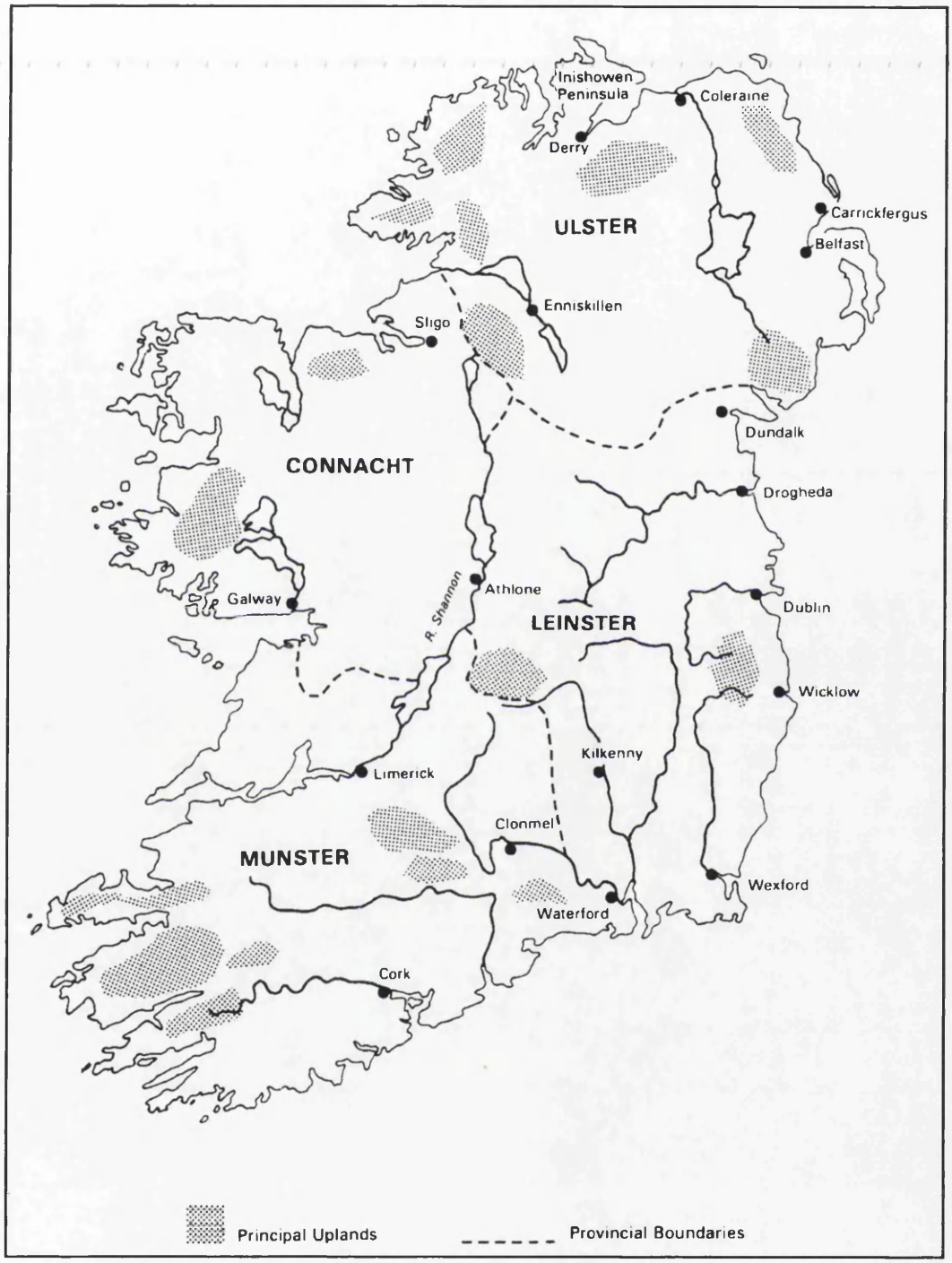
Reproduced from
J. Michael Hill,
Fire and Sword,
(London, 1993), p. 7.

nature of kingship in medieval Irish society, but very little survives for Scotland. It is clear that there were kin-based structures in both societies. Nonetheless, it is difficult to find a comprehensive discussion of the structure of clanship in an exclusively Scottish context, nor is there an adequate comparison of the Irish and Highland social structures although many assumptions are made about their similarity since the Highland derived originally from the Irish. Most secondary accounts concentrate on the importance of the upper part of the hierarchy rather than the individual clansman, though this is probably a bias induced by the surviving material. The principal features of Scottish kin-based society can be gleaned from a variety of documents dating from the fourteenth century. The main fragment of Scottish Gaelic law which survives, the *Leger inter Brettos et Scottos* (Laws of the Bretts and Scots), an enumeration of the financial compensation payable for manslaughter and other injuries, emphasises the importance of kindred. The earliest extant rentals for the Highlands and Islands, giving an indication of the landholding and associated adminstrative systems, date from the first decade of the sixteenth century. They are thus feudal rather than Gaelic in origin, but their terminology provides information about the older system.[2] While it does not claim to be definitive, the brief description of the norms and general ethos of Gaelic society outlined below, permits an understanding of where the two sets of social codes differ and are similar and gives some indication of how they impinged on one another. Within this generalisation, however, the fact that these were vital, evolving communities should not be lost sight of, nor that there would have been distinctive regional variations.

Geography

Ulster is the northernmost of the four provinces of Ireland (see fig. I.2, Ireland - Provinces) and in the period from 1560 to 1760 included not only the area defined as northern Ireland today, but also Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan which are now part of southern Ireland. (See fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) According to English administrative divisions it comprised the nine counties of Antrim, Down, Londonderry, Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh and Donegal. As in the Highlands, the physical terrain in Ulster was inhospitable. Government forces attempting to bring the native Irish under English law, had to contend with bogs, woods and mountainous terrain and a general lack of made roads, all of which hindered easy communication. (See fig. I.3, Physical features of Ulster , and fig. 12.1, Irish woodlands c. 1600.) The low, round, hills known as drumlins on the southern borders of Monaghan and Armagh formed a natural barrier against intrusion from the English Pale, broken only by loughs and passes. Easy access into Ulster until the seventeenth century could only be obtained in two locations, by the fords of the Erne in the west and through the Moyry Pass in the east, a pass that is the defile of the hills south of Slieve Gullion. (See fig. 1.10, The Ulster rebellion 1594-1603 (main passages into and out of Tyrone and Tyrconnell).) In 1560, Ulster was the most autonomous Gaelic province in Ireland, with a high percentage of Irish speakers, but the Cromwellian land confiscations of the mid-seventeenth

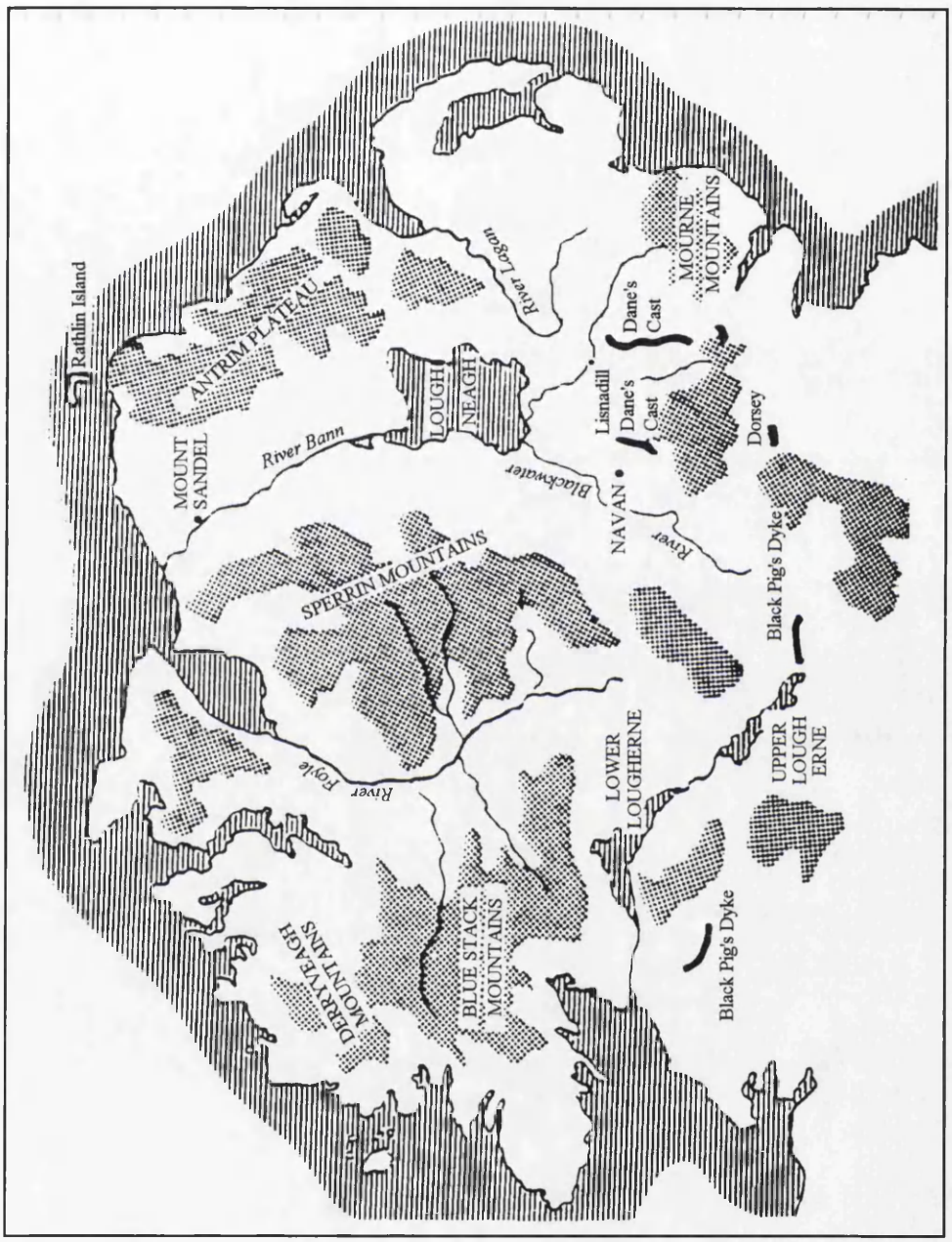
Fig. I.2
IRELAND - PROVINCES



Reproduced from
B. Fitzpatrick,
Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The War of Religions,
New Gill History of Ireland, 3,
(Dublin, 1988), opp. p. 1.

Fig. I.3

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF ULSTER



Reproduced from
Jonathon Bardon,
A History of Ulster,
(Belfast, 1992), p. 832.

century resulted in many native Irish being later relocated to Connacht.[3]

The Highlands as a region is distinguished from the Lowlands of Scotland by its relief, because much of the land is over 300m. (See fig. 1.4, Scotland - Land over 300m.) This upland massif of the north and west of Scotland is geologically separated from the Lowlands by the 'Highland line,' which follows the Highland Boundary Fault, and runs from Helensburgh on the west coast to Stonehaven on the east. This region comprises the four 'Highland counties' of Argyll, Ross, Sutherland, and Inverness, as well as parts of northern Perthshire and western Caithness. (See fig. I.5, The Highland line.) Within this a further distinction can be made between the south-west and eastern Highlands and the north and west Highlands. The former which includes Argyll, the southern Isles, Perthshire, and passes through central and eastern Inverness-shire, and Ross and Sutherland to the north is a central belt of relatively flat and productive arable land which stretches past the Highland line into Aberdeenshire. To the east of this are the coastal and Lowland plains. The north and west Highland mainland, on the other hand, is the most inaccessible country in the Highland region, a contortion of hills, mountains and rocks which stretches for 200 miles, and is sparse in resources. Most of it is too high for cultivation and elsewhere the soils are thin. Therefore, cattle played as important a part in the Highland economy as subsistence farming. Off the coast, the north-west region includes two strings of islands, the Inner and Outer Hebrides, which are also hard to cultivate.[4] (See fig. I.6, The south-west, eastern and north-west Highlands.) The Highlands and Islands remained predominantly Gaelic-speaking throughout the period from 1560 to 1760.

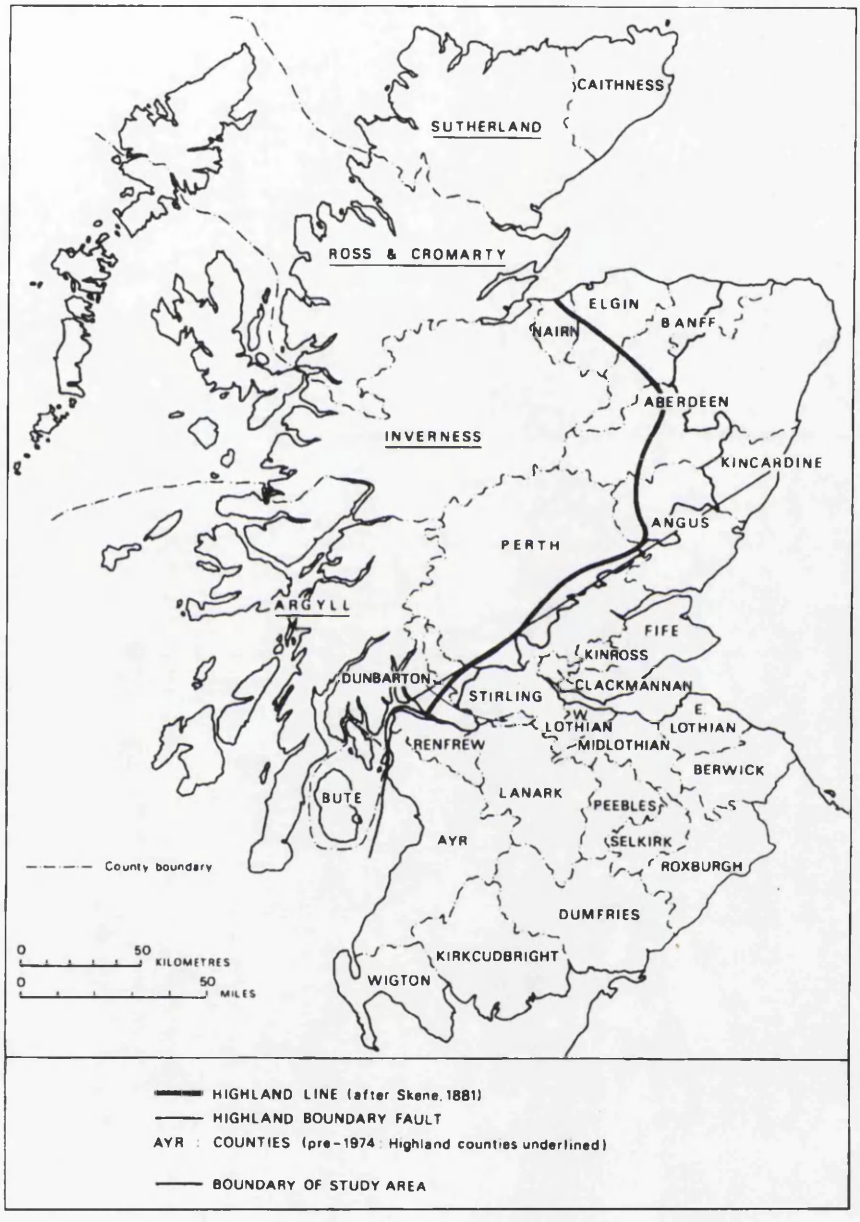
As well as their isolation from the English government in Dublin, and the Lowland government in Edinburgh, the geographical isolation and the inhospitability of the terrain allowed the Gaels of Ulster and the west Highlands and Islands to resist encroachments on their political autonomy. caused both to be regarded as risks to the political security of both Ireland and Scotland. Conversely, the easy access which each had to the seaways, rendered them open to assistance from Catholic powers on the continent. The close proximity of such unruly areas to each other, their cultural similarity and their military links, was regarded as a threat. (See fig. I.1, The Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland in relation to East Ulster.) It therefore became of the utmost importance in the early seventeenth century, for the Stewarts to secure the loyalty of individuals such as MacDonnell of Antrim, who in a geographical sense as well as in terms of kinship and culture, could be either a bridge or a wedge between these two regions. Without Antrim's support of the government, the significant pan-Gaelic cooperation evident in the late sixteenth century might have continued.[5] It has not been regarded as insignificant that Gaelic power lasted longest in Ulster, the area which was nearest to the Highlands and Islands.[6]

Fig. I.4
SCOTLAND - LAND OVER 300M

Reproduced from
Charles W. J. Withers,
Gaelic Scotland:
The Transformation of a Culture Region,
(London and New York, 1988), p. 44.

Fig. I.5
THE HIGHLAND LINE

The Scottish Highlands as a distinctive cultural and geographical region.



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Charles W.J. Withers,
Gaelic Scotland:
The Transformation of a Culture Region,
(London and New York, 1988), p. 2.

Fig. I.6
THE SOUTH-WEST, EASTERN AND NORTH-WEST HIGHLANDS

Reproduced from
Malcolm Gray,
The Highland Economy 1750-1850,
(Connecticut, 1976 reprint), p. 2.

Gaelic Society

Politically, both the Highlands and Islands and Gaelic Ireland were made up of individual units - lordships and clans - rather than a Gaelic nation, but neither have left administrative records. Both societies were dominated by feuds and dynastic struggles within ruling families which resulted in groups branching off and creating new dynasties. Sometimes, as in the case of the MacDonalds of Kintyre and Islay, this resulted in new branches across the North Channel in Ireland. There was further conflict evident in the late sixteenth century between the Gaelic system of tanistry and Brehon law and the primogeniture and feudalism of the English government in Ireland and the Lowland government in Scotland.[7]

There were also certain similarities in the outlook of Irish and Scottish Gaelic societies. Both were essentially militaristic, and prowess in arms was a dominant aspect in the lives of the ruling classes. The lord or chief's status was as much determined in this patriarchal society by the number of men he could mobilise - based on the service he was due - than by the extent of the land he owned. A leader's prestige was equally dependent on his success in inter-tribal warfare, and the importance of war can be seen in the emphasis given to the feats of warriors in the bardic poetry. Furthermore, both were basically pastoral economies in which there was seasonal population movement associated transfer of cattle to the upland summer pastures, known as 'creaghting' in Ireland. Some ballybetaghs and ballyboes (see below) were distinguished by suffixes -owtra and -eightra (Irish *uachdarach,* upper, and *iochdarach,* lower), which probably distinguished upland and lowland pastures. The terms also seem to have been used in the Highlands and Islands, for instance, in the island of Eigg,[8] where there was a similar movement to the shieling or the *baile samhraidh* (summer town) from the permanently occupied *baile geamhraidh* (winter town). Cattle were an important part of the Gaelic economy, and many luxury items could be bought for a certain 'cattle price.' Cattle also, for example, made up a significant part of Crown rents in Kintyre in 1505-06. The prosecution of cattle raids or *creachan* were regarded as a legitimate extension of tribal activity which was, therefore, recorded in the Irish Annals. Furthermore, the significance of relationship to the chief and the importance of kinship in both societies can never be underestimated. Day-to-day living was in 'extended co-residential family groups,' underwritten by the system of fosterage.[9] This institution was a major social bond in both Ireland and Scotland. It was used as a method of cementing recognised alliances, and did much to preserve lordship and clanship. Often a contender for a chiefship could count on more reliable support from his fosterers than from his blood kin who were probably also contenders for the position. In that sense, the origin of fosterage may be seen as a form of hostageship for the behaviour of its dynasty, but it was also important with the fairly flexible nature of Gaelic marriage customs and lack of distinction between legitimacy and illegitimacy, as a means of separating the sons of different wives and diffusing the tension.[10]

In the Irish system, the political and social head of his people was the *rí,* the tribal king or chief, for example, O'Neill of Tyrone or O'Donnell of Tirconnell, though not a king in the sense of being crowned and annointed. When David II became the first Scottish king to be crowned and annointed in 1329, the traditional form of inauguration of leaders was retained among the clan chiefs in the Highlands and Islands, and was also the norm in the Irish *túatha* (see below).[11] In the Scottish Highlands, the clan chief, for example, MacDonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, or Campbell of Argyll, was at the pinnacle of the political and social structure, and mythologically, at least, and in many cases in reality, had a kinship connection with the members of his clan. The *rí* and the clan chief were theoretically selected by election from a ruling kingroup known as the *derbfhine,* a group of four generations who were descendants of a common greatgrandfather who had been chief *(ceannfine).* The *fine* were the elite of the lineage group in the lordship or clan, the members of which, *na comhmbráithribh* (associated brethren), were, in a sense, 'coheirs.' Within this group, the man with the strongest following in the clan or lordship was usually nominated to the chiefship. The successor appointed from this group while the lord was still alive was known as the *tánaise rí* (lit. 'second to a king') or tanist. In practice, however, it is clear that where they had not been killed by war or incapacitated through physical or mental illness that the immediate ruling family attempted to confine the succession to their own close relatives which often resulted in sons succeeding fathers, in a pattern akin to the law of primogeniture. This is clear from the Irish Annals and also from looking at the succession in Scottish clans. Where the succession was restricted to a small and closely connected family group, the lordships and clans remained powerful and politically coherent. Thus, the lordship of Maguire in Fermanagh was passed from father to son for seven generations. Nonetheless, this still remained an unusual circumstance. Frequency of descent outwith the close family usually resulted in extensive feuding and political instability on the deaths of chiefs. For example, the weakness of the MacWilliam or Mayo Burkes in the early sixteenth century has been ascribed to the passing of the chieftaincy between the second, third and fourth cousins. There was thus discontinuity of government and policy and the creation of diverse centres of power in the lordship.[12]

The Gaelic system of landholding, according to Brehon law, was based on ownership by an extended family kingroup, where land was the property of the tribe or clan under an elected chief.[13] Within the Gaelic system there were both landowners and free tenants of varying sizes, known to the English in Ireland as freeholders, as well as landless men and labourers. The class of freemen - mainly landed freeholders and the hereditary families of professionals - outnumbered the unfree (churls). In distinct contrast with English and Lowland Scots laws of primogeniture, the Gaelic land inheritance was divided among the sons who did not necessarily have to be legitimate, failing which, it was divided among the sons of the male next-of-kin.[14]

In Ireland, the lordship was commensurate with and was often later defined by the Tudors, as a

County. Under the lords were the *uirríthe (*sub-kings), hereditary local sub-chiefs who each controlled a particular state or *túath* - the major political unit in Ireland - which generally equated with the area of an English barony. The lord was ruler of his family's own hereditary territory or demesne lands, over free and unfree men, where he functioned as an *uirrí* or local chief, and also overlord of a group of *túatha* which comprised his 'country,' where his relations were only with freemen. A lord's comparative power depended on how much of his 'country' he held as demesne lands (free of tribute), and also on the extent of his overlordship of other *túatha,* in which territory he could exact tributes from the *uirrí* such as the entertainment of his household for certain periods. He also held the right to quarter mercenaries - *gallóglaigh, buannadhan,* or redshanks - on his freemen, and to call out the risings or general hosting of the country - the *gairmsluaigh.* Where the majority of his *uirríthe* were members of his extended family, a chief was clearly stronger.[15]

Beneath the *uirríthe* was a substantial middle class of sept leaders who performed military and ceremonial services and provided hospitality, in return for the protection of the *uirrí.* The sept was the 'basic Irish corporate family group' and probably derived, as a concept, from the Irish *sliocht* (lit. section).[16] The concept was also familiar in Scottish Gaelic (see below). Like the tacksmen in Scotland, they fulfilled an important role in the absence of a market economy, collecting rents in money and in kind, and arranging for the distribution of surplus. The ballybetagh (*baile biataich* or victualler's town) was a grouping of sixteen ballyboes (see below) and was the territorial area controlled by the sept leader. It was also the larger fiscal unit from which the contribution in kind was payable to the chief. A study of Tyrone in the early seventeenth century enumerated the middle class of sept leaders there at about 80, while inclusive of the *uirríthe,* the ruling class of Tyrone comprised about 100 heads of families. At the bottom of the totem, the economic or agricultural unit of land held by the Irish yeoman farmer, was the ballyboe (*baile bo,* cow land) or the townland, a unit of about sixty acres of arable, meadow and pasture, defined in terms of the land required to graze a certain number of cattle. Settlement within the ballyboe varied from single farmsteads to a cluster similar to the clachan-style settlement of the nineteenth century. There was an average of two to three families on a ballyboe (which rose to as many as ten when the native Irish were removed to the marginal ballyboes during the plantation settlement). In turn, the farmer employed labourers and servants.[17]

Other than the lands apportioned to freeholders, there was free land. Included within this was the chief's demesne lands, but there was also ecclesiastical or *tearmon* land, and land given out to the Gaelic professional families of *seanchaidhean,* bards, leeches and *gallóglaigh.* In 1606, when Sir John Davies, the Irish Attorney-General visited Maguire's country in Fermanagh, the proportion of lands held by Maguire to that given in freehold was 1 to 7. Though they held free land, the learned classes were distinct from freeholders, because they held land on the basis of professional position like the Gaelic learned classes. Nonetheless, their holdings could be quite extensive. For example,

in the 1590s, the holdings of two brothers of the Ballynoa or Newtown sept of MacSheeys, Owen and Turlough mac Edmond MacSheehy, *gallóglaigh* to the Earls of Desmond in County Limerick, amounted to nine quarters and 20 acres, or in modern calculation, 3,260 acres. Since this was only one of the septs under Desmond, it is an indication of the importance of militarism in Irish society.[18] The lord also kept a household troop, known as the *ceithearn tigh* (anglicised 'keherynty' or 'kernty') who acted like a police force and whose leaders, the *fircheithearn* were usually hereditary. They were are to be distinguished from the *ceithearn coille* or wood kearn who were bandits outwith the authority of the lordship.[19] In the Highlands, this was mirrored in the *luchd-taighe,*[20] the chief's bodyguard, which the Privy Council enactment of 1616 sought to limit.[21]

Highland society had similar structured divisions. At the top was the chief or *ceann-cinnidh.* The political unit was the clan, a word authenticated by its use in both Gaelic and non-Gaelic sources.[22] Literally meaning children, the term *clann* described a patrilineal kindred whose members were descendants of a named ancestor. It was also used in a more limited sense, with a Gaelic patronymic or *sloinneadh,* to refer to the descendants of a particular ancestor four or five generations back - as in *Clann mhic Dhonnchaidh Ruaidh.*[23] As in Ireland, the chief ruled over the free and unfree classes, only the former of whom had full privileges in the clan. Those broken men and other kinless people who attached themselves to the clan naturally fell into the second category.[24] Moreover, the chief and *fine* also acknowledged certain social obligations. As late as 1703, the traveller Martin Martin noted that in Barra: "The Macneills replaced milk cows which their tenants lost in a severe winter, and accepted as life-long guests in their own household tenants too old or too feeble to cultivate the ground any longer."[25] Beneath the chief were the *daoine uaisle* or noblemen, often close kinsmen of the chief who held land in return for military service and were responsible for subletting it. The most important among these were the cadets, the second (usually the eldest cadet) and younger sons of the chief who were the *ceann-tighean* or heads of houses into which the clan was divided. From them, at various points, derived the *sliochdan,* the distinctive branches or septs in each clan, identified by their descent from a progenitor, for example, *sliochd Iain* (descendants of John.) The land held by the *fine* as their personal heritage was known as their *oighreachd,* or their mensal lands, the equivalent of Irish demesne land. This is to be distinguished from the clan's collective heritage, their *dùthchas.* The main form of land-tenure in the Highlands in 1560, was wardholding, a feudal tenure based on military service to the superior, though as the period advances it gives way to feuferme, where the obligations were mainly economic. From the seventeenth century the customary rights to land embodied in the concept of *dùthchas,* or hereditary rights of occupation to particular holdings, were replaced by 'tacks' or written leases and they became the *fir-tacsa* or tacksmen, or, with the emphasis on their managerial role as heads of townships (*bailtean*), the *fir-baile.* With the slow growth in the market economy from the early seventeenth century, they arranged for the sale of surplus produce. Under steelbow tenure the tacksmen were responsible for giving out cattle as capital as well as land.

Beneath the *daoine uaisle* were the peasantry, tenants and sub-tenants who held small scraps of land.[26]

> Land in the Highlands then was laid out not so much to ensure an effective agricultural economy as to stabilise a class structure and to verify mutual obligations. It passed from proprietor to tacksman (or tenant), from tacksman to subtenant, from subtenant to cottar[27] or servant. At each stage some ground would be kept in immediate occupation, but the rest would be handed down, as an earnest of kinship, or to ensure rent, loyalty, service, each rank linked with the next in mutual obligation.[28]

By the late sixteenth century, the clan consisted of a number of elements - the chief's close kinsmen, that is the members of the *derbfhine;* the hereditary families and officials; the tenants and sub-tenants; smaller subordinate clans, septs or families who came under the chief's authority because of tenurial obligations, because of a need for protection or because they had been conquered; 'broken' men, either men loosely associated with the clan but not fully accepting the chief's authority, refugees, or men from other clans who had broken up and taken the life of caterans.[29]

The basic unit of social, economic and agricultural organisation was the township or *baile,* or joint-farm - comprising a clachan or group of dwellings, infield and outfield land and common grazing - where a group of tenants worked the land cooperatively according to the agrarian system of runrig by which each farm had a share of the main kinds of land available. The tenants, usually four to ten in number, were jointly responsible for payment of rent. The *bailtean* were grouped into the larger economic unit known as the *dabach* for administrative purposes. This was the economic unit which corresponded with the Irish *baile biatach.* The officer who collected the dues was the mair, later martay (Gaelic *maer,* later *maor-taighe*),[30] each dabach being divided into four quarterlands to facilitate collection. Names prefixed by Kerro- and Kerra- (Gaelic *ceathramh*) indicate quarterlands. The quarterland was also the unit on which public dues like cess were levied. Sometimes a township in itself constituted a quarterland. In those areas colonised by the Norsemen, the Hebrides and areas of the western mainland, a dabach was known from the eleventh century as a 'tirunga' or 'terung' (lit. *tìr*, land; *unga,* ounce), from a tax imposed by Harold Hairfair of an ounce of silver on each dabach as the overlord's portion.[31]

As far as the fiscal administration of Gaelic society was concerned, the chiefs held economic power in their political units by dispersing land and receiving rent exactions and payments in return. The method by which land was distributed differed in the Irish provinces and in the Highlands and Islands. For example, in late sixteenth-century Connacht, land was distributed among the *fine* every year on May day. Elsewhere in Ireland it was redistributed only after a death among the *fine.* In Scotland, there was also periodic redistribution of land by lot to ensure the maintenance of every

member of the clan. This periodic redistribution was known by the English as 'gavelkind.' In both countries, property was divided at death among the members of the kin group, usually by quarters and sixteenths because there were four sub-groups among the *fine*.[32] In early seventeenth-century Scotland, 'tacks' or unwritten leases tended to be renewed every year. Where a family established unbroken occupancy of a farm or township for three generations, they were deemed to have established a *dùthchas* or right of ancient possession to it. Chiefs levied tributes and exactions from the territories under them which were extensive in peace time and extortionate in times of war. There were fixed tributes in money, cattle, and perishables, the most important part of which was probably taken as free board and lodging in the form of *coinnmheadh* or coyne (more accurately coynue), meaning billeting. Though Irish in origin, the term "conyou" can be found in a contract of 1580 between the bishop of the Isles and Lauchlan MacLean of Duart. In general, however, this exaction in hospitality or its financial commutation, went under the Scots name of 'conveth' (corrody or waytinga).[33]

The governments in both Ireland and Scotland legislated against the abuse of forced exaction of entertainment. Extorted food and entertainment for the night *cuid oidhche* (lit. 'share of a night') anglicised in Ireland as 'cuddies' and in Scots as 'cuideich,' had been prohibited as early as the fifteenth century in Ireland to protect the borders of the Pale from marauding bands. In Scotland, the Privy Council restrictions on the power of the clan chiefs, passed in 1616, ordered that "thay sall in all tyme comeing forbeare the taking of cowdighis frome thair tennentis, and sall content thame selffis with the constant and cleir dewytie for the quhilk thair landis ar sett."[34] Among the other main exactions in Scotland was *cáin*, latin 'canum,' a payment to the landlord from the produce of the land, in grain or livestock, or a financial commutation. The term was also used in Ireland, Justice Luttrell noting in 1537 that 'if any of the poor tenants of any marchers have any cow, oxhide or other victual to be sold, and sell the same to others, not offering it first to the lord owner of the soil, his said lord taketh cane [*cáin*] or penalty therefore, commonly 6s 8d [sterling].' Irish lords levied their daughters' dowries from their territory, either by petition or compulsion. Chieftains also had the right to lift calps - in essence, death duties - on the death of his followers, which usually took the form of their best beast. *Feacht* and *slógad* or 'sluaged' (lit. 'hosting') were military services calculated on the *dabach* of land whereby the occupier was obliged to attend hostings within and without the territory respectively.[35] Moreover, military strength was significantly extended in Scotland by the entry into bonds of manrent with neighbouring clans and septs, whereby the weaker pledged service in return for protection.[36]

There was a certain gradation within the lordships and clans depending on the tribute they were due from neighbouring territories. In Ulster, the most powerful lordship was that of the O'Neills of Tyrone. In their central position in the province, they commanded loyalty from many of the lordships to the south and north, with the exception of Donegal where the O'Donnells were strong

enough to maintain independent control. The O'Donnells were lesser overlords, with authority over a smaller territory, in which the MacSweeneys and the O'Boyles were their main sublords. In Connacht, the most powerful lordship was probably that of the MacWilliam Uachter (Upper), the Earls of Clanricarde, whose territory was in the Galway area of south Connacht. The other branch, the MacWilliam Iochtar (Lower), was weaker as a result of internecine feuding. The O'Briens of Thomond in south Connacht and the O'Flahertys of west Connacht also maintained independent control. Under the overlords, small lordships, which varied in their extent and power, paid tribute to them. Some were weakened by feuding which, in Ulster, for example, had resulted in three different MacMahon lordships. Smaller lords whose territory was between two more powerful ones, as was the Maguires of Fermanagh, between O'Neill of Tyrone and O'Donnell of Tirconnell, could be the cause of conflict for overlordship.[37] (See fig. 1.4, Ulster lordships, c. 1534.)

After the suppression of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, the most powerful branch of the MacDonalds which remained was that of the Clan Donald South in Kintyre and Islay, but within the first thirty years examined in this thesis its power was already on the wane, and by 1614 it had ceased to legally exist as a territorial clan. It suffered from internal weakness and from the aggressive extension of the authority of the Campbells, Earls of Argyll, whose power-base in mid-Argyll was consolidated by their kin relationship with other powerful Campbells such as the Campbells of Glenorchy in Breadalbane. Like Irish overlords, the military power of the Campbells brought a number of minor clans and families under their protection, either through choice or by conquest, such as the MacNabs, the Lamonts, the MacDougalls, and the territorially dispossessed MacGregors. Equally important, politically, were the Gordons, Earls of Huntly whose estates included lands in Highland Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, on the eastern periphery of the Highlands and who had married into the Earldom of Sutherland. Both were often given special lieutenancies and commissions to execute government policy in the in the south and the north Highlands. The family most often chosen to enforce law and order in the north-west Highlands was the MacKenzies, created lords of Kintail in 1609 and Earls of Seaforth in 1624, whose territory reached from Cromarty on the mainland to Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. The leaders of these powerful clans, like the Irish lords, were willing to adapt to Lowland systems if they could be manipulated to their own advantage. They were all masters 'at the art of aggressive feudalism,' tempered by the traditions of kinship.[38]

In short, Gaelic society in Ireland and Scotland was bound together by kinship and blood ties, a related sense of loyalty to the lord or chief based on mutually understood social obligations and military service, and by group ownership of land.[39]

The Historical Context

Since the decline and transformation of Gaelic society was so all-encompassing, most areas of the relationship between Scottish and Irish Gaels have been examined - military, religious, social, commercial and cultural inter-relations. Aspects of most areas of their inter-relationship have been covered previously in piecemeal studies, but there has not been an attempt at an overview of the Gaelic dimension as a whole.

Most recent work dealing with Scoto-Irish connections has been social and economic trade studies, which have been more concerned with the English-speaking parts of each country where commercial enterprise had its roots, for example L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout's *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900,* (1977), T. M. Devine and D. Dickson's *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850. Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social History 1600-1900,* (1983), L. E. Cochran's *Scottish trade with Ireland in the eighteenth century,* (1985), and R. Mitchison and P. Roebuck (editors), *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939,* (1988). Similarly, M. Perceval-Maxwell's *Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I,* (1973), a comprehensive account of Scottish participation in the Ulster plantation in the early seventeenth century, including the role of Scottish Protestant clergy, contains few references to Highlanders and Islanders, other than those who had already settled there in the sixteenth century. Admittedly, this had much to do with their official exclusion from the plantation, but Kintyre was only 12 miles distant from Antrim, and Highlanders are known to have taken part in it at the lower levels. It is possible to glean some idea of the involvement of Highlanders in the plantation through the mass of research conducted in Ireland into the history of colonisation and the nature of Gaelic attitudes to the plantation, and through research into family name evidence. This has notably been by Philip Robinson, Robert Hunter, Raymond Gillespie and Brian S. Turner, some of which has been published[40] but much of which remains unpublished.[41] This work has also pointed out an essential adaptability in the native Irish consciousness which belies the rigidity implied by the historicial structuralisation of its social system. Historiography of the entire period in Ireland concentrates far more than in Scotland on the issue of the transfer of land ownership from Gael to foreign settler and the consequent erosion of Gaelic society. Scottish historiography on the other hand has concentrated more on the commercialisation of the pastoral economy, in for example, such seminal articles as Eric Cregeen's 'The tacksmen and their successors: a study of tenurial reorganisation in Mull, Morvern, and Tiree in the early eighteenth century,' (1969). In terms of general social studies, Angus Martin has a chapter in his *Kintyre: The Hidden Past* (1984), entitled 'The Irish in Kintyre' in which he considers the effect of the Irish in the west Highlands.

Turning to the political and military dimension, the standard work on Highland mercenaries in

Ireland during the late sixteenth century is still G. A. Hayes-McCoy's *Scots mercenary forces in Ireland (1565-1603),* (1937), though it lacks the more thematic maturity which its author was later to bring to the subject from the Irish angle, in his two chapters in *A New History of Ireland,* III, (1976).[42] The recent work of J. Michael Hill, *Sorley Boy MacDonnell and the Rise of Clan Ian Mor 1538-90,* (1993), deals more specifically with Somhairle Buidhe MacDonald's contribution to the consolidation of the MacDonald colony in Antrim. With the growth in interest in the political relationship between the three kingdoms, some interesting studies examining the significance of Ireland in Scottish politics in the sixteenth century, particularly in relation to the fifth Earl of Argyll, have been produced by Jane Dawson. 'Two kingdoms or three?: Ireland in Anglo-Scottish relations in the middle of the sixteenth century,' (1987) illustrates the Irish government's awareness of the Scots dimension in its campaign to bring Ulster under English authority. The work of David Stevenson has elucidated the complex politics between the three kingdoms in the mid-seventeenth century, and in particular the significance of Ireland in Scottish politics. The political and military importance of the Scoto-Irish link in the seventeenth century, particularly during the civil war period, have been covered in detail in his *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* (1981), and more exclusively from the Highland and Gaelic dimension in *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century,* (1980.) Though written primarily from an Irish perspective, Jane Ohlmeyer's *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683,* (1993) constantly makes Scottish links in its argument. The third and fourth volumes of *A New History of Ireland,* (1976, 1986), especially the third volume which is perceptive and thematic in its treatment of seventeenth century Ireland, has proved a useful reference tool for the general trend in Irish history throughout the period, as have the third and fourth volumes of *The Edinburgh History of Scotland,* (1976, 1977) for Scottish history.

The standard text for the history of presbyterianism in Ireland, which amply documents its close links with Scotland, remains J. S. Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* (2nd edition, 1867). Equally valuable are the unpublished typescripts by A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660, (1948), I, II, and D. Stewart's 'The history of the Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1641-1760,' (1948). There has been one modern attempt at a history of Catholicism in Scotland after 1560 in P. F. Anson's *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878,* (1970). However, the main contribution to the history of Highland Catholicism and the role of Irish priests on the mission has been the publication of material from the Archives of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, founded in 1622. The main work in the Scottish context is Cathaldus Giblin's *The Irish Franciscan mission to Scotland, 1619-1646. Documents from Roman archives,* (1964), and he has discussed later material in 'St. Oliver Plunkett, Francis MacDonnell, O.F.M., and the Mission to the Hebrides' and various other articles.

As far as the cultural angle is concerned, a great deal of research has been done in the Scottish Gaelic field relating to the hereditary learned families, which includes material on their links with Ireland. Particularly to the fore in these studies has been Derick Thomson in his pioneering work on the MacMhuirichs[43] and John Bannerman's *The Beatons, a medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition*, which elucidates a plethora of genealogical intricacy. The standard synthesis of Scottish Gaelic literature of the period is also Thomson's *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry,* (1973.) The work of Ronald Black on the poetry of the Ó Muirgheasáins[44] and 'Colla Ciotach' (1973) also has a distinct Scoto-Irish dimension.

For the background analysis of the Irish Gaelic literature of the period, this thesis owes much to Brian Ó Cuív's surveys in *A New History of Ireland,* III, IV.[45] It must also be said that the study of the Gaelic learned scene in Ireland has an entirely different intellectual context, because of its encapsulation of Gaelic nationalism. It emerges as an issue central to any political study of the Gaeltacht and not peripheral to it. To appreciate this it is necessary only to look at B. Bradshaw's 'Native reaction to the Westward Enterprise: a case-study in Gaelic ideology,' (1978), which analyses a sample of Gaelic poetry in its political and cultural context, by which he implies the existence of a Gaelic nationalism which opposed colonisation. In sampling the bardic corpus more widely, T. J. Dunne's 'The Gaelic Response to Conquest and Colonisation: The Evidence of the Poetry,' (1980), refutes this, inferring that the rigid structure of Gaelic society and the inflexibility of the old order made it difficult for the *fine* to change. N. P. Canny's 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature,' (1982), concentrates on a synthesis of the views expressed in Gaelic literature between 1580 and 1750, while A. Dooley's 'Literature and Society in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The Evaluation of Change,' (1992) attempts a summation of the whole endeavour before reaching her own understanding of the cultural consciousness of the bards in the early seventeenth century. There has been some attempt by A. I. Macinnes to produce this kind of political perspective in the Scottish Gaelic context, in his 'Seventeenth-Century Scotland: The Undervalued Gaelic Perspective,' (1992), but far more perceptively in his earlier piece 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651: The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' (1982). Much of the intellectual honing on the Irish side derives from the peculiar nature of colonial society in Gaelic Ireland, and has probably gained its depth and perception from the inevitable redefining of the nature of 'Irishness' following the creation of the Irish Free State in 1921 and the civil war of 1922.

Contemporary work in the field, though noteworthy, has been of a fairly piecemeal nature, covering only certain aspects of the relationship between Irish and Scottish Gaels in detail, or over limited periods. There have been no attempts at an overview of the links between the Irish and Scottish *Gaidhealtachds* over a substantial period of time, and this thesis addresses this deficiency.

Both because of the aggressive nature of Gaelic society and because both cultures were essentially oral in bias, there are huge gaps in the record extant for a history of the *Gaidhealtachds.* This was not assisted by the burning of the Four Courts in Dublin in 1922 when a good deal of material pertinent to the Irish side was lost. Although it is generally recognised to be inadequate especially between 1509 and 1588,[46] the *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland* has, nonetheless, been a valuable source of information for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Though the trend in recent Irish scholarship has been to examine the original State Papers, it was not felt necessary to do this for an overview. Where the Irish calender is deficient in terms of accurate dating and identification of writers and informants, it has often been possible to supplement it by reference to the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots.* The genealogical material in the Calendar has been as useful for the sixteenth century as have the pedigrees of the MacDonalds of Drumbohena, the McNeills of Faughart, the papers of the MacDonnells of Belfast, Dublin and Kilsharvan, County Meath, and the MacDonald of Killearnan Papers for the genealogical and social links of the seventeenth century.[47]

The nature of the other primary and manuscript sources for this study are described in the body of the thesis. In brief, the most fruitful source of fresh information, for social, cultural and demographic as well as religious material, has undoubtedly been the ecclesiastical records - the extensive records of the Catholic mission in the Highlands and Islands in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the Kirk records on the Protestant side. In general, the Catholic material was in easy, cursive hands and the record revealing of evidence for the extensive contribution of Irish priests in the first hundred years of underground Catholicism in the Highlands and the management of the mission from the north-east of Scotland. Given the detail with which the priests reported their movements to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, who mainly funded their operation, and to their superiors on the continent, it was found valuable to construct individual itineraries of the priests[48] in an attempt to distinguish the day-to-day movement from the overall trends on the mission. As far as the Protestant records are concerned, it was necessary to develop a variety of paleographic skills to decipher the varied and convoluted scripts of the presbytery clerks. These records, in particular, were useful not only for ecclesiastical matters but were also used in a peripheral way, with reference to the presbytery as a court, for general social material which comes to light via the disciplinary process. The other noteworthy, though slighter, contribution which the sources make to the historiography of the Highlands during this period is in the economic field, in the seventeenth century material on west coast fishing in the Papers of the Stirling-Maxwells of Pollok, and in the evidence on North Channel smuggling in the early eighteenth century, in the Campbeltown Outport Records.

This study attempts to be broad and multi-faceted. If any one historical method predominates over others, this is the emphasis given to elucidating particular kinship ties throughout the work. The

approach is not overtly genealogical but nonetheless indicates the importance of these bonds in all areas of communication and connection between Irish and Scottish Gaels. Wherever possible, links have been carefully traced through. Kinship ties were used to cement military and political alliances, to facilitate cross-channel trade, both legal and illegitimate, to draft in priests nurtured on the Antrim estates to the Highlands and Islands, and also encouraged the migration of seasonal labour between the two countries. Where close kinship bonds already existed or were promoted in order to strengthen particular connections, it can be seen that the cross-Channel links often flourished. Where kinship relationships were missing, the links often failed or had but a finite existence. Even the attenuation (though not disappearance) of kinship ties and the growth in commercial relationships evident towards the end of the period in 1760, is but a focus on kinship from the negative viewpoint.

Although they call upon some primary source material, the first four chapters do not claim to be a fundamental contribution to original research, because this thesis is not intended to be a political history of the Irish and Scottish *Gaidhealtachds*. Nonetheless, there is a necessary background to an overview of this kind, of which these chapters provide a sketch. An attempt has also been made to place a new Gaelic perspective on the available literature, for instance in the synthesis of material relating to the Highland contribution to the plantation of Ulster about which there is little information. The civil war and Covenanting period have been treated relatively cursorily since this area has been copiously served in contemporary writing by David Stevenson, which would be difficult to improve upon. Similarly, while substantial reference has been made to the poetry of the period, the last three chapters, which deal with cultural interaction, have relied heavily on work published on the hereditary learned families by Celtic scholars and historians. Again, attention has focussed on synthesising the Scoto-Irish Gaelic links of the period and furnishing examples from the poetry illustrative of that link, particularly in military, political or social contexts.

Given that Highland involvement in Ireland was primarily military in origin, the study begins with an exploration of Highland mercenary involvement in Ireland. It plots the Highlanders' transition from a political and cultural stance which was essentially against the Crown, as marked by the persons of Elizabeth I in Ireland and James VI in Scotland, to one which was Royalist, as shown in their support of Charles I during the civil war of the 1640s, and the Stewart pretenders of the Jacobite period. (Chapters 1 to 4.) The religious links between the Gaelic peoples, Catholic and Protestant, are then examined, highlighting the invaluable contribution made by Irish priests in the rejuvenation of Catholicism in the Highlands and Islands, and the hitherto undervalued contribution made by Gaelic-speaking presbyterians in bringing the gospel to Irish speakers in Ulster. (Chapters 5 to 10.) The links of the elite in Gaelic society, their social connections, alliances and settlement, and their commercial enterprises across the North Channel are then brought into focus. (Chapters 11 to 13.) Trends in settlement of the lower social strata, both occasional and seasonal, are

examined after this. (Chapters 14 to 15.) Finally, the cultural dimension, on which much attention has been lavished by scholars over the past few decades, is considered. (Chapters 16 to 18.)

Notes

1. Charles W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region,* (London and New York, 1988), pp. 7-8, 81, 83.
2. William Elder Levie, 'Celtic tribal law and custom in Scotland,' *The Juridical Review,* 39, (1927), pp. 192, 195, 198-99, 201; Rosemary E. Ommer, 'Primitive accumulation and the Scottish *clann* in the Old World and the New, *Journal of Historical Geography,* 12, 2, (1986), p. 122; John Bannerman, 'The Scots Language and Kin-based Society,' in Derick S. Thomson (editor), *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony,'* Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Languages of Scotland, (Glasgow, 1988), p. 1; Andrew McKerral, 'The lesser land and administrative divisions in Celtic Scotland,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 85, (1950-51), pp. 52-53.
3. Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683,* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 256-57; Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster,* (Belfast, 1992), pp. 4, 179.
4. *Gaelic Scotland,* p. 1; Malcolm Gray, *The Highland Economy 1750-1850,* (Connecticut, 1976 reprint), pp. 3-5, 36.
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13. Robert Kee, *The Green Flag,* 3 vols., (London, 1979, 1977, 1978 reprints), I, *The Most Distressful Country,*

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15. 'The Plantation of County Tyrone,' pp. 50-53; Ernest Raymond Gillespie, 'East Ulster in the early seventeenth century: A colonial economy and society,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 1982), p. 20; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 46-48, 52, 54.
16. The word derives, however, from the latin *septum.*
17. 'The Plantation of County Tyrone,' pp. 53, 59-61, 77-78; Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages,* (Dublin, 1972), p. 137; 'Gaelic Society in Ireland,' pp. 49-50; McKerral, p. 60; 'Irish Settlement in Tyrone,' pp. 59-61.
18. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 54, 57, 67; Nicholls, pp. 80, 84. For more on the Gaelic learned classes, see Chapters 16, 17 and 18. For more on the *gallóglaigh,* see Chapter 1, section II. Background to mercenary activity: pre-1560 MacDonald settlement in Antrim.
19. *A New History of Ireland,* II, p. 430; Nicholls, p. 86.
20. In Ireland, the *lucht tighe* (lit. 'people of the household') were those who inhabited the chief's demesne lands, and were responsible for providing for his household. (Nicholls, p. 36.)
21. Allan I. Macinnes, 'Crown, clans and fine: The 'civilizing' of Scottish Gaeldom, 1587-1638,' *Northern Scotland,* 13, (1993), p. 41.
22. Frank Adam, *The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands,* (Edinburgh and London, 1934), p. 109; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. xii-xiii.
23. Derick S. Thomson (editor), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,* (Oxford, 1983), p. 43; Alan G. Macpherson, 'An old Highland genealogy and the evolution of a Scottish clan,' *Scottish Studies,* 10, (1966), pp. 1-2, 6.
24. Levie, p. 193.
25. Ommer, p. 125.
26. *Gaelic Scotland,* pp. 5, 76-77, 211, 213; Adam, pp. 111-12; Macinnes, p. 31; Carter, pp. 110-11; Levie, p. 203; *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,* pp. 282-83; Ommer, p. 128; Gray, p. 29.
27. A cottar usually had a small piece of arable land, grazing for a cow and access to shared agricultural equipment, for which he gave a small money rent and laboured on the tenant's land. (*Gaelic Scotland,* p. 206.)
28. Gray, pp. 23-24.
29. *Gaelic Scotland,* p. 76.
30. In thirteenth-century Connacht the local administrative officers who collected rents were known as *maoir,* singular *maor.* The office was sometimes hereditary. (Nicholls, p. 40.)
31 Gray, pp. 6-7; McKerral, pp. 53-56, 58; Bannerman, pp. 2, 9; *Gaelic Scotland,* p. 205. For an account of this process see Cregeen.
32. These were the *geilfine* - the youngest members; the *derbhfine*, the *iarfine* and the *indfine.* (McKerral, p. 63.)

33. Robinson, p. 50; 'Gaelic Society in Ireland,' p. 53; Levie, pp. 202-03, 206; Macpherson, p. 12; McKerral, p. 63; Bannerman, p. 8; *A New History of Ireland,* II, pp. 425-26, 432, 541.
34. *A New History of Ireland,* II, p. 560; Bannerman, p. 9; *RPCS,* 1616-1619, p. 775.
35. Levie, pp. 205-07; Nicholls, p. 39; *A New History of Ireland,* II, p. 426; Bannerman, pp. 8, 10; Cowan, p. 274.
36. Adam, p. 30; Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V to James VII,* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 14.
37. O'Dowd, pp. 121-23.
38. Donaldson, pp. 13-14, 229-30; David Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century,* (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 14.
39. *Gaelic Scotland,* pp. 77, 176-77; Morgan, p. 10.
40. See Philip Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1583-1641,* (Oxford, 1986); Robert Hunter, 'Ulster plantation towns, 1609-41,' in David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd (editors), *The town in Ireland,* Historical Studies, 13, (Belfast, 1981), pp. 55-80; Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of east Ulster, 1600-1641,* (Cork, 1985); Brian Samuel Turner, 'Distributional aspects of family name study illustrated in the Glens of Antrim,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1974.)
41. See Robert J. Hunter, 'The Ulster plantation in the counties of Armagh and Cavan,' (unpublished M.Litt dissertation, Trinity College Dublin, 1968); T. P. J. McCall, 'The Gaelic background to the Settlement of Antrim and Down 1580-1641,' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1983.)
42. 'Conciliation, coercion, and the protestant reformation, 1547-71,' and 'The completion of the Tudor conquest, and the advance of the counter-reformation, 1571-1603, *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 69-93, 94-141.
43. See 'The MacMhuirich Bardic family,' (1966); 'The poetry of Niall MacMhuirich,' (1970); 'Niall Mòr MacMhuirich,' (1977); 'Three seventeenth century bardic poets: Niall Mòr, Cathal and Niall MacMhuirich,' (1977).
44. See 'Poems by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin,' I, II, III, (1976, 1978, 1981).
45. 'The Irish language in the early modern period,' III, pp. 509-45; 'Irish language and literature, 1691-1845,' IV, pp. 374-423.
46. Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (editors), *Natives and Newcomers, Essays on the making of Irish Colonial Society 1534-1641,* (Dublin, 1986), p. 239; Aidan Clarke, Raymond Gillespie and James McGuire, *A New History of Ireland Biographical Supplement 1534-1691,* (Oxford, 1991), p. 696.
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48. See appendices.

CHAPTER 1
THE REDSHANKS: HIGHLAND MERCENARIES IN IRELAND, 1560-1603

Introduction

Since the thirteenth century Scots had sought marriage alliances, plundering raids and mercenary work as *gallóglaigh* (families who served as hereditary mercenaries) in Ireland. However, by the sixteenth century, the Gaelic revival in Ireland called for the augmentation of the *gallóglaigh* and the traditional risings by Highland redshanks (mercenaries who operated on a seasonal basis) in order to combat the well-trained Tudor armies. The redshanks operated mainly in Ulster and to a lesser extent in Connacht, usually on short three-month contracts. The greater Irish lords regarded the military force provided by mercenaries as requisite for the retention of their Gaelic autonomy, and many of them intermarried with Highland women in order to ensure ready supplies of redshanks. Both Scots mercenaries and Irish levies were drawn together in the basic struggle of the Gaelic order against the consolidating nation states, but any meaningful political alliances between the Gaels was made difficult by the apparent inability of Scots and Irish chieftains to see beyond the furtherance of their individual supremacy. Even where kin ties were still vital, as among the factions of Clan Donald South in Antrim and Kintyre, Islay and Jura, the closeness of relationship between the two fell foul of desire for personal gain. Ultimately, the differences between the MacDonalds led to the official recognition of the Irish branch as an autonomous sept by James VI and I in 1603, when he granted legal title to Sir Randal MacDonnell of the Route and the Glens of Antrim. Prior to this, the Glens had been held by Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg. The English also made a deliberate policy of allying themselves with the enemy of whichever chieftain, Irish or Antrim MacDonald, most threatened their authority at the time, so that late sixteenth-century Ulster presented a kaleidoscope of changing relationships and alliances. Moreover, since most of the native Irish were Catholic in religion, and their church was proscribed, Irish resistance to English authority became inextricably linked to the Counter-Reformation in Ireland, and from the early 1580s connections were fostered with Catholics in north-east Scotland. Leaders of the various risings in Elizabeth's reign could justifiably look for assistance to Catholic countries on the continent, which resulted in the English government, as it did in Scotland, identifying Catholicism with treason. Certainly, Hugh O'Neill entertained some Scottish Jesuits in his camp during the Ulster rebellion (1594-1603).

I. SOURCES

There are three basic sources which record the activities of Scots mercenaries in Ireland during this period. The first is the State Papers of the English government in Ireland, and the State Papers relating to Scotland. Neither particularly elucidate the Gaelic viewpoint, though both give extremely detailed accounts of the movements of mercenaries, seek to identify the motivations behind these movements and also provide a good deal of incidental genealogical material for Gaelic kingroups, as the English establishment grappled with the extremely complex connections of the period. Some supplementary evidence for mercenary involvement in Ireland can be gleaned from the praise poems to Gaelic chieftains, but poetic evidence for the mercenary period,[1] as for other military interactions between Gaels from 1560 to 1760, is viewed separately since there are clearly limitations in its use.

In Ireland, the compilation of annals and genealogies, the literary preserve of the hereditary historians or *seanchaidhean*, provides a history of Gaelic society throughout the medieval period. Initially, annals were compiled simply as chronicles of important events, and function to a certain extent as necrologies with an emphasis on military exploits. Two out of the four series of major Irish Annals were still current during this period. The *Annals of Loch Cé* run from 1014 to 1590 and derive from Loch Cé, a lake in the County of Roscommon in Connacht, near Boyle, and the *Annals of Ulster* or the *Annals of the Four Masters* allegedly contain entries prior to the birth of Christ and run to 1616. The latter were a late compilation from a variety of Irish chronicles and manuscripts, put together by the Franciscan chronicler Michael O'Clery in the friary of Donegal and various of his lay associates, between 1632 and 1636, as monument to the traditional Gaelic society which they felt was fast disappearing.[2] Both give a native Irish account, though generally not revealing of attitudes to events. Nonetheless, they are the only Irish counter to the government's view expressed in the State Papers.

From about 1570, personal views of the English occupiers in Ireland, in the form of historical descriptions and accounts, are also available to supplement the material in the State Papers. Such accounts provide detailed descriptions of those areas of Ireland which the writers knew and visited, giving an account of the *status quo* from the English point of view, and the attempts of the Irish to resist the advance of English authority.[3] The first referred to here is *The Description and Present State of Ulster*, written in 1586 by Sir Henry Bagenal who was then Marshal of the Queen's forces in Ireland, and based at Newry.[4] Most of the descriptions of Ireland produced by Englishmen after this were loosely based on, and generally aware of, Bagenal's account. *The Description of Ireland, and The State thereof as it is at this present In Anno 1598,* probably written by one S. Haynes, a man of undoubted English sympathies, and perhaps an English official, followed Bagenal's outline, though also gave unique details about the main towns, castles, chieftains and noblemen of each

county. Significantly, it was written at the height of the Ulster rebellion when the gravity of the Gaelic bid for independence must have been most apparent to the English.[5] Similarly, John Dymmok's, *A Treatice of Ireland,* written in about 1600, by an Englishman who probably worked for Essex when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, also follows Bagenal's geographical description of each county in Ireland. However, it also has comments at the beginning about the perceived character of the Irish, their military forces, about the exactions of the Gaelic lords on their people, and the services due to the Queen.[6]

II. BACKGROUND TO MERCENARY ACTIVITY: PRE-1560 MACDONALD SETTLEMENT IN ANTRIM

Occasional Highland settlement in Ulster and Irish settlement in the west Highlands, had occurred before 1560, indeed, probably since the time of the Dalriadic settlement at the beginning of the sixth century, which so many genealogists mark as the beginning of the Scoto-Irish link.[7] Interaction would have been greatest at the areas of closest proximity, that is, between Kintyre and the tip of north-east Antrim between Cushendun and Ballycastle. (For the relative locations of Kintyre and Antrim, see fig. I.1, The Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland in relation to east Ulster.) Hayes-McCoy, the main writer on the Scots mercenary presence in Ireland in the late sixteenth century, outlined a tri-partite theory of mercenary migration to Ulster. Although all three movements were related because the migrants were members of the Clan Donald South, he also pointed out the inherent artificiality of such a delineation.[8]

Late Middle-Age settlement was inextricably linked to mercenary activity. This provision of Highland mercenaries to Ireland had its roots in the late thirteenth century, during the period of Angus Mòr, Lord of the Isles (1249-1300), and his son Angus Og (1308-1330), when the Irish were martialling their resources against the Norman invaders. The native Irish had no standing forces, and so trained mercenaries from Innse Gall, 'the islands of the foreigners,' were brought in to counter them.[9] They came mostly from the districts of Glen Massan, Glendaruel, Loch Sween and Loch Aweside.[10] The first mention of Highland mercenaries in the Irish wards is in 1247 when one Mac Somhairlidh was killed fighting for the chieftain of Tirconnell (Tír Chonaill). *Gallóglaigh* families such as the MacDonalds and MacSweeneys[11] began to settle in Ireland in the mid-thirteenth century and thus established themselves as the leading *gallóglach* families. They also remained aware of their origins,[12] as can be seen by the Irish Lord Deputy's description of the MacSweeneys in west Ulster in 1588 as 'two or three strong septs of people there, being all devoted to the Scottish race.'[13] (See fig. 1.4, Ulster lordships c. 1534.) The first documented instance of the word *gallóglaigh* is in 1290. It derives from *gall* and *óglach*, meaning literally 'foreign

warrior,' foreign because of the mixed Norse or Scandinavian blood of the Hebridean mercenary families. It is anglicised as gallowglasses.[14]

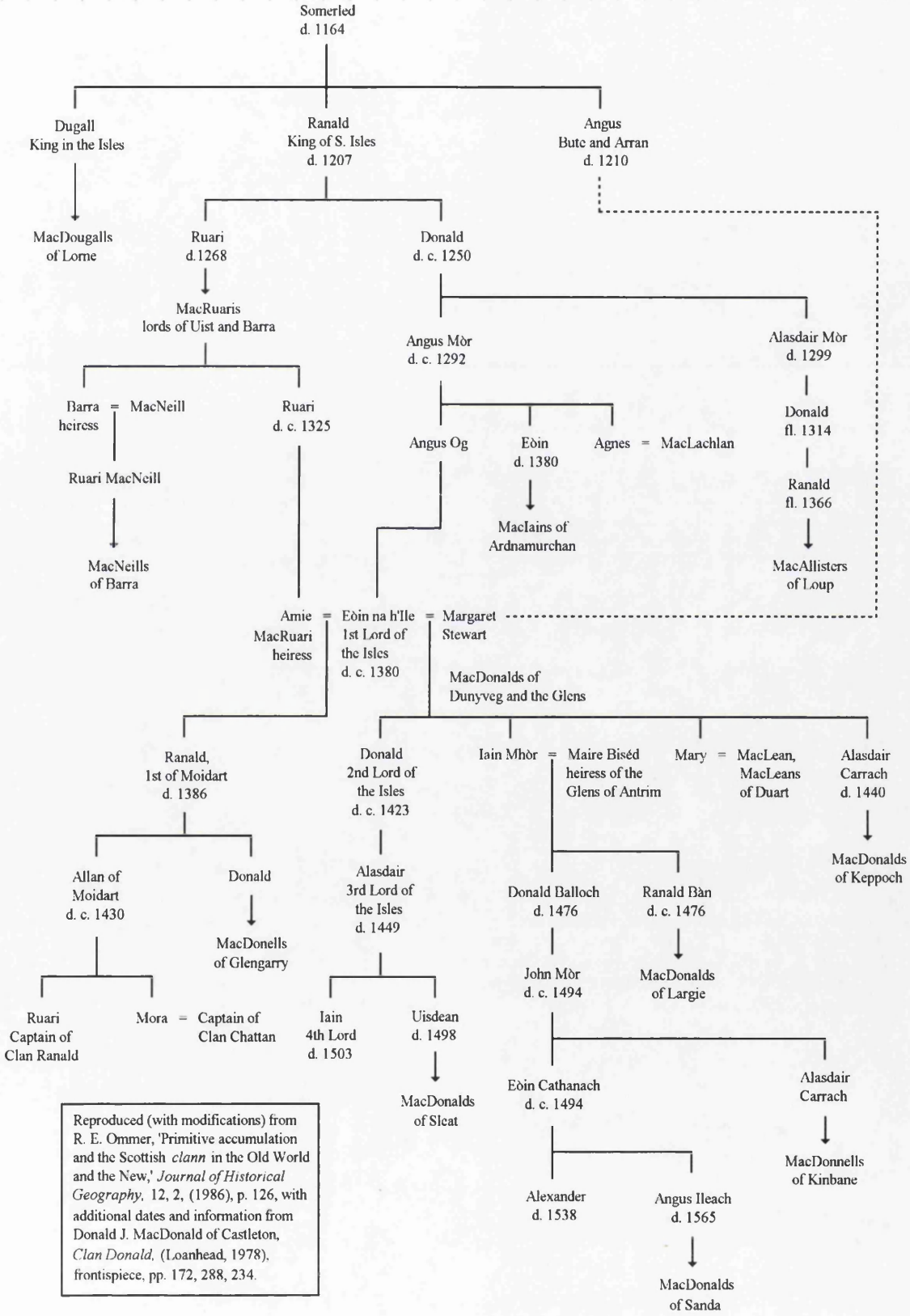
The advent and consolidation of the *gallóglaigh* in Ireland is closely connected first, to the forfeiture of Alasdair Og of the Isles by Robert Bruce in 1308, who then 'granted Castle-Swin and all his lands to his brother, Angus of the Isles.' Alasdair Og's sons, according to tradition, went to Ireland and became *gallóglach* leaders.[15] Second, it is connected to the Bruces' invasion of Ireland in 1315, which was embarked on in an attempt to deflect attention from Scotland in its war against Edward II of England. According to tradition, it was Domnall Ó Néill of Ulster, who invited King Robert to Ireland in the hope of reviving the high-kingship of Ireland in his person. Certainly Robert referred in a letter to the people of Ireland, probably in early 1315, to *nostra natio* (our nation), in a deliberate linking of the two Gaelic peoples, which he sought to restore to its former freedom.[16] After this, Highland mercenaries both from Argyll and the Outer Isles spread into Ireland in bands from the north, down through the west to the south and into Leinster. By the middle of the fourteenth century the MacDonalds and the MacSweeneys had been joined by the other main *gallóglaigh* bands of MacSheey (or MacSheehy),[17] MacDowell[18] (MacDougall), MacRory, and MacCabe, though little is known of the latter. Many of them stayed, mainly in the north of Ireland. The MacCabes, for instance, were almost entirely based in Cavan and Fermanagh in Ulster and Leitrim in Connacht, but were also in Monaghan and Meath. (See fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) The MacDowells' main base was in Roscommon in Connacht, and the MacRorys were also strongest in that province. The MacSheeys appeared first in the north but set up a branch in Munster in 1420 where they were *gallóglaigh* to the Earls of Desmond in the Limerick region.[19] Hereditary mercenary service was established in various territorial lordships and the *gallóglaigh* became, to that extent, institutionalised. They were endowed with lands and had genealogies compiled for them which legitimised their status. This introduced a new concept into Irish society, of bodies of permanently-armed fighting men, professionals who held land in freehold by virtue of military service as opposed to hostings of armed landholders, raised when circumstance demanded. However, there was also an itinerant element among the *gallóglaigh,* with bands looking for employment in various parts of the country. By the fifteenth century they operated throughout the country but were least developed in Leinster. Conversely, they were particularly strong in Connacht and Ulster. In Munster and Leinster, their main employers were the English and their development there, where there was a synthesis of Irish and English social systems, was dependent on a growth in the system of coigne and livery.[20] By 1560, *gallóglaigh* captains in the south had begun to recruit to the rank and file from the native Irish, particularly in Munster but also in Leinster, though command was still held by those of true *gallóglaigh* descent. In Ulster and Connacht, it was still easier to draft in fresh recruits from the Highlands. This general movement of Highland mercenaries has been recognised as the first military-based migration.[21]

The breakdown of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493 caused a major political realignment in the western Isles, leading to the formation of various branches of MacDonalds. It also brought on a slow decline in the autonomy of the independent Gaelic lordships, though they were not brought fully under the authority of the Lowland government until the early seventeenth century. The common progenitor of all the MacDonalds was Eòin na h'Ile (John of Islay), Lord of the Isles, son and heir of Angus Og. In 1350, he married as his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert II, the first Stewart king. Their first son and heir to the Lordship of the Isles was Donald, often referred to as 'Donald of Harlaw' who, at Harlaw, defeated a force sent against him by the Duke of Albany, then regent. Their second son was Iain (or Eòin) Mhòr, whose descendants are particularly significant to this thesis. (See fig. 1.1, Origins of the main branches of the Clan Donald.) From Iain Mhòr were descended the MacDonalds of Kintyre, Antrim, Sanda, Largie and Islay who, in association, formed the Clan Iain Mhòir (or Clan Iain Mhòir Ile). This group also came to be known as the Clan Donald after Iain Mhòir's son, Donald Balloch, and were referred to as the Clan Donald South, to distinguish them from the descendants of Hugh of Sleat, six of whom were called Donald, who became known as the Clan Donald North. The fourth son of Eòin na h'Ile and Margaret Stewart, Alasdair Carrach, was the founder of the MacDonalds of the Braes of Lochaber or the MacDonalds of Keppoch. Further families were also established through the sons of Eòin na h'Ile from his first marriage to the heiress, Amie MacRuairi. Ranald, the second son of this first union, fell heir to the MacRuairi inheritance of the Garmoran lordship, that is, to the Moidart region, Uist, Barra, Rhum, Eigg and Harris, as well as various other territories on the mainland east of Moidart. The descendants of Ranald became the MacDonalds of Clanranald and Glengarry.[22]

The gradual transfer of members of the Clan Donald South to Ulster from the late fourteenth century brought about a second military migration which occurred between the advent of the *gallóglaigh* and the later appearance of the redshanks, or 'New Scots,' in Ireland.[23] A salient date in terms of this migration was the marriage, in about 1399, of Iain Mhòr, the brother of Donald, Lord of the Isles, to Maire Biséd,[24] heiress to the seven lordships of the Glens of Antrim. After his marriage, Iain Mhòr was soon styled MacDonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, in recognition of the new inheritance. From the time of this union of the MacDonalds and Biséds and the acquisition of the Glens by the MacDonalds, some of the MacDonalds' tenants in Kintyre began to drift into Antrim. The Clan Donald South's position in Ulster was further consolidated by the three successors of Iain Mhòr - Donald Balloch, John and Eòin Cathanach - who sought to strengthen their inheritance by intermarrying with the native Irish families of O'Donnell of Tirconnell, O'Neill of Clandeboye, and the Old English[25] family of Savage of the Ards. (See fig. 1.4, Ulster lordships c. 1534.) They also gave land to cadets of their house in the Glens of Antrim. In time, the MacDonalds changed to the more Irish form of their name - MacDonnell - used by their kinsmen

Fig. 1.1

Origins of the main branches of the Clan Donald



Reproduced (with modifications) from R. E. Ommer, 'Primitive accumulation and the Scottish *clann* in the Old World and the New,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 12, 2, (1986), p. 126, with additional dates and information from Donald J. MacDonald of Castleton, *Clan Donald*, (Loanhead, 1978), frontispiece, pp. 172, 288, 234.

the O'Donnells in Tirconnell. Their attempts to maintain and extend their Irish heritage brought the MacDonalds into conflict with both the Irish and the English.[26]

Emigration from Kintyre and the Isles also increased when the clan was under political pressure in Scotland. Four such periods have been identified in the fifteenth century. First, and perhaps enthused by his new possessions in Antrim, Iain Mhòr became dissatisfied with that part of the patrimony which had been assigned to him. He entered into military dispute with his elder brother, Donald of the Isles, and on his defeat, he was obliged to seek refuge in the Glens. Second, when Donald of the Isles died in about 1423, James I, who considered his heir, Alasdair (Alexander), to be too powerful after his acquisition of the Earldom of Ross, applied a policy of divide and rule to Alasdair and his uncle Iain Mhòr. At a meeting with the King's agent, James Campbell, Iain Mhòr refused to be implicated in reducing his own nephew and was subsequently killed. Ultimately, a battle ensued between the opponents and allies of the King, at Inverlochy, in 1431. Iain Mhòr's son, Donald Balloch, gathered a band of men in the Antrim Glens, and headed to Lochaber to avenge his father. Having defeated the King's army, Donald Balloch and several other associated leaders were obliged to flee back to the Glens. Conn O'Neill, who had previously treated with James I, was requested to send back Donald Balloch dead or alive, but O'Neill seems to have given him his daughter's hand in marriage instead! Third, the general policy of John, Lord of the Isles (great-grandson of Eòin na h'Ile) of allying with English princes rather than Scottish ones, led to the forced surrender of his lands of Knapdale, Kintyre, and the Earldom of Ross, in 1476. This sent a large wave of settlers to Antrim probably more numerous than the two which had preceded it.[27] Yet, little could have matched the influx after the actual forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, at the instigation of James IV in 1493, which constitutes the fourth wave of MacDonald settlement in Antrim. James IV came to the west coast, shortly afterwards, to receive the personal allegiance of those who now held directly of the Crown, liberally bestowing his patronage on the chief of the Clan Donald South, Eòin Cathanach, to whom he gave a knighthood. Yet, although he was granted a charter of all his lands, except a small area of Kintyre around Dunaverty Castle, which the Crown clearly reserved for strategic purposes, this was sufficient to incur the wrath of the chief. Eòin Cathanach seized back the garrison from James IV and hanged the governor from the wall. The chief was subsequently seized at the hands of John mac Iain MacDonald of Ardnamurchan with whom he was in dispute over the territory of Sunart. Eòin Cathanach and four of his sons were executed in Edinburgh in or around 1494.[28]

After this execution, significant numbers of MacDonalds and people from their associated clans and cadet families arrived in Antrim. Only two of Eòin's four sons, Alexander and Angus, survived the assault on the family and both escaped to Antrim. Alexander, the eldest, became the heir to the chiefship of the Clan Donald South. Angus eventually settled in Sanda and was the progenitor of the MacDonalds of Sanda. Although MacDonald of Ardnamurchan was sent to root the brothers

out of Antrim, the quarrel was fortuitously patched by a marriage between his daughter and Alexander. Having failed to extirpate them, James IV passed a penal enactment in the Scottish parliament of 1503 permanently exiling Alexander of Kintyre and Islay from Scotland which remained in force until the King's death in 1513. Since he was prohibited from returning to Scottish soil, Alexander was followed to Ireland by members of his own clan and by many from associated clans who had come under the protection of the Clan Donald South in 1476. Alexander extended the Scottish colony in Antrim so that by the mid-sixteenth century it stretched along the coast from the Bann to Glenarm.[29] (See fig. 1.2, The Glens and the Route of Antrim.)

Alexander MacDonald held the Castle of Dunanynie on Ballycastle Bay, (see fig. 1.2, The Glens and the Route of Antrim) which had sea access through Port-brittas, a small harbour near the cliff foot on which the castle stood, and where his mercenaries embarked from their galleys. Closely associated with the MacDonalds in their mercenary activity were clans such as the McNeills of Gigha and Kintyre, the MacKays of the Rhinns of Islay and Kintyre, the MacDonalds of Largie, and the MacAllisters of Kintyre.[30] Family name evidence in Antrim which becomes available for the whole county in two surveys of the mid-seventeenth century, supports the mercenary origin of these families because they are not clustered in identifiable pockets like the indigenous Irish, but are more scattered, a distribution pattern which is in keeping with their mercenary employment.[31] MacDonnell, MacKay, McNeill[32] and MacAllister are the most common Highland names recorded in the 1669 Antrim Hearth Money Roll. Yet, because of the MacDonalds' overwhelming dominance of the Antrim area, historians have a marked tendency to ascribe families whose origins are not readily traceable to having come with the MacDonalds. 'It finds a kind of parallel in all the families who allegedly came to England with the Conqueror, except that the coming of the MacDonnells to the Glens cannot be simply confined to a single date.'[33] The English in Ireland regarded Alexander as a force to be reckoned with but the consolidation of Alexander MacDonald's power-base in Antrim lead to a softening of James V's attitude towards him. Though the first documented use of Scottish mercenaries in the Annals was by Conn O'Neill and Hugh Dubh O'Donnell in the 1520s (1522, 1524, 1528),[34] Alexander's flight to Antrim marks the beginning of the Redshank period.[35]

Some perspective can be applied to the settlement of Highland mercenaries in Ulster from an account of Sir Henry Bagenal, Marshal of the Elizabethan forces in Ireland, in 1586. After referring to the supplementing of Irish forces by Scots mercenaries, he states that:

> The ancient followers of this Countrie are these - the Missetts some few remaining, but in poor state; the MacKayes the Omulrenies, the Mac y Gilles, the MacAwnleys, the MacCarnocks, and the Clanalasters, who are most desirous to live under the Scottes, because they do better defend and less spend them than the Irish Lord doth.[36]

The 'Missets' are clearly the Biséds, the MacKays are Highland in origin, the 'Omulrenies' are the Irish 'O Mulvenna, Mulvenna or McIlvenna,' *ollaimh* to the O'Cahans in County Derry, the 'Mac y Gilles' are the Irish 'Magills,' 'MacAwnley' is the Scottish name 'MacAuley,' the 'MacCarnocks' are 'MacCormicks' and the 'Clanalasters' are the Highland 'MacAllisters.' The name Magill is probably of Gall-Gael origin which designates people of mixed Scandinavian and Gaelic blood, though the 'Clan an Ghoill' are never mentioned as *gallóglaigh.* The gaelic version 'Mac an Ghaill' or 'son of the foreigner' occurs in south-west Argyll but is not numerous there. MacAuleys were present in both Dumbarton and Lewis; MacAuley was already the most numerous name in the 1659 Census, which seems to indicate a pre-redshank settlement. In keeping with this, there is not one MacAuley in Kintyre, Islay, Jura, Colonsay, Coll, Tiree, Mull or even Ardnamurchan in the 1541 Rental of the Isles, whereas all other Highland names in the Glens first appear in the west coast of Scotland. According to local tradition the MacAuleys are said to have fought with the MacQuillans when they defeated the MacDonalds at Glenshesk, but at the battle of Aura, in 1559 they had joined the MacDonalds. Therefore, the MacAuleys probably date from the *gallóglaigh* period. Interestingly, there is a distinct possibility that the MacQuillans themselves were *gallóglaigh* in origin, claims having been made that the 'Clanuilins' had branched from the Campbells. MacCormick is also one of the most numerous names but it does not appear in the 1542 Rental of the Isles, and therefore probably dates from the same period. The 'Clanalasters' have been clearly identified with the mercenaries from Argyll who began to enter Ireland in the fourteenth century, and continued into the sixteenth. It would, therefore, appear that the three most numerous names of Gaelic origin in the Glens of Antrim by the seventeenth century - Magill, MacCormick and MacAuley - are all Scottish, but derived from the *gallóglaigh* and not the Redshank period.[37]

As well as causing MacDonald migration to Antrim, the realignment after the downfall of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493 resulted in a considerable number of redundant fighting men in Scotland. This occurred at a time when the Tudor scheme of conquest created a need for their services by the native Irish lords who wished to keep the English at bay. The Lordship had drawn together a number of subsidiary clans through the provision of a variety of services, not the least of which were military. During this period mercenary movement was mainly seasonal, occurring in the summer before the harvest. The mercenaries very rarely settled permanently in Ireland, and did not received hereditary grants of land like the *gallóglaigh.* The movements of these mercenaries, redshanks,[38] or 'New Scots' have been referred to as the third military migration.[39]

The earliest settlement by Highland immigrants, from the time of Eòin Mhòr's acquisition of the Biséd inheritance, was in the Glens of Antrim. Historically, most are thought to have settled in the lower or northern glens.[40] However, this opinion has been modified in recent times, by the consistent appearance in seventeenth-century documents of the common Kintyre names of

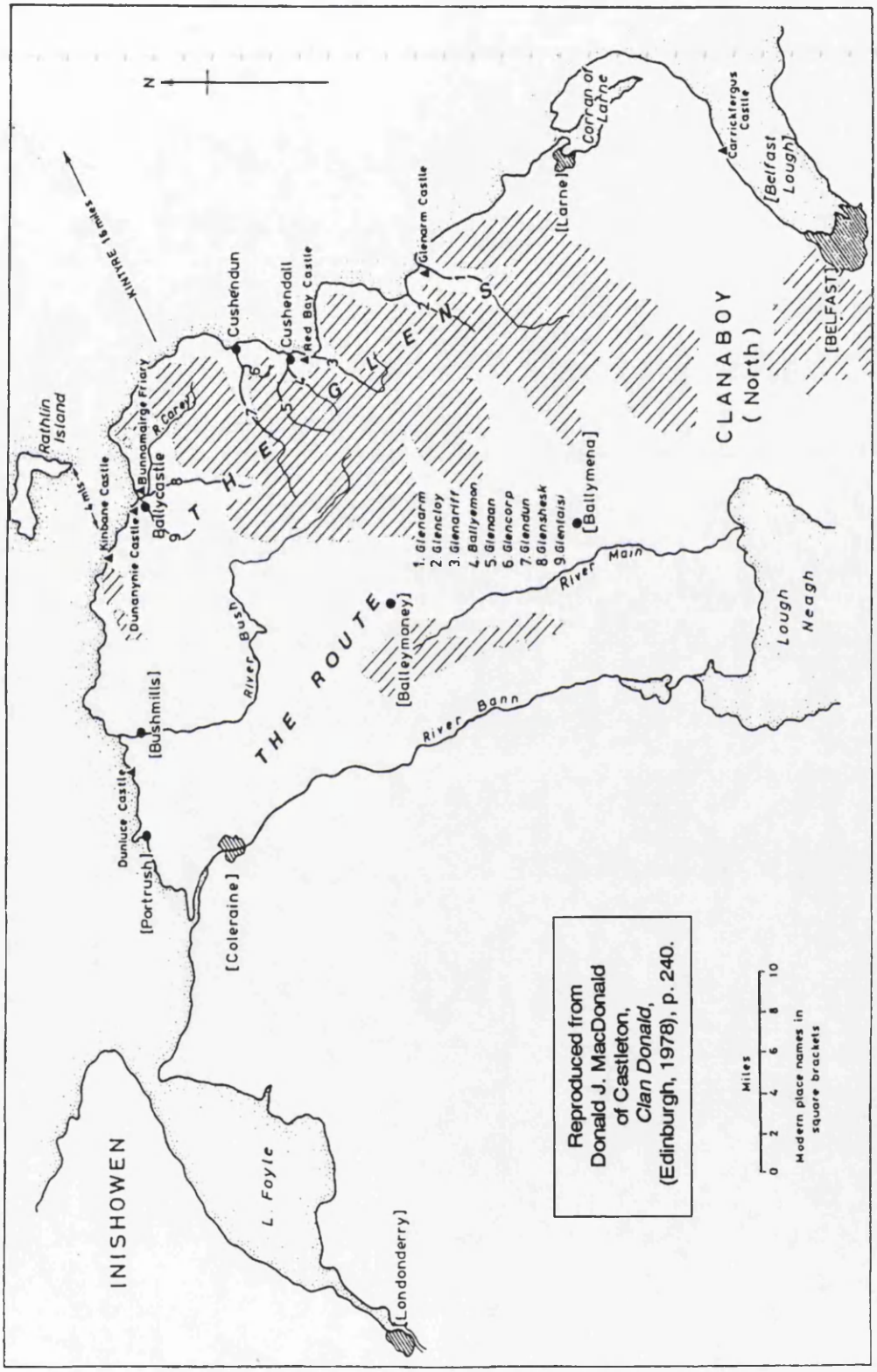
MacKay, McNeill and MacAllister in Tickmacrevan, or the upper Glens. From the Hearth Money Roll of 1669, five MacKays can be identified in Tickmacrevan, as opposed to four in Culfeightrin (lower Glens), while there are three McNeills in Tickmacrevan and the same number of MacAllisters.[41] (See fig. 11.3, The civil parishes of the Glens of Antrim.) The closeness of Kintyre to the Antrim coast cannot be overstressed, being only 12 miles distant at its closest point, and it would be short-sighted to suggest that all movement was dictated by the expediency of the great clans. Anyone with access to a boat probably crossed the North Channel for a multitude of reasons, both social and commercial.

Nevertheless, the gradual movement of Highlanders into the Glens had distinct military overtones. A description of the Glens in 1598 noted that "there are many Creekes between Rocks and Thicketts where the Scottish Gallies do commonly land."[42] Settlement continued, was consolidated and received new impetus in the mid-sixteenth century under Colla Maol Dubh, the third son of Alexander MacDonald of Islay and Kintyre, and the official representative of the clan in Ireland, as the Scots pushed westwards towards the Bann. (See fig. 11.4, Genealogy of the MacDonalds of Colonsay.) His base in Ulster was the Castle of Kinbane, a mile and a half from Ballycastle. (See fig. 1.2, The Glens and the Route of Antrim.) Under his leadership, the MacDonalds acquired the MacQuillan territory of the Route. This military initiative resulted in an influx of Scots redshanks during the 1550s, especially around 1551 when the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusack, indicated that the Route and the surrounding areas were filled with bonnachts.[43] By this time another branch of the MacDonalds had established a temporary settlement in Down where they had killed John White and taken over his lands of the Dufferin on the south side of Clandeboye.[44] Sir Henry Bagenal's account of 1586 thus notes that "Brian Caraghe's countrey was a porcion of Northe Clandeboy, won from it by a bastard kinde of Scottes, of the septs of Clandonells,[45] who entred the same and do yet holde it, beinge a very stronge pece of land lienge uppon the North side of the Bande."[46] Nonetheless, the territories held by the Scots were not extensive. Their problem to the government lay in their military power.

Though they were only protecting their inheritance, the English perceived the activity of those MacDonalds who crossed in the reign of James V in terms of a possible Franco-Scottish invasion, (England had been at war with France until 1550), which would be assisted by Gaelic Ulster. When Mary Tudor declared war on France again in 1557, Sir Henry Sidney, the Irish Lord Justice feared that James MacDonald, sixth of Dunyveg would take the opportunity to invade Ulster, and could receive help from the Pale where the exactions of Elizabeth's soldiers were a great burden. It was also reported that Somhairle Buidhe (or Sorley Boy), brother of James MacDonald of Dunyveg, (see fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick's report 1595/6) who had responsibility for the clan's Irish territories, had "said plainly that Englishmen had no right to Ireland." In 1558, the year in which Elizabeth came to the throne, Mary Stewart, queen of Scots, married the French

Fig. 1.2

THE GLENS AND THE ROUTE OF ANTRIM



dauphin, and with a French Queen Regent in Scotland, Ulster, which was effectively outside of Dublin's control, was therefore within easy reach of England's enemy. It was Ireland's use as a base for an attack on England, rather than the possibility of its conquest, which most perturbed the government. After Calais fell to the French in January 1558, the English feared that the French would use their Scottish base to invade Ireland with the assistance of the MacDonalds, a plan for which had been formulated in 1550.[47] Moreover, the attempts of the Lowland government to extend its authority to the Highlands, resulted in further infiltration of MacDonalds to east Ulster. Nonetheless, the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis with France in 1559 and the Treaties of Berwick and Edinburgh between the English and the French in Scotland in 1560 increased Elizabeth's sense of security. This new friendship between Scotland and England was to increase the significance of Ireland in Anglo-Scottish relations because, from this point, the English sought Scottish help (in theory at least) in Ulster.[48]

On Colla Maol Dubh's death in 1558 and the readjustment in MacDonald leadership which this entailed in 1559, the MacQuillans fought for their patrimony of the Route against Somhairle Buidhe, his brother and successor who, like Colla, was more Irish than Scottish,[49] and lost. After the battle of Slieve an aura, there was a vast consolidation of the MacDonald territories in Antrim, under Somhairle Buidhe which permanently shifted the balance of power in Ulster and established the Scottish settlement as more than simply a MacDonald outpost in Antrim. Somhairle Buidhe established his base at Dunluce. Of equal significance, perhaps, is that all of James MacDonald of Dunyveg's brothers, except Somhairle Buidhe, who was, in practice, occupied in a military capacity in extending the family's inheritance in Antrim, took to mercenary soldiering as an occupation. Exercise in arms was the primary occupation of the younger sons of a chief, of whom there were usually an abundance, both legitimate and bastard.[50]

III. REDSHANK INVOLVEMENT IN IRELAND, 1560-1603

A. Operation, contracting and maintenance of redshanks within the Irish system

The decade beginning in 1560 also marked a change in the English government's strategy in Ireland. In 1556, the more liberal policy of surrender and regrant - the surrender of lands and Gaelic title to the Crown which the Gaelic lord received back as a royal grant and if sufficiently conciliatory, a feudal dignity - was replaced by a more aggressive policy of conquest and colonisation which was codified under the Lord Deputyship of Sir Henry Sidney from 1565. Moreover, in Ulster the problem of containing the Gaelic lordships, and ultimately the success of the Tudor conquest, was inextricably bound up with the presence of Scots. They had to contend with the MacDonald colony in Antrim whose attempts at expansion caused constant friction with

local Irish, notably the MacQuillans,[51] and the seasonal influx of Highland mercenaries which constantly changed the military status quo. Since English authority was weakest in Ulster, it was essential to subdue it, which effectively meant to demilitarise it, if Ireland as a whole were to be conquered.[52]

Gaels clearly felt more comfortable with others of a common Gaelic heritage than with English speakers but it is important to state that by 1560, other than in the case of the MacDonalds (and in spite of later bogus genealogical tables which claim an Irish heritage for most Scottish Gaelic families), the Islesmen in general were not closely related to the native Irish. This situation was not assisted by the fractured nature of the Gaelic polity, manifesting in rivalry and feuding between the various clans and septs which constituted political units within themselves. All chieftains sought to keep and extend their own territory and to maintain their independence. In this sense, the MacDonalds' vying for land in Ulster made them rivals rather than allies of their neighbours, the O'Donnells and the O'Neills. The English government, the Scottish government and all the respective Scottish clans and Irish septs made use of each others' weaknesses and exercised a policy of divide and rule where they could. If anything could be identified as the dominant Gaelic attitude of this period, it was a sense of survivalism. In February 1586, Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy, put it in the following terms: "And for this country people ... they are generally addicted to these three dangerous humours, papistry, change of government, and licentious liberty; so as surely, how fair soever they pretend, as still they do unto me, yet if a new master, and a stronger one come, they will follow him, and leave the old when they see him unable of himself to make his party good."[53]

After the demise of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, there were a number of attempts to re-establish it, the final one by Donald Dubh in 1545, who was the last MacDonald chief to be recognised by the whole clan, but the power vacuum left by it enabled the Crown to step into the gap, and many western clans came to prefer holding their lands as direct feudal vassals of the King. Nonetheless, the government did not make a direct move to bring the Highlands and Islands under central control until the enactment of the General Band in 1587.[54] The break-up of the Lordship also contributed to the factionalism of the individual clans, as well as liberating fighting men in the western Highlands who thus looked for new employment opportunities in Ireland where the native lords were opposing the advance of the Tudors. Those Scots who had come to Ireland in the fourteenth century as *gallóglaigh* had settled and remained there in that capacity, but in the sixteenth century, the movement of mercenaries from Scotland to Ireland was seasonal. These mercenaries, in general, did not settle, fighting on contract for various native Irish lords and then returning to Scotland, usually in time for the harvest.[55] The Irish Lords Justices wrote in May 1583 that: 'The Scots are accustomed between this time and harvest to come out of their barren islands into Ulster.'[56] The English chronicler, William Camden, wrote in 1586 of the area around Coleraine that O'Neill could not contain:

> the island Scots who, to save their own at home in the summertime, leave those barren and fruitless islands, where there is nothing but want and beggary, and come hither for provisions, where they take all opportunities to raise or nourish rebellion, so that is has been declared high treason either to call them into Ireland or receive them in it.[57]

Sometimes mercenaries would "byde furth ane haill zeir, as offtimes it happins quhen ony of thair particular Ilands hes to do with Irland or neighbours" and thus there must have been a very clear distinction between fighting men and those who laboured on the land who were not allowed to leave on mercenary expeditions.[58] They transported themselves in mercenary galleys, which had shallow draughts, drawing little water in comparison with the English pinnaces often sent against them, and could be propelled by sail or oar.[59] They were more versatile than the English ships which only had sails, and could easily evade them in the clement summer weather. With the tide in their favour the MacDonalds of Kintyre could cross to Ulster in between two and three hours. The mercenaries put ashore at Glenarm, Red Bay and Dunluce, the Bann mouth, at Dunnalong on the Foyle and the Swilly, in Tirconnell and on the Connacht shore. As Captain Thornton put it to Cecil in 1595, the Highland galleys were "of great swiftness by oars hardly to be followed for good service by Her Majesty's pinnaces."[60] The government did what it could to restrict the building of Scots galleys. On 28 August 1568, for instance, the Irish Lords Justices informed Elizabeth that they had 'restrained the export of boards from Carrickfergus and Wexford, to impede the Earl of Argyle in making galleys.'[61] At that time, Argyll employed two families of shipwrights, the MacGilleChonaill at Loch Awe and the MacLucais[62] at Loch Fyne.[63] There is little to support the view that in the mid-sixteenth century 'the Campbells failed to dominate the Islands chiefly because they were a land and not a sea-power.'[64] On the contrary, Argyll could mobilise not only his own galleys, but those of all his Campbell kinsmen,[65] and because of his connections with the Loch Fyne herring industry, even commandeered 200-300 "fyschair boyttis then lawbowring in the heyd tak of hering" in August 1568 as transporters. A bond of manrent between the sixth Earl and the bailies and Council of the burgh of Renfrew on 21 October 1580 specified that the burgh "salbe reddy with our haill boittes and vyners upon sufficient warnying to serve the said nobill Lord buith in Scotland and Yreland." The Campbells were aware of sea power but unlike the MacDonalds most of their territories, other than some islands, were on the mainland.[66]

The renegade priest and redshank, John Eldar, who was a native of Caithness, explained the term redshank to Henry VIII in about 1543. "Moreover ... they call us in Scotland Reddshankes, and in your Graces dominion of England roghe footide Scottis" because in both summer and winter, except when the frost was most vehement, they always went "bair leggide and bair footide."[67] Lindsay of Pitscottie applied the term 'redshank' to the Highland race as a whole when he wrote his history in 1573, which is an indication of the extent of mercenary employment on the western

seaboard: "The other pairts [of Scotland] ar full of mountains, and very rud and homlie kynd of people doeth inhabite, which is called the Reidschankis or Wyld Scottis. They be cloathed with ane mantle, with ane schirt saffroned[68] after the Irisch manner, going bair legged to the knee. Thair weapones ar bowis and dartes, with ane verie broad sword and ane dagger scharp onlie at the on syde."[69] According to George Buchanan's history of Scotland, first published in 1582, these darts or arrows were "for the most part hooked, with a barble on either side, which, once entered within the body, cannot be drawne forth againe, unless the wounde be made wider." In his *De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum*, published in Rome in 1578, John Leslie, former Catholic bishop of Ross,[70] indicated that they:

> used also a two-edged sword, which with the foot soldiers was pretty long, and short for the horse: both had it broad, and with an edge so exceeding sharp that at one blow it would easily cut a man in two. For defence, they used a coat of mail woven of iron rings, which they wore over a leather jerkin, stout and of handsome appearance, which we call an action. Their whole armour was light, that they might the more easily slip from their enemies' hands.[71]

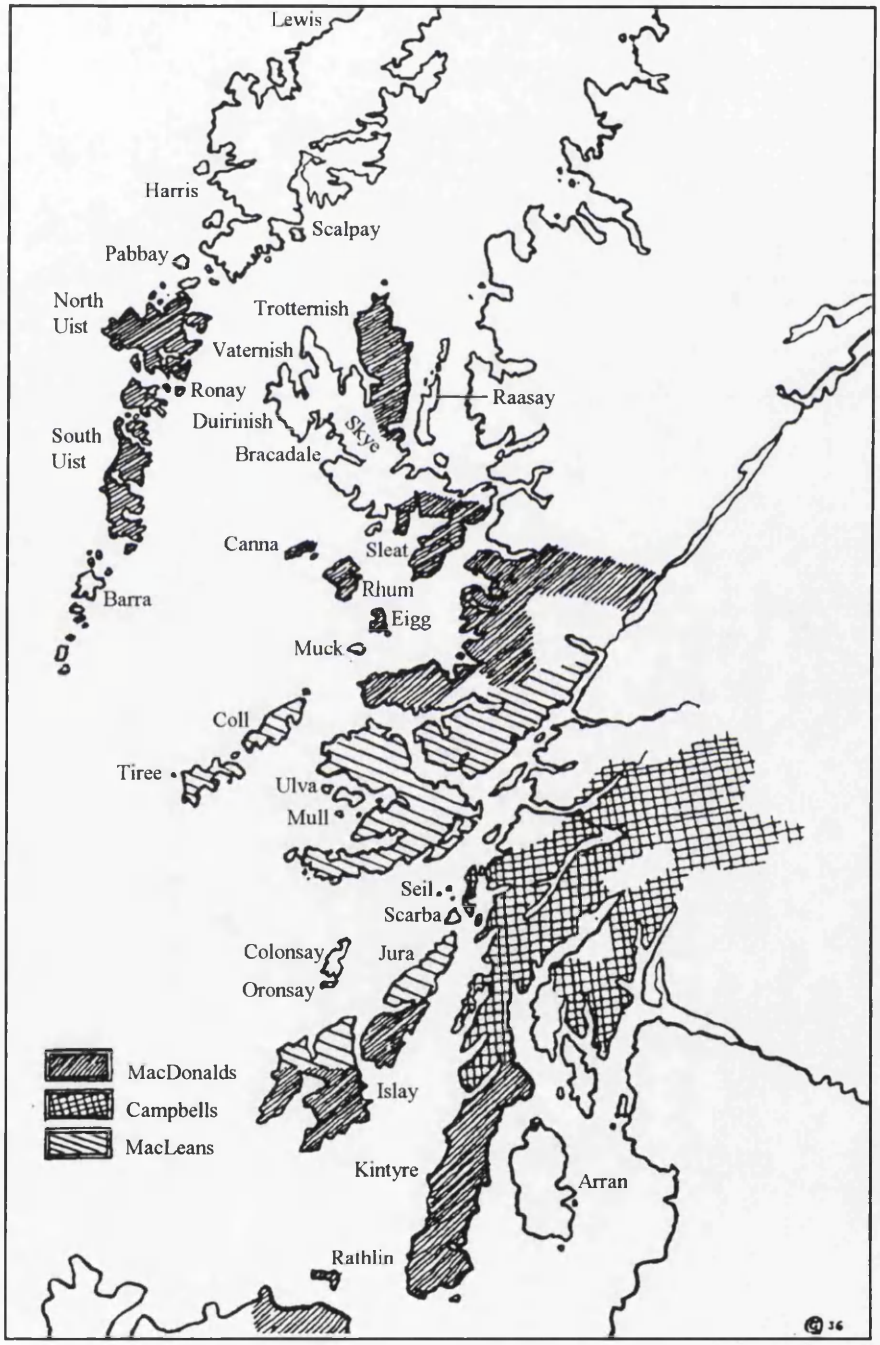
Redshanks are usually distinguished not only from the *gallóglaigh,* whose main weapon was the Lochaber axe (or Danish axe), but also from the Irish *ceatharnaigh* or kern, who were less heavily armed than the former, their main weapon being the dart, which was attached to a thong so that it could be retrieved. *Ceatharnaigh* (one of the meanings is peasantry) generally refers to the native Irish levies rather than mercenaries and were regarded as the lesser soldiers. However, the longstanding nature of the mercenary tradition in Ireland and the interaction of Hebridean mercenaries with the local population from the late thirteenth century, whether *gallóglaigh* or redshank, lead to a certain fluidity of definition among them. Thus, by the sixteenth century, the Fiants or orders for making out Letters Patent, refer to *ceatharnaigh* whose surnames are clear evidence of a Hebridean origin. Similarly, members of the major *gallóglaigh* septs of the MacDonalds and the MacSweeneys were often referred to as *ceatharnaigh* or kern. The situation is complicated, to a certain extent, by the existence of the term *buannadhan* (buonies, bonnotes, bonnachts, bonaghts or bonaghti, in English) which is used in the fairly limited context of the native mercenaries who first made their appearance in Ireland a century after the *gallóglaigh* in a similar capacity to the purely Highland mercenaries, but were not a common feature of military society until the late sixteenth century.[72] It was not until this point that the non-free population were permitted to bear arms which until then had been the duty and privilege of the free, land-owning classes.[73]

In the sixteenth century, there were three main mercenary power-blocks. (See fig. 1.3, Main mercenary groups.) The first was the MacDonalds from Loch Indaal and the Rhinns of Islay, the Pap of Jura and Kintyre, that is, the Clan Donald South.[74] With a base in Kintyre, just 12 miles

from the coast of Antrim, the strength of the MacDonalds was a variable quantity, because as Sir Henry Bagenal in Newry commented in 1586 "they are supplied as need requireth from Scotland, with what numbers they list to call, by making of fires upon certain steep rocks hanging over the sea."[75] This group tended to work with or contract the MacPhees of Colonsay, the MacDonalds of Sanda and Largie, the MacDonalds of Sleat and Clanranald, Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan, the MacAllisters of Loup, MacKays from Kintyre and further north, and the McNeills of Gigha. The second was the Campbells from Argyll. The third was the MacLeans from Ardmanach and Jura, Morvern and Mull, that is, the *Clan Gilleathain.* This group contracted MacQuarries from Ulva, MacNeills from Barra,[76] and the MacKinnons of Strathswordsdale in Skye and Mishnish in the north of Mull.[77] There was also occasional involvement from the MacLeods of Harris and Lewis who both worked with MacDonalds.[78] Clan alliances and feuds had a limiting affect upon the number of mercenaries for hire, because longstanding enemies were unwilling to fight on the same side. The significant patterns which emerge within the development of the above groups from 1560 to 1603 are the extension of MacDonald power in Antrim, the concurrent decline of the Clan Donald South in Scotland, and the expansion of Campbell authority in Argyll. The MacLeans were hostile to the MacDonalds of Dunyveg and the Glens, and were quasi-allies of the Campbells. This fairly diffident alliance between the MacLeans and the Campbells was cemented by two marriages. (See fig. 1.5, Relationships between the Campbells of Argyll and the MacLeans of Duart.) The MacLeans later became subject to the 'hesitant bribery' of the English in the final decade of the century.[79]

The system under which the mercenaries fought was known as *buannacht*, a Norse word. The *buannacht* system evolved to sustain the *gallóglaigh*, and refers to the billeting of hired mercenaries on the people of a Gaelic lordship or *túath.* It had a relationship with *coinnmheadh* or the tribute in entertainment, free board and lodging which the lesser *fine* in the *túath* owed to their *rí* or *uirrí* for the maintenance of their horsemen, their *gallóglaigh* and their *ceatharnaigh.* It was also the method by which the redshanks were maintained. They were kept at *buannacht* in his own lands, so many supported by each *túath,* and also in the *túatha* of his *uirríthe.* For example, each ballybetagh under MacWilliam Burke of Mayo in 1578 provided for the billeting of 13 mercenaries both *gallóglaigh* and redshanks. (See MacWilliam Iochtar in fig. 1.8, Connacht lordships c. 1534.) All those thus supported were referred to as *buannadhan* or billeted men.[80] There was also a distinction between 'bonaght bonny' and 'bonaght beg.' The first was an exaction paid by the Irish for the billeting of the Queen's *gallóglaigh* or kern. 'Bonaght beg' or 'little' *buannacht,* was "a proportion of mony, ratably charged upon every plowland" towards the support of the *buannadhan. Buannacht bárr,* that is, 'on top' or 'additional' *buannacht,* probably represents an extra levy and seems to have involved billeting at discretion.[81]

Fig. 1.3
MAIN MERCENARY GROUPS



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Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy,
Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565-1603),
(Dublin and London, 1937), opp. p. 140.

If operated successfully, it was a system which provided for a permanent force of hired fighting men to defend each lordship without placing undue pressure on the freemen who were at liberty to rise in their own defence. There were variations in its operation from lordship to lordship. Under the Anglo-Norman lords, who combined aspects of the Irish system with concepts of feudalism, *buannacht* was more frequently referred to as 'coigne and livery,' or the entertainment and sustenance of the soldiers and the feeding of their horses.[82] Like all forms of tribute, such a system was open to abuse by unscrupulous or greedy individuals, particularly, according to Sir John Davies (Attorney-General from 1606),[83] who knew Ireland well, by the Anglo-Irish.[84] The English also made use of the *buannacht* system to maintain their own soldiers, and even based the cess for the maintenance of Crown soldiers upon it, but they ultimately aimed to destroy the system because it provided the means for the Irish lords to maintain their military resources to the detriment of the government. By Elizabeth's eleventh statute of 1569 *buannacht* was abolished, being referred to as "that horrible and most detestable coyne and livery, which was the verie nurse and teat that gave suck and nutriment to all disobediencies, enormities, vices, and iniquities of this realm, over foule and filthie here to be expressed."[85]

Scots mercenaries were hired on contract for definite periods of time, on varying financial terms and conditions, but only a little evidence survives which elucidates these contractual arrangements. Contracts were arranged by agents or by exchange of letters. One example survives of an early Gaelic contract and bond made between Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, and the Calbhach O'Donnell of Tirconnell, on 13 July 1555, and confirmed and renewed in 1560, from which date it is extant. It states, in the first instance, that "an caimhnes agas an phairt do bhí eddir an daonibh rompo do bheth ar buil 7 go haithridhe an t-Iarrla sin .l. Mac Cailin do chomhnamh agas do cuideachagh le On Domhnaill fa dhuthaig 7 fa thigerrnas athar 7 shenathar i Dhomhnaill do cur ar laimh" (the friendship and affection that formerly existed among their peoples shall be maintained, and more particularly, that Earl, viz. Mac Cailin, shall with all his strength succour and assist O'Donnell in respect of putting into his possession and under his control and into obedience to him of his own, his father's and his grandfather's land and lordship). Argyll was further to supply O'Donnell with "gunna briste balla do bhrissedh chaslen" (a gun for breaking walls so that he may break castles),[86] because he possessed a strong artillery when large cannon were a rarity in the Highlands. In 1560, the year of the contract's renewal, Argyll also offered 3,000 mercenaries to the English government - twice as many men as they then had in their army in Ireland - an indication of his formidable military power. In total, he was probably able to mobilise 5,000 swordsmen, from his vast territorial holdings, perhaps more. In legitimising his position with the government, Argyll possibly hoped to regulate the trade in mercenaries between the Isles and Ulster and improve his own political position. Yet, though he signed a formal contract with William Cecil, the English secretary, by 19 July 1560, which detailed the terms of his prospective service in Ulster, his services were never called upon.[87] This was a pattern followed by the English throughout the late

sixteenth century in Ireland. The government's dealings with Highlanders were probably designed more to ensure their neutrality than ever to place them in a position of trust.

In return for Argyll's military power and protection, the Calbhach bound himself and his descendants to pay him the sum of 100 English merks or 400 merks Scots "do dhíol na do íocc gach en bliadhna do Maccailin agas do oidhreachaibh agas da shliocht do ghabhas uachtaranacht no tigernas Errghaodheal mur chomhtharrtha umhlacht agas ogláchais agas mur chís bhit(h)-bhuain coidhce o uan Domhnaill 7 ona shliocht do Mhaccailin agas da shliocht" (as a token of submission and service, and as a perpetual tribute for ever from O'Donnell and his descendants to Mac Cailin and his descendants).[88] A similar tribute also seems to have been paid to Argyll by the O'Neills of Tyrone.[89] More interesting was the stipulation that O'Donnell was to maintain "cúig céd buánna" (500 billeted soldiers) whenever Argyll had needed of such service, and moreover, that "sin do bheth fa thoil 7 fa mheacain (?)[90] Mhiccailin faris gach en ní ele ata sa contracta no sa dentur so" (this provision shall be according to the will and pleasure (?) of Mac Cailin over and above every other provision in this Contract or Indenture).[91]

An English translation of an Irish letter from Cúchonnacht Og Maguire of Fermanagh to 'M'Gilasbig M'Agnus Ilay' [Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg] survives in the State Papers, dated June 1593. Maguire stated that there were 'some wars rising upon me' and that his partner in them was Brian Oge O'Rourke, but that he only had two or three weeks left on the contract with his *buannadhan.* He therefore sought 500-600 tall, well-armed men from Dunyveg, stating that: 'I will give you meat, till I entertain yourself and whomsoever else I shall in like sort entertain both for meat and wages. And I do send to you that I do not marvel if I were in distress that you should give your help unto me for a quarter of a year for a little hire. And moreover I think that you shall have better spoils than your wages from me till the end of that three weeks.'[92] Three-month contracts seem to have been the norm.[93]

In 1562, at the beginning of the period under view, a general rate of pay was 8d st. per mercenary per day. In 1575 a statement of "the wages of the Irish men of war" laid down that the *buannacht* or payment of a *gallóglach* and of redshank for a quarter of a year was one beef for his wages, and two for his maintenance. The captain of the *gallóglaigh* or redshanks had a horse and a hackney, and was given six men's allowances for his pay. He was also paid 13 dead pays out of each 100 men to whom he had to advance wages, so that a company of 100 comprised, in effect, only 87 men.[94] According to Sir Nicholas Malby, governor of Connacht, in March 1581, the quarterly wages agreed with the Scots for their service with the Burkes of Mayo were £4,200 sterling. The number of Scots to whom these wages were paid was 600. However, one Edward Whyte further stated in May 1582 that this group of Scots under Alexander MacDonald[95] had been paid in meat, drink and money, and that 'the said Alexander would take up 50 or 60 dead pays of the country

every night.'[96] In 1595, the general rates in Ulster for mercenaries were 10s a quarter in wages for longbowmen or halbertmen, 20s for men with firearms, and aside from this, three 'madders' of butter and six 'madders of oatmeal, and for want of this victual 10s. by the month.' The monthly pay for a man 'that is no shot' was 13s 4d, and for a man with firearms was 16s 8d per month.[97] However, in the same year, Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell sent some wrought silver work to the Hebrides to pay for mercenaries.[98]

Though the mercenaries were also paid in coin[99] it seems, even where wages were quoted, that financial payments were often commuted in kind - particularly into cattle, meal, and butter.[100] It was an extremely lucrative trade of prime economic importance to the Scots,[101] payment of whom detracted from exactions to the English, who in May 1577 complained that the: 'Extortions and ravine of Scots and mercenary hell-hounds kept by rebel lords amount to more than double the composition for cess.'[102] The great Irish lords all possessed thousands of cattle which were a major part of their wealth, and the *creaghts* or droves would often be taken with them when they went to fight or to exact tribute from their *uirríthe.*[103] In 1585, for example, Somhairle Buidhe was said to be "the lord over fifty thousand cows." For security, cows were usually kept in less accessible places. The particular strongholds of the Ulstermen were the crannogs or artificial lakes.[104] For instance, when the government was thinking of spoiling Cúchonnacht Og Maguire in January 1594, who was expecting Scots from James MacSomhairle, they were informed that: 'Their cows are kept most in the islands, and alongst the lough's side [i.e. Lough Erne].'[105] (See fig. I.3, Physical features of Ulster.) Since cattle were used to pay mercenaries, it was a policy of the English, to seize a chieftain's cattle to prevent him doing so. When Richard Bingham, governor of Connacht, proceeded against the Burkes of Mayo in July 1586, he levied forces and "hunted them so from place to place that within the space of three weeks we took from them the number of four or five thousand head of cattle" which were used to defray the cost of the expedition and to pay the Irish kerne with him.[106] Similarly, when the English considered employing Scots against O'Neill in the late 1590s, this was because they were 'inured to the manner of the Irish war, and specially to tread the bog and the bush, would do well, being mingled with English, to destroy their cattle, which would be a good step to their overthrow, being once destitute of their cows.'[107] Sir Ralph Lane was confident in December 1598 that the force in Coleraine would draw the Scots from O'Neill 'for fear of the loss of their cows, which they love as their lives, and far better than him.'[108] The Isle of Rathlin acted as a gathering point for Scottish plunder. John Smith wrote in 1569 that 'Rathlin is the greatest enemy that Ireland hath, it is the only succour of the Scots for thither they bring their spoils out of Ireland, and they keep them until they can well convey them into Scotland.'[109] Thus, the *caoruigheachta* (anglicised keraght, kyrreaght, kirriatt and creaght), the herds of cattle and those in charge of them were an important feature of Irish society.[110] The plundering of cattle or the *creach* or 'creagh' (not to be confused with the 'creaght' above), remained an important part of

warfare in Ireland until the 1640s.[111] Years of dearth and death of cattle, as in 1585-86 meant that Irish lordships were 'not able to bear so many soldiers.'[112]

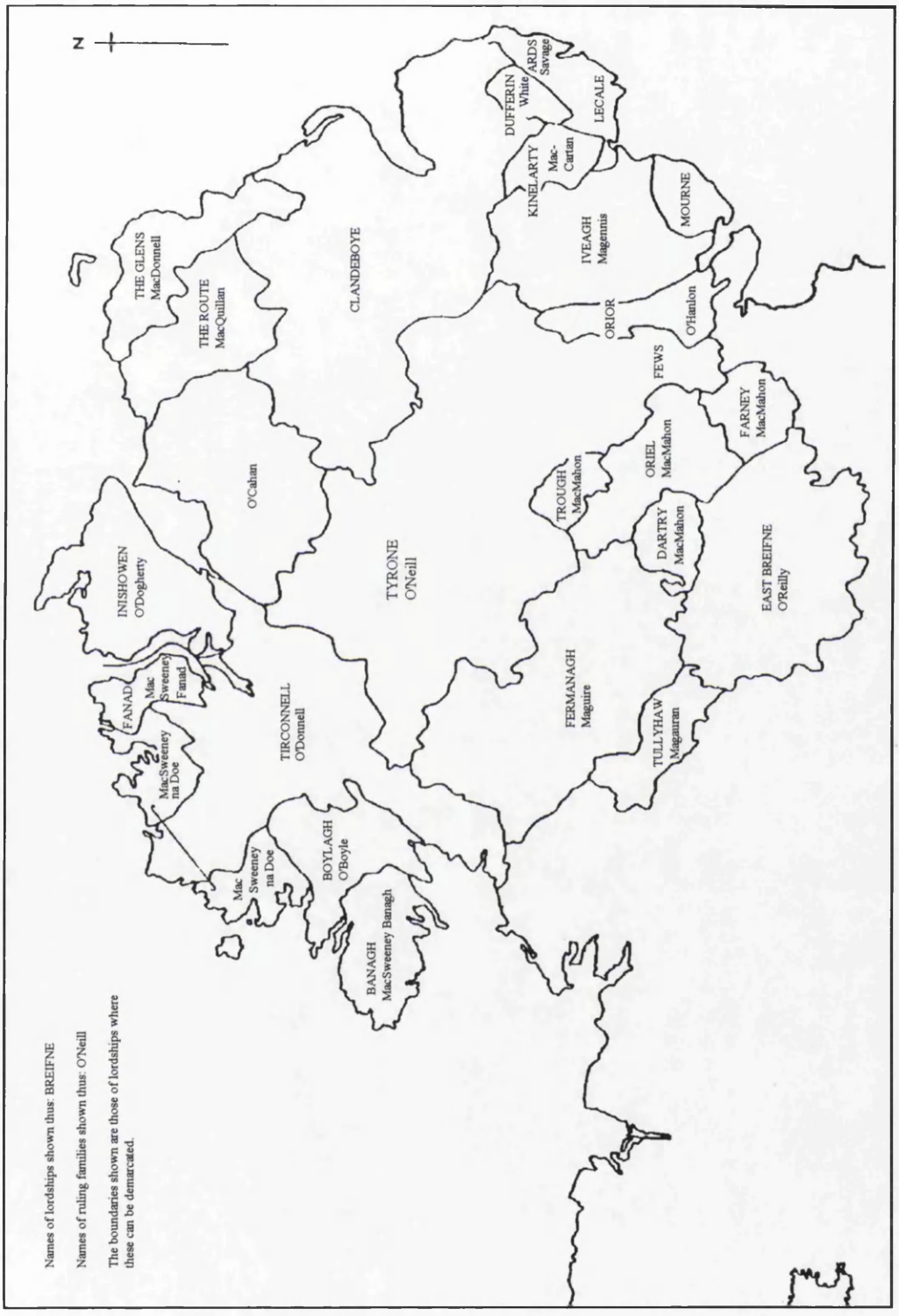
Mercenaries were also provided with gifts pertinent to their task. For instance, twenty-two of the 'great company of Scots' who went to Connacht in July 1582, 'were furnished with a case of pistols or snaphaunces.'[113] Besides this, the Scots also took what they could plunder. In 1593, Captain Nicholas Dawtrey, commander of Knockfergus, divided this aspect of their activity into cattle rustling, the theft of household items and holding important individuals for ransom. When a force of Scots attacked Sir Owen McTool near the Erne, in Connacht, in August 1586, they took from him money, hackneys, shirts of mail and 500-600 cows.[114] On occasion, the Irish attempted legal retribution, as in 1579 when Seán O'Dogherty agreed compensation with the sixth Earl of Argyll for goods stolen by MacLean of Duart. On 27 August 1579 MacLean had bound himself to deliver certain pledges for fulfilling the deliverance and decreet pronounced by Argyll "towart satisfaction of the hershipe done be my freyndis upoun the bounds of schayne odochtrie of Glach in Yreland." On 27 May 1580, Duart bound himself to repay O'Dogherty and to bring a discharge from him to Argyll before 25 December, for which he gave security of lands of the Earl's choice, worth 200 merks duty p.a.[115]

B. The kinship factor in the contracting of mercenaries in Ulster, 1560-1593

The hiring of mercenaries was greatly affected by ties of kinship and relationship. An act of 1557 'against the bringing in of Scots, retaining of them and marrying with them,' had not only forbidden the Irish to marry Scots but prohibited Scots from taking Irish citizenship. Directed against the mercenaries, particularly the MacDonalds, it was an aspect of the Irish government's new aggressive policy of conquest.[116] In May 1573, for instance, Somhairle Buidhe expressed his desire to the Ards colonist, Thomas Smith, to 'have himself and his made denizens by patent, and enjoy the liberties of marriage.'[117] Nonetheless, the marriages of some Ulster chiefs to Scottish women from the main mercenary clans, who acted as their husbands' recruiting agents, brought in large numbers of mercenaries to Ireland.[118]

Seán O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone (Tír Eoghain), or to his own people Seán an Diomuis (Seán the Proud) was a strong Gaelic lord who sought to make the most of his autonomy. (See fig. 1.4, Ulster lordships c. 1534.) According to the contemporary writer John Hooker, chamberlain of Exeter, he "furnished all the peasants and husbandman of his countrie with armour and weapons, and trained them up in the knowledge of the wars." His arming of the 'unfree' tenants was unprecedented in Gaelic Ireland and allowed him to mobilise as many as 5,000 men. He claimed the hegemony of Ulster which had belonged to his ancestors as the rightful kings of Ulster,[119] and

Fig. 1.4



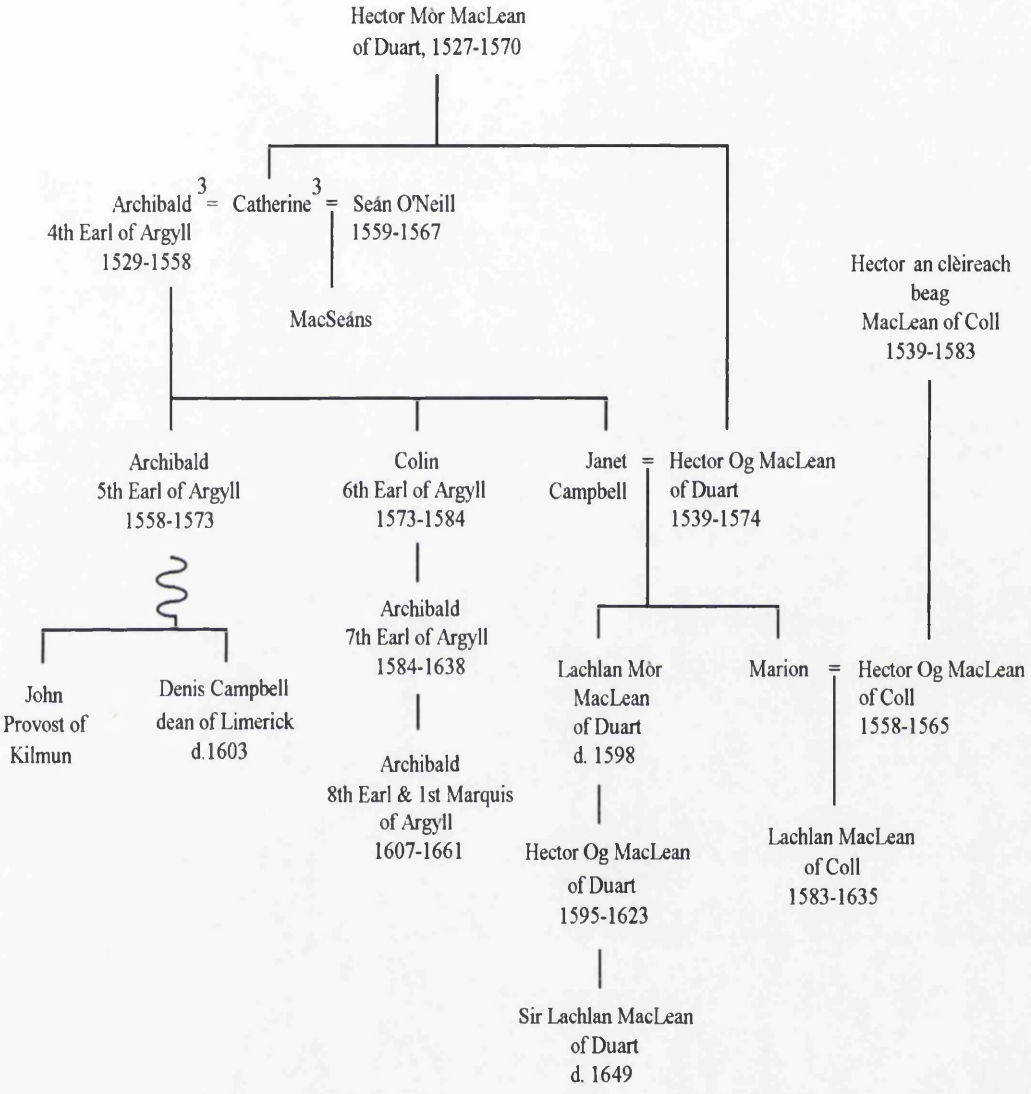
Section reproduced from
T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (editors),
A New History of Ireland, III,
(Oxford, 1976), pp. 2-3.

thus not only represented the most serious opposition to Elizabeth I's policy of subjugation of the native order in Ireland, but was also antagonistic to others who threatened his position in Ulster. This meant not only O'Donnell who had aspirations on Inishowen, but the Bagenals and their claim to Newry, the Earl of Kildare's claims to Dundrum and Lecale, the O'Reillys of Cavan, the Maguires of Fermanagh, and more particularly, the established presence of the MacDonnells in Antrim. Ulster was the main cause of conflict in Ireland in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, and the English dealt with it by stirring the antagonism of O'Donnell and the O'Reillys against Seán, and encouraged the MacDonalds and the Campbells to deny him military support from Scotland.[120]

Although he wished to check the advance of the Scots in Ulster, Seán was also aware of the necessity to intermarry with them to facilitate the import of mercenaries. Like most Gaelic chiefs of the period his marriage and hand-fast relationships were very complicated, because they were entered into to cement a number of political alliances. Marriage customs in Irish and Scottish Gaelic society were very fluid. Dynasts married at an early age and usually at least four times. Concepts of legitimacy were vague and divorce was easy to obtain for both parties. Seán's only purported wife was Catherine MacDonald, an illegitimate daughter of James MacDonald of Dunyveg, by whom he had Henry O'Neill. He sent her home within two years of her coming to live with him, took her back again later, and finally married her some time after they had already had children.[121] By Margaret O'Donnell, he had Seán Oge, the only son of exclusively Irish blood. According to many sources he is said to have imprisoned Catherine MacLean, widowed third Countess of Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll in 1561, who was at the time married to the Calbhach (or Calvagh) O'Donnell whom he had just overthrown. This was perhaps no hardship for the people of Tirconnell because, according to Sir Thomas Cusake, O'Donnell was 'hated by his own for the impolicy of his agreements at his marriage with the Countess of Argyle.'[122] The third daughter of Hector Mòr MacLean[123] (see fig. 1.5, Relationships between the Campbells of Argyll and the MacLeans of Duart), she was, like Lady Agnes Campbell and her daughter Inneen Dubh (who had both spent time at the Scottish Court), a political asset, having been educated in the Court of the Queen Regent. Catherine was "conted very sober, wyse, and no less sotell, beyng not unlernyed in the Latin tong, speckyth good French, and, as is sayd, some lytell Italyone."[124] At the time, Seán was living with the Calbhach's daughter, Margaret.[125] However, given the period of time involved, Catherine MacLean probably left the Calbhach of her own volition. This was a diplomatic embarrassment to her stepson, the fifth Earl of Argyll, who had used the marriage to strengthen the military bond between the Campbells and the O'Donnells.[126] There was probably as little substance to the suggestion that Seán simply held Catherine as long as he thought he might be able to extract a ransom from the MacLeans for her release. The story of her being kept in chains[127] was probably circulated to save the Calbhach's pride who had lost his lands and been forced to acknowledge Seán as overlord, though it does seem to have influenced the name of her first child by O'Neill. As Seán's 'enforced' mistress, Catherine had three sons to him - Hugh

Fig. 1.5

Relationship between the Campbells of Argyll and the MacLeans of Duart



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from Nicholas MacLean-Bristol,
'The MacLeans from 1560-1707:
A re-appraisal,' in Loraine MacLean
of Dochgarroch (editor),
The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands,
(Inverness, 1986), p. 80.

Gavelagh (lit. *Geimhleach,* 'in fetters'), Art and Seán Og.[2] Seán Og also appears to have had a half-brother of the same name who died in 1581. The Scottish connection was further encouraged by the fostering of Hugh Gavelagh with his uncle Lachlan MacLean of Duart by which he was 'civilly brought up and speaketh English after the Scottish manner.' Seán O'Neill's son Brian has also been attributed by some to Catherine MacLean, but considerable doubt has been expressed as to the mother of Con O'Neil, who has been variously attributed to Margaret O'Donnell or Catherine MacLean, but was more probably by a daughter of Seán Og Maguire.[128]

After her husband's death in 1565, Seán proposed to Lady Agnes Campbell. She is said to have offered him her daughter, Catherine MacDonald, instead, by whom he had a son Tirlough.[129] But this was the lady by whom he had already had Henry O'Neill.[130] Seán and Catherine MacDonald also had a daughter whom the dean of Limerick records, in his observations of 1595/6, as marrying MacPhee of Colonsay, whose clan worked as mercenaries with the Clan Donald South. (See fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick 1595/6.) Seán is said to have turned out Catherine MacLean to marry Catherine MacDonald, but the dean of Limerick states that Catherine MacLean did not return to Scotland until Seán died in 1567.[131] MacDonald relations with Seán were poor at this juncture, which may also have been another reason for the prospective marriage to Catherine MacDonald, but in fact, there is considerable doubt as to whether he ever legally married anyone. What is noteworthy is that most of Seán's sons had Scottish mothers, and the reasons for this must have been mainly political because he needed Scottish mercenaries to become powerful enough to be the focal point for native Irish aspirations.[132]

In the two years from 1556 to 1557 Seán O'Neill had assisted James MacDonald, sixth of Dunyveg, against English attempts to check the Scots but in about 1560 the MacDonalds saw the wisdom of protecting their own interests and decided not to aid Seán any further. There was therefore a certain rapprochement between the Scots and the English by which James hoped to be recognised in his claims to the Biséd inheritance, while Seán pursued his offensive against the English in Ulster from 1561.[133] This was also the year in which Mary Stewart returned to Scotland, causing the English to cast a wary eye in that direction, and in 1562, the English signed an agreement with Seán by which he agreed to attack the MacDonald settlement in Ulster. These negotiations are an example of 'the nicely balanced triangular diplomacy of the Isles, Ireland and London, with which product of Tudor Government we shall become quite familiar as the century progresses.' Seán began operations against the Scots in the autumn of 1564, building a fort at Culrath (Coleraine) at the mouth of the Bann, sending over a detachment 'in cots or corricles by two or three at a time, to occupy the monastery of Culrath on the further side of the river, which they defend 24 hours against the Scots,' who 'attacked it like madmen,' and raiding their territory to the east.[134] In 1565, Seán defeated the Scots at Glenshesk in Antrim, "inar thuitsed dias mac Mic Domnaill .i. Sémus ocus Alusdrann uaibhrech" (in which fell MacDonald's two sons, viz., James and Alexander the

Proud), and where he took Somhairle Buidhe and James MacDonald prisoners. The latter died in imprisonment from a head wound, and was succeeded by Archibald MacDonald, seventh of Dunyveg and the Glens. Seán added insult to injury by proposing to jettison Catherine MacLean and marry James MacDonald's widow, but did not get far with the idea, Lady Agnes being 'very desirous of revenge.' Somhairle Buidhe was appointed Tutor during the new chief's minority, but since affairs in Ireland, particularly holding on to the Route, took up his time, his brother Alexander Og assumed the role instead.[135]

Archibald Campbell, fifth Earl of Argyll (1558-73), as a powerful Scottish magnate, with a significant power-base in the west of Scotland, took an increasing interest in Ulster.[136] Between 1560 and 1565 he negotiated with Seán O'Neill and, at the same time, forwarded his letters to Elizabeth. In 1560, O'Neill sent an envoy to solicit the hand of Argyll's stepsister in marriage.[137] However, as Argyll wrote to Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador to Scotland, the request was outrightly refused on account of "the ungodliness of the person and the worthiness of his sister." The only time when he seemed to incline more seriously towards Seán was after Mary Stewart's marriage to Lord Darnley, in July 1565, which adversely affected relations between Scotland and England and provoked fear of a Catholic revival in Scotland. Argyll joined the Earl of Moray's rebellion against Mary, and was forced back to his home territory following the Chaseabout Raid. In offering again to serve Elizabeth in Ireland, Argyll sought to promote Moray's cause, but his lack of success ultimately strengthened his relations with the native Irish. Seán is said to have received 1,000-1,200 men from Argyll and "Maconelles heire" in June 1566 to discuss the MacDonald lands in Antrim. Argyll was also furthering Seán's cause in the Scottish Court. When Somhairle Buidhe arrived on the Antrim coast in November 1567 with 600-700 men, this force also included a good many Campbells.[138]

By 1566, Seán was writing to the French court, soliciting aid to expel the English. While Elizabeth was of the opinion, in January 1567, that "the best way were ... to suffre no Scot to have any habitation or abode in Ireland," the English decided to suffer the Scots 'till the rebel be extirpated' and continued actively to encourage the MacDonalds to cross from Scotland to attack Seán.[139] In May 1567, Somhairle Buidhe and Alexander Og, James MacDonald's brothers, landed with a force. Fighting on a number of fronts, Seán had suffered defeat at the hands of Hugh O'Donnell of Tirconnell, on 8 May, at Farsetmore, and with a great error in judgement, threw himself on the mercy of the Scots at Cushendun. As the Annals put it: "7 bá he fiadhucchadh fuair uatha ... a líoradh go lánathlamh" (and the reception he got from them ... was to mangle him nimbly.)[140] The account of Seán O'Neill's death generally accepted by historians since it appeared first in the preamble to the act which attainted him as a traitor in the parliament of 1569-71 - that he was feasted by the MacDonnells on 2 June who, in a drunken brawl, and with the connivance of William Piers, constable of Carrickfergus, duly slaughtered him - has now been substantially

revised. The only surviving contemporary account, written on 11 June 1567 by Sir William Fitzwilliam, an Englishman of Yorkshire origin who worked as a special messenger to the Irish vice-treasurer, makes no mention of a brawl. On the contrary, in his attempt to secure the MacDonald settlement, it appears that Alexander Og was involved in serious negotiations with Seán. Alexander was also negotiating with the English, and it seems likely, though unproved, that an offer came from Piers which would permit their presence in Antrim if they got rid of O'Neill. The two parties had been unable to come to an agreement on 1 June, so O'Neill returned the next day. "Oneall commynge to the Skotes separatyd hymself with V men from hys stryngthe, and talcked of the matter. ... Allysander Ooge insteede of swyte woordes cout his throte with a skeyne and the V that was wyth hyme went not backe to tell no tales."[141] After their service against Seán, Elizabeth indicated on 6 July that: 'Those Scots who have been in Ireland a long time [were] to be permitted to remain on paying reasonable rents.'[142] Though there were to be many future acts of disobedience by the MacDonalds against the government, the pressures on them by O'Neill and O'Donnell were largely responsible for their constant negotations with Dublin to maintain their position, ultimately contributing to their survival in Ulster, in the next century, as Catholic loyalists.[143]

Seán's tanist and successor, his cousin Turlough Luineach O'Neill,[144] also aimed to advance the O'Neills' supremacy in Ulster. The English took exception to his 'insolence in terming himself a prince,' but he was a weaker ruler than his predecessor, and initially submitted to the Queen's deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, on 18 June 1567, promising not to hire any Scots mercenaries - a promise soon broken. With Seán out of the way, the English turned their attention to ways of removing the Scots from Antrim, the mercenaries more particularly than the settlers.[145] They were assisted by the feud between the Clan Donald South and the MacLeans of Duart over possession of the Rhinns of Islay which put pressure on the MacDonalds in western Scotland. When the country as a whole was occupied by events leading to the downfall of Queen Mary, Hector MacLean of Duart invaded Gigha, an island in the jointure lands of James MacDonald's widow, Lady Agnes.[146]

Turlough Luineach decided to embark upon an offensive against the English in late 1567, and for himself and Hugh Manus O'Donnell of Tirconnell sent the bards "Ferdoragh M'Ananney and Ferrall M'Evye," in November 1567, in search of matrimonial alliances to Scotland. The English feared their combination. He also sent his son, Alexander Galte O'Neill, 'a Scot Born,' to treat with Somhairle Buidhe.[147] Turlough Luineach received permission from Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll to marry the much-solicited Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of Colin, third Earl of Argyll, on 18 January 1568 when M'Ananney returned, and must therefore have been more impressed with the new O'Neill than the old. Though originally planned for April 1568, the marriage did not take place until August 1569, among two weeks of festivities in Rathlin, a delay caused by Mary's escape from captivity and her defeat at Langside in May 1568. (Argyll by this time supported the

Queen.)[148] The alliance was further cemented by the marriage of Turlough Luineach's eldest son, Henry, to Lady Agnes's third daughter. It was a tactical move on both sides - an unromantic match between an elderly Irish chieftain and a middle-aged, now thrice-married Scots widow[149] - and because of that relations were often strained. (For Lady Agnes's [or Anne Campbell's] two previous marriages, see fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick's report 1595/6.) During her second marriage to James MacDonald, Lady Agnes had been known in the Irish Annals as Lady Kintyre and though this was still used, she was sometimes now Lady Tyrone. Captain William Piers of Carrickfergus referred to her in 1574 as "a great practiser for the bringing of that part of the realm [Ulster] to be Scottish."[150]

By the marriage, Turlough got as many mercenaries as he could handle at good rates, which enabled him to maintain his position as foremost ruler in Ulster, because Lady Agnes' marriage dowry consisted of over 1,000 fighting Scots, 400-500 Campbells and 700 MacDonalds, since she was connected with both families. However, it was Campbells who comprised Turlough's bodyguard. As Terence Danyell put it in March 1569: 'A lady cometh to him out of Scotland with power.' By September Turlough Luineach commanded some 3,000 Scots, as well as Irish.[151] Much later in May 1587, the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, was still commenting that she was "a great bringer in of Scots." Turlough's secretary at that time was also a Scot by the name of Davies Omey (probably from Kintyre according to the name evidence), that 'writeth for him, and keepeth his seal.' For the MacDonalds the marriage was a subtle way round the agreement that they had made with Elizabeth not to interfere in her schemes to plant north-east Antrim by asserting any territorial rights there. The marriage enabled them to keep a military force in Ireland under O'Neill, and was thus an insurance policy for their Antrim settlement.[152] As the Lord Deputy wrote to Cecil on 12 November 1568: 'James M'Donnell's widow is willing to match with an Irishman at the Queen's appointment, if she and hers may enjoy the inheritance that her husband and her ancestors have possessed in Ireland for seven generations; if not, as long as any of the Clandonnells live, they will not cease the prosecution of their title.'[153] However, the extent of Argyll's involvement in cementing the marriage as part of his overall political strategy has, perhaps, been underestimated.[154] From his point of view, an alliance with O'Neill and the presence of Campbells in Tyrone, kept the MacDonalds in check.[155] When in Ireland, Lady Agnes lived with Turlough in his residence at Strabane, and "drew great repair of Scottishmen thither insomuch as at this present [1598] there are above 3 or four Score Scottish Families inhabitting there."[156] This nucleus proved very beneficial to Hugh O'Neill, for the merchants John Bath and the Wilson brothers who organised O'Neill's munitions supply from Glasgow during the Ulster rebellion, were all based in Strabane.[157]

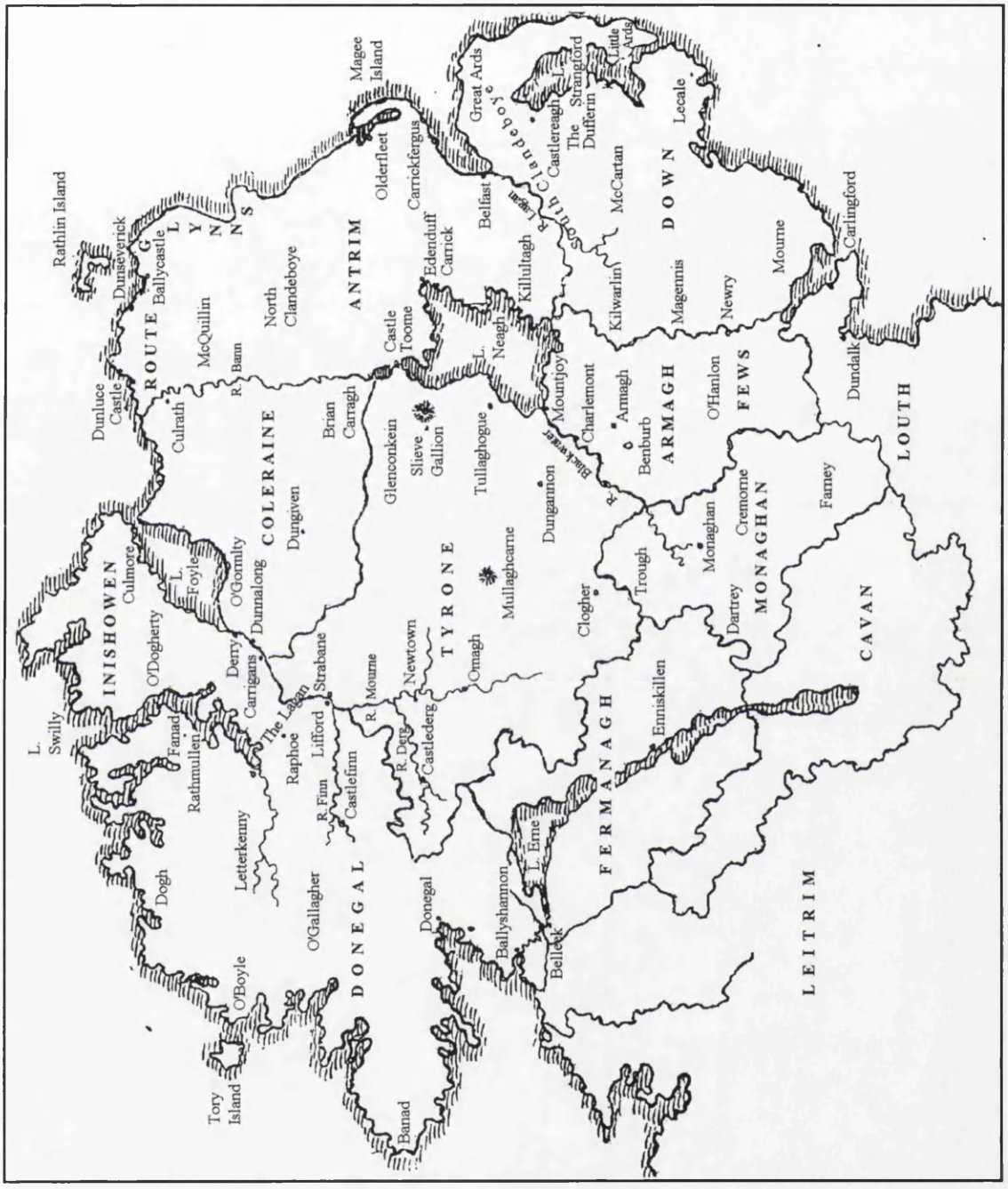
The young Hugh Manus O'Donnell of Tirconnell (see fig. 1.4, Ulster lordships c. 1534.) had also tried for Lady Agnes's hand in marriage but she declined and at about the same time, he married

her daughter, Fionnghuala MacDonald, instead, who was better known as Inneen Dubh, (lit. *inghean dubh* or *an nighean dubh,* 'the dark daughter.') This match was also negotiated with Argyll who had provided Campbell mercenaries among the dowries of both Inneen Dubh and his aunt. Between Inneen Dubh in Tirconnell, her mother in Tyrone and her brother, Somhairle Buidhe, in Antrim, the MacDonalds of Dunyveg and the Glens were well represented across the whole of the north of Ireland. As Sir Nicholas Malby put it to Walsingham in August 1580: 'His [Turlough Luineach's] wife, his daughter and Sorley Boy M'Donnell, make a new Scotland of Ulster.'[158] Somhairle Buidhe clearly hoped that this native Irish coalition would occupy the English while he continued his expansion west into the Route. Great numbers of mercenaries later came to Ireland through Inneen Dubh, to serve her eldest son, Hugh Ruadh (or Roe) O'Donnell, whom she is said to have imbued with a hatred of the English. She is regarded as the most prominent female figure in the history of late sixteenth-century Ulster, and her prime aim was to secure the chieftaincy of the country for Hugh Ruadh. To this end she seems to have eliminated two half-brothers, and probably persuaded her husband to abdicate in his favour.[159]

English policy of the period was exercised in two directions. First, they continued their main policy of offsetting one chieftain against another to their own advantage. For example, in October 1570, Elizabeth's displeasure was incurred by Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll when he sent 700 men to the Irish rebels, under his natural son, John Campbell, Provost of Kilmun, (elder brother of the dean of Limerick). She retaliated by arranging for a messenger to be sent from the Lord Deputy to Donald Gormeson of Sleat requesting Skye mercenaries for English service, and though she seems not to have hired them, the contact in itself is significant.[160] Second, the idea of accelerating and consolidating the English conquest of Ireland by the establishment of loyalist colonies in Ulster, in an extension of the Pale northwards, gained popularity. The area particularly targeted was the hinterland of Carrickfergus (see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster) in order to contain the increasing number of Scots in the north,[161] who in 1571 were said to 'build, manure the ground, and settle, as though they should never be removed.' The Dufferin and the Ards were also replenished with Scots.[162] There were two noteworthy attempts at colonisation. In 1571, Sir Thomas Smith, classical scholar and English office-holder, secured a grant of the area from the Ards peninsula to Lough Neagh, in the lordship of the O'Neills of Clandeboye, which he was to hold as Crown tenant. He told the Lord Deputy in November 1572 that the colonies were 'not intended to destroy the Irish race, but to teach them virtuous labour "and to leave robbying and stealyng and killyng one of another." ' One hundred settlers were introduced into the Ards in August 1572, but the plantation failed miserably by 1574. In 1572, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had also received a grant, technically of nearly all of Antrim except the area around Carrickfergus, to the detriment of the MacDonalds, the MacQuillans and the O'Neills.[163] (For these two plantations, see fig. 1.7, Tudor plantations.) Disgruntled at the prospective plantation,

Fig. 1.6

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ULSTER



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Lord Ernest Hamilton,
Elizabethan Ulster,
(London, 1919), opposite title page.

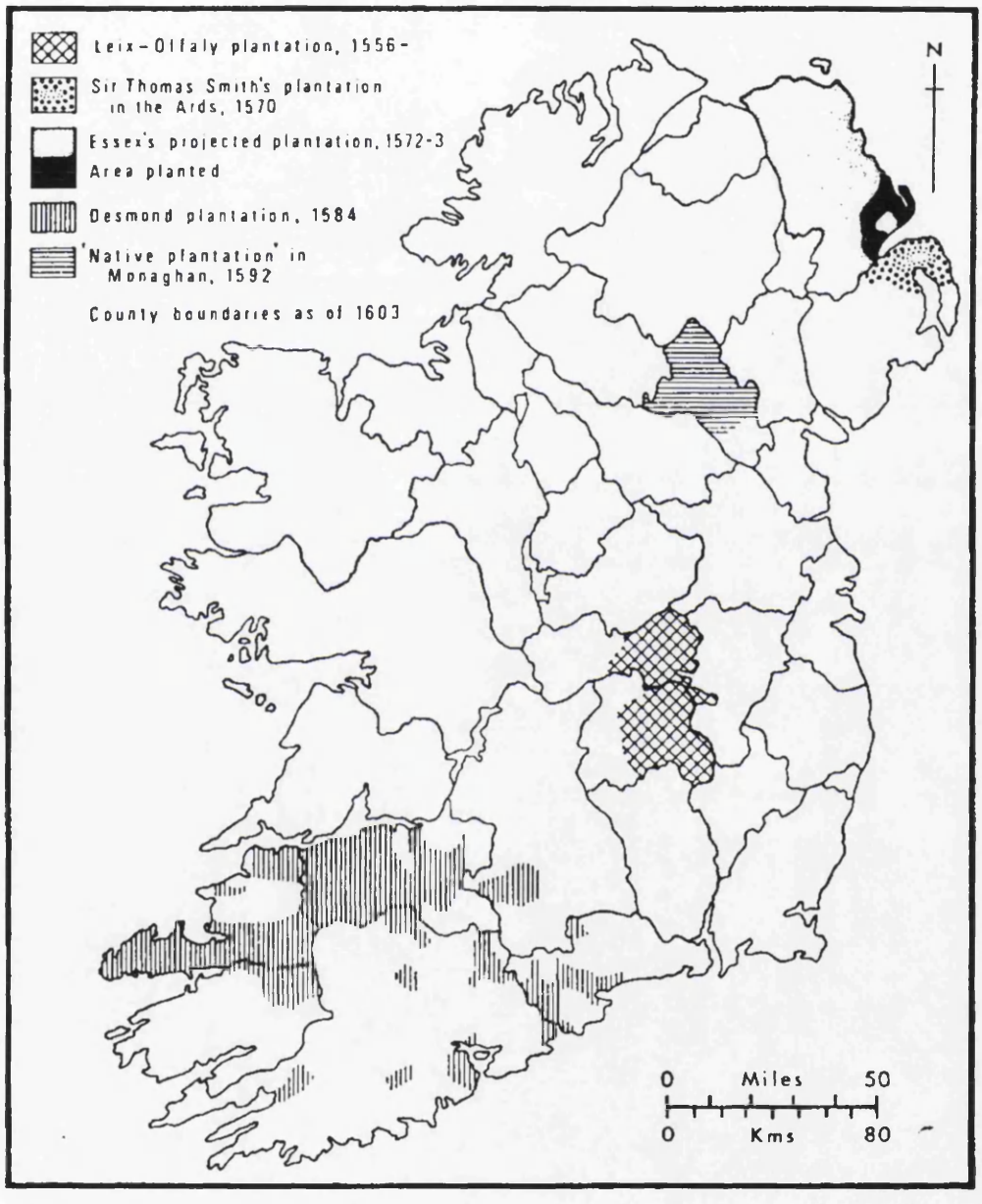
the Gaelic lords united under Turlough Luineach who, in association with O'Donnell and Sir Brian MacPhelim O'Neill of Clandeboye, (see fig. 1.4, Ulster lordships c. 1534) and with 4,000 men, including Scots mercenaries, engaged in skirmishing with the English on the Leinster border near Newry in April 1573. The force was pushed back over the Bann out of Antrim when the Earl of Essex arrived in August to plant English settlers. On 10 September 1573, he stated to the Privy Council that he had 'given to the Irishry all the Scots' harvest.' Yet, even though he was backed by a force of 1,200 English soldiers, Essex's scheme was also a failure and was rounded off with acts of gratuitious violence.[164]

Two hundred of Brian MacPhelim of Clandeboye's party were killed by the English when they assembled to hold negotiations in Belfast in October 1574. In an attempt to secure Rathlin against the Scots whose power he was determined to break, Essex also carried out a massacre on the island in July 1575, sending 300 soldiers under the command of John Norris and Francis Drake who killed some 600 Scots women and children and burned 11 galleys. He had clearly changed his opinion from the previous month when, on 1 June, he had stated in a despatch to the Privy Council that he found the 'Scots more inclinable to civility than the Irish.' Somhairle Buidhe undertook a revenge attack on Carrickfergus, and overthrew the garrison.[165] According to Essex's letter describing the annihilation to Sir Francis Walsingham, the English Secretary, Somhairle Buidhe was distraught:

> I do now understand this day by a spy coming from Sorley Boy's camp, that upon my late journey made against him he then put most of his plate, most of his children and the children of most part of the gentlemen with him, and their wives, into the Raghlins, with all his pledges [hostages], which be all taken and executed, as the spy sayeth, and in all to the number of six hundred. Sorley then stood also upon the mainland of the Glynns and saw the taking of the island and was like to run made with sorrow, tearing and tormenting himself, saying that he then lost all that he ever had.[166]

Since most of the Gaelic-speaking inhabitants were massacred at this time, it has been concluded that the dialect which existed on the island in the early twentieth century must have derived from the settlers who came there after this. However, the dating of this seems a simplification of the issue on a number of counts. First, Rathlin continued to be used as a base by the MacDonalds after this date, and since they could easily draft in mercenary reinforcements from Kintyre, so it is likely that they quickly re-settled Rathlin. Second, there was another massacre of MacDonalds/MacDonnells on Rathlin by the Campbells in 1642, after which there must also have been substantial resettlement.[167] Of greater signifance, perhaps, are the conclusions based on the family name evidence of the island. The most common names on Rathlin early this century - McCurdy, MacQuaig and MacKay - indicate that whenever the settlement or re-settlement of the island occurred, that many of the settlers derived from Arran, Bute and Kintyre.[168]

Fig. 1.7
TUDOR PLANTATIONS



Reproduced from
T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (editors),
A New History of Ireland, III,
(Oxford, 1976), p. 77.

Government policy in Ulster was marked from the 1570s to the 1580s by its attempts to restrain Turlough Luineach, as the most prominent independent chieftain in Ulster, from undue exercise of authority over his *uirríthe.* This also required them to check the forces of Scots which he employed to assist him. The kaleidoscope of interaction of the Irish lords, the English and the Scots continually changed its patterns, no one being powerful enough yet to execute a permanent settlement in Ulster. The changeable nature of the relationship between them is apparent in Turlough Luineach's move against Somhairle Buidhe in the summer of 1577, when he killed one of Somhairle's sons and his brother, but by the spring of 1579 Turlough's daughter was married to Somhairle's son.[169] In the summer of 1580, Turlough assembled 7,000 men - about 2,000 Scots and his own risings out - within six days, which probably incorporated the largest force of Scots in the country since he had married in 1569, and he was also in touch with rebels in Leinster and Munster, but he made no move against the English. However, he also undertook the distribution of Scots further afield, to O'Rourke in Connacht, for example, when a force came to Ulster in January 1581. This relieved him from their maintenance. For their part, the English pursued a policy of periodically assisting the Irish against the Scots, as they did for example in the spring of 1583 when they sent 200 soldiers to MacQuillan.[170]

After the slaughter of the Earl of Kerry by the English in late 1583, and the pacification of Munster, Sir John Perrot, the new Lord Deputy, was perturbed by Ulster, which was still a haven of Gaelic independence open to intervention from the Scots. He planned to garrison forts at Coleraine, Lifford and Ballyshannon (see fig. 1.10, The Ulster rebellion, 1594-1603), which he hoped would hold the Scots in north-east Ulster, and make it more difficult for them to supply the rest of Ulster and Connacht with mercenaries. Perrot considered the Scots the main problem, but nonetheless had been content to 'look through his fingers at Ulster as a fit receptacle for all the savage beasts of the land.' However, when they became particularly active in 1584 and 1585, he moved against them. The Scots' activity at this time had two main thrusts, that of the MacLeans and the MacDonalds, both pursued through mercenary service. In August 1584, a force of some 2,000 MacLeans arrived in Tirconnell and plundered MacSweeney's country "and have left not a cow," after which they planned to set up one of Seán O'Neill's sons as O'Neill. (See MacSweeney na Doe in fig. 1.4, Ulster Lordships c. 1534.) They brought with them "200 inland trained men in the service of the Low Countries."[171] There were at least seven and probably more sons of Seán O'Neill[172] of whom only his son by Catherine MacDonald was legitimate, three of whom were by Catherine MacLean, and 'all save one of Scottish race.' According to Sir Nicholas Malby, writing on 13 May 1583, they were "the most venemous and most hateful persons of this land to the State."[173] Therefore, the MacLeans of Duart supported the MacSeáns in their attempt to wrest the O'Neillship from Turlough Luineach and Hugh O'Neill. The MacSeáns, in turn, also became involved in the MacLean-MacDonald feud over the Rhinns of Islay, and in the animosity between the MacDonalds and the Campbells in Scotland. Perrot decided to mount an expedition against the

4,000 Scots whom he believed were in Ulster in August, and marched into the district of the river Bann. Though some of Turlough Luineach's *uirríthe* joined the Scots, Turlough stood by the English and Sir Richard Bingham who had become governor in Connacht on Malby's death in June 1584 brought his troops to the Ulster border at the river Erne. It was the largest scale attack made on the Scots since the time of Seán O'Neill. The MacLeans were warned off, returning to Scotland from Loch Foyle.[174]

The MacDonalds continued to press their interests in north Antrim and the Route. Taking Dunluce Castle from them, in September 1584, which was allegedly held for James VI,[175] Perrot attempted to persuade Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg's brother, Donald Gorm MacDonald, to the English interest in October, in return for title to the Glens. He failed. In November, Donald Gorm fought with English troops in the Glens with heavy losses on both sides, and the Scots in Antrim combined to expel those of Irish birth from amongst them. Perrot thought, as had various deputies since the time of Queen Mary, that the young James VI was encouraging the Islanders to cross to Ireland. The mercenary situation was also complicated by the intrigues around the Catholic League and the Duke of Guise's intrigue for Mary Stewart, as well as the dissensions in the Kirk surrounding the banishment of the Earls of Angus, Mar and others. Yet, though James recalled James MacDonald of Dunyveg from Ireland by a proclamation issued under the Signet, on 10 February 1585, when he came to Edinburgh in late April, he was well received. At this point, James tended to turn a blind eye to mercenary service in Ireland, but by the end of the century, when he hoped to succeed to the throne of England, he sought to curtail it.[176]

1586 was a singularly bad year for the Scots. They not only endured a massacre at Ardnarea (Ardnaree or Ardnary)[177] but the death of Alexander MacSomhairle and 60 of his 500-strong force, at the hands of a far smaller English band led by Captains Merriman and Price on 18 March. "Alexander M'Sorley, son of Sorley Boy M'Donnell, having received many wounds, swam over to Allonge for refuge. His quick corpse found in a deep grave covered with green rushes, and on every side six old calliox [old women] weeping." Alexander was beheaded, along with his kinsman "M'Donnell Vallough," and his head put on the battlements of Dublin Castle. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, then Irish Secretary of State, commented that, in this way, the Lord Deputy hoped (naively) to end the conflict with the Scots, "as though by this blow hidra's head were seared up, and no others remaining as bad as they to rise in their places."[178] It was probably as a retort to this that, on seeing his son's head when he went to Dublin to make a submission, Somhairle Buidhe commented: "My son has many heads!"[179] More positively, in an indenture of 19 May 1586, between Angus MacDonald and the Lord Deputy and Irish Council, MacDonald undertook to hold the Antrim Glens from Elizabeth, except the castle of Olderfleet which belonged to the Queen. According to the conditions by which Angus held it, he was not to serve a foreign power, he was to try to prevent Scots from disturbing the peace, and he was to subscribe a list of his followers and

give it to the marshal of the Queen's garrisons in Ireland. One of the conditions, inevitably broken, was that "neither he nor his said heirs shall keep or retain any Scots above the number of thirty within this realm, other than be the natives of Ireland without license of the Governor of the realm for the time being."[180] On 14 June 1586, Somhairle Buidhe submitted to Lord Deputy Perrot, and on 18 June 1586, was pardoned and granted Irish citizenship by letters patent because, since he "hath no interest in any lands in Scotland or the Out Isles, he is the fitter to be accepted." He was also confirmed in his *de facto* control of the Route, "the twoghe from the Boys [Bush] to the Bann,"[181] and was to hold the Glens from Angus MacDonald, "paying some reasonable rent yearly" and according to the same conditions. (For the rivers Bush and Bann, see fig. 1.2, The Glens and the Route of Antrim.) More reasonably, Somhairle and the chief between them were not permitted to bring in "above 200 Scots of the Mainland, or Out Isles, to inhabit in the aforesaid countries, unto them granted and those to be such as have no lands in Scotland, or the Isles."[182]

With its authority fairly well asserted in Connacht and Munster, the government proceeded with its reduction of Ulster. Having helped Perrot in Ulster, Hugh O'Neill, baron of Dungannon, was created second Earl of Tyrone in 1585. The settlement of 1587, between the two rival O'Neills, Turlough Luineach and Hugh, by which Turlough was to possess north Tyrone and Hugh the south, aimed at bringing peace to Tyrone. However, this equilibrium was constantly threatened by the mercenary activity of the MacDonalds and the MacSeáns. Hugh O'Neill objected to Turlough gaining possession of the lands between the mountain of Malligore and the Blackwater, which the Crown had previously leased to him, because he would then 'have that part next the Scots, whereby he may more suddenly and speedily procure their repair thither from time to time, to the great endangering and overthrow of the said Earl and country.'[183] The Earl of Tyrone also intrigued in the Isles to further his own ends, sending 40 shot to Neece MacJames, or Angus, son of James MacDonald, to help him against MacLean in August 1587. In December he had messengers with MacDonald of Dunyveg, though he was bound by the terms of his tenure not to hire Scots.[184]

The Spanish Armada impinged upon Irish and Scottish Gael alike, in September 1588, only by shipwrecks on both of their coasts and not by invasion. In Ireland, the Spaniards were only assisted in the disaffected areas of north Connacht and in Ulster. A substantial number of them landed in Tirconnell and were entertained by the MacSweeneys, the Irish Council fearing, groundlessly, that Hugh O'Neill, whose thoughts of expansion in Ulster were just visible, would combine with them. Inneen Dubh threatened to hire them 'to stir up wars' unless the English released her son from imprisonment. Lachlan MacLean of Duart also employed some Spaniards wrecked off Mull in his feud against MacDonald of Dunyveg. According to the English espionage system, the Spaniards had been drawn to the Isles at the request of Seán Og MacSeán O'Neill 'who lieth there hurt, and intendeth presently upon his recovery to assault the Earl of Tyrone with all the force which he, by any means, may or can get.' In 1589, MacLean's kinsman, Hugh Gavelagh O'Neill, renewed the

attempts of the MacSeáns to take over power in Tyrone, where they contested against both Turlough Luineach and Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, though there was some rapprochement between Turlough and the MacSeáns because of controversy with O'Neill over the division of Tyrone. In Tirconnell, there was internal dissension among the O'Neills following the death of the Calbhach. Hugh Manus, husband of Inneen Dubh, was opposed by Con, the son of the Calbhach and was supported in his claim by Turlough Luineach. By February 1589, Inneen Dubh was in Scotland to arrange mercenary assistance, and it was probably only the imprisonment of her eldest son, Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell, in Dublin as a hostage which restrained the O'Donnells from rebellion. Towards the end of 1589, Hugh Gavelagh was captured by a natural son of Maguire's and sold into the hands of Hugh O'Neill. He was hanged at Dungannon, in spite of attempts at negotiation by the MacSeáns, Hugh's father's fosters the Donnelaughs, the Lord Chancellor Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and later from the Lord Deputy.[185] This, as one Englishman commented in 1598, "was the cause of the great hatred between Tyrone and McSleyne[186] in Scotland, Hugh's Mother being McCleynes Father's Sister."[187] Though by the beginning of the last decade of the sixteenth century, the threat from Scotland was reduced, the internecine power struggle between the Ulster chieftains made ultimate English dominance of the area a likelihood.[188]

In 1590, the situation in Ulster began to seriously impinge upon the Dublin government. In January, Somhairle Buidhe died and was succeeded by his third son, James MacSomhairle. According to the English in 1592, James 'having had an Irish woman to his mother, one of the O'Neills, the sister of the late Shane O'Neill, thinketh himself no such stranger as his father was, and therefore hopeth to be regarded with some more favour, and desireth to have this land [the Route] confirmed unto him and his heirs from Her Majesty by letters patent.'[189] (See fig. 11.1, Genealogy of the MacDonnells of Antrim.) The Scots in the Glens under Randal MacNeece (Dunyveg's son) also 'came very dutifully' to the government. However, the other Irish were less submissive. After a failed attempt by Campbell of Cawdor in November 1591 to liberate him by substituting different hostages, on Christmas night 1591, Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell escaped from Dublin Castle, losing several toes and one of his fellow escapees to frostbite.[190] In May, his father surrendered the chiefship to him, but the government doubted his loyalty. They also expressed concern that 'the chief lords and commanders of Ulster are either des[cended from Scottish] mothers, or are mere Scottish, or allied,' and that all were 'superstitious Papists.'[191] In June 1593 an English lieutenant serving in a band of foot under Hugh O'Neill deponed that he was 'a bad man, and is drawing Scottis unto him, which may do hurt in the country.' When Turlough Luineach resigned in the following year, Hugh O'Neill became effective ruler of all Tyrone. His ultimate aims were clear by this time, for he allowed two of his captains to remain at *buannacht* in Fermanagh with 100 men and to aid Maguire in his attack on English garrisons in Monaghan. Ultimately, when Turlough died in 1595, he became the O'Neill. By 1593, a new balance of power was established and Ulster was steadily unifying against the encroachments of the English.[192]

C. Scots mercenary involvement in Connacht

Though they generally landed in Ulster, Scots mercenaries went from there to both Connacht and Munster. Considerable numbers of them had been employed by the Burkes of Clanricarde and Mayo in the 1550s to counter the government's attempts to bring the province under English rule, and they continued to supply the rebellious uprisings of the Connacht lords into the 1580s. The first President of Connacht, Sir Edward Fitton, was appointed in 1569. In the following year, when Seán MacOliverus Burke contested the headship of MacWilliam, or leadership of the Mayo Burkes, with Richard, Earl of Clanricarde, who had been MacWilliam since 1558 (i.e. MacWilliam Iochtar v. MacWilliam Uachtar, see fig. 1.8, Connacht lordships c. 1534), he outlined the problems and necessity of keeping Scots for their defence:

> If we stand out altogether and maintain Scots for our defence, I see the destruction of the country; again, if I shall take upon me the name of MacWilliam, I shall be driven for maintenance thereof to spoil it myself, and if we shall submit ourselves to the English nation, they will be as burdensome as either MacWilliam or Scots.[193]

When Seán MacOliverus and the Mayo Burkes fought against Fitton and the Earl of Clanricarde at the battle of Shrule in June 1570, he not only had *gallóglaigh* but Scots mercenaries in his forces. When Seán became MacWilliam in early 1571, he continued to hire Scots. Rebellion subsequently broke out in Connacht, first in Mayo, but then in Galway in the Earl of Clanricarde's territory. (For Mayo and Galway, see fig. 1.9, The Counties and Baronies of Connacht.) In March 1571, Fitton reported that O'Connor Don, O'Connor Roe and some Scots had burnt Connor Oge O'Kelly's country.[194] The Burkes employed some of the 1,600 Scots who came into Connacht to maintain their defence. The situation was complicated by the presence of James Fitzmaurice, a Munster rebel, whose main aim was to secure Scots mercenaries for his own use. He managed to persuade 1,000 Scots and the Earl of Clanricarde's sons, John and Ulick Burke to go to Munster with him in August 1572, but the Scots were clearly not keen to go and most returned with the Burkes to Connacht, thus contributing to Fitzmaurice's defeat. By 1573, Scots mercenaries were in Connacht in larger numbers than they had ever been before, and the government was seriously perturbed.[195] The Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, was warned:

> to withstand the incursions of the Scots, who have so of late entered into that realm throughout and by the said north parts of Ulster, by invading and over-running of Connaught, entering into Munster, and spoiling some part on the east side of the Shenon, as the like hath not been seen in any like time, nor may not be suffered.[196]

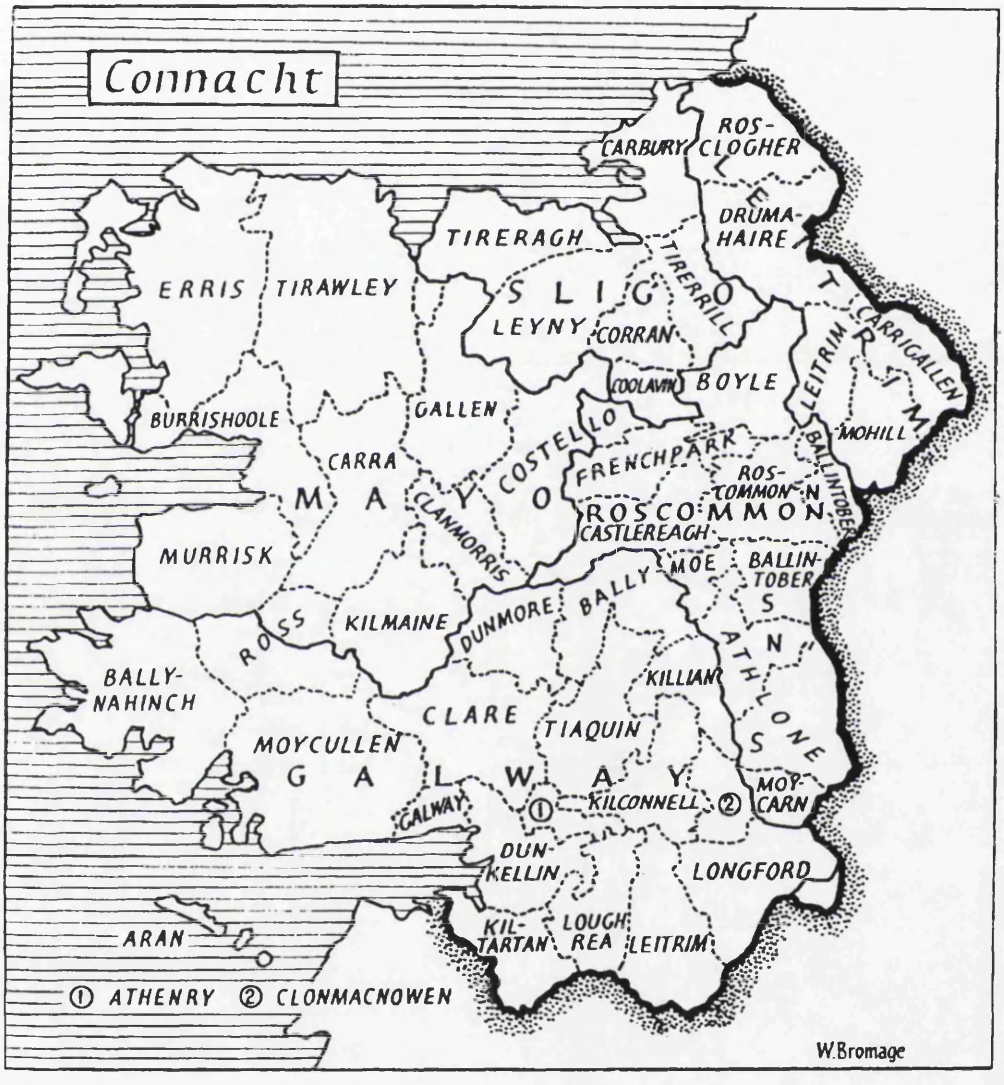
Fig. 1.8
CONNACHT LORDSHIPS c. 1534

Section reproduced from
T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (editors),
A New History of Ireland, III,
(Oxford, 1976), pp. 2-3.

In 1574, William Mullaly, archbishop of Tuam (1572-1595) and Roland de Burgh[197] (1534-1580), bishop of Clonfert complained to Fitton that they could not 'pass through to Athlone on account of the number of Scots' and asked that a ship be sent to Clonfert to transport them by water.[198] (See fig. 5.1, Church of Ireland dioceses c. 1570.) Scots mercenary activity in Connacht and Munster continued to increase after 1575, and these provinces commanded more government attention than Ulster. In Connacht, the presidents' attempts to implement local administration were opposed by the Earl of Clanricarde who felt his position to be threatened. Though the Earl of Clanricarde's sons, the 'Mac an Iarla' half-brothers, had submitted in 1574 and 1576, they soon rebelled again, and assisted by Scots took Claregalway Castle in June 1576 and raided Athenry, but were repulsed from Loughrea. (See fig. 1.9, The Counties and Baronies of Connacht.) With the appearance of Sir Henry Sidney, the next Lord Deputy, in the province, rebellion was checked, but there were up to 2,000 Scots in it by that time. Sidney completed the county division of Connacht, appointed sheriffs in Clare and Mayo, and made MacWilliam, O'Flaherty of Iar Connacht and O'Connor of Sligo seneschals of their old lordships. (See figs. 1.9 and 1.8, The Counties and Baronies of Connacht, and Connacht lordships c. 1534.) Galway and Mayo surrendered in 1576 and the MacDonald *gallóglaigh* of Mayo were henceforth to be billeted as the Queen's *gallóglaigh,* but they rebelled again shortly afterwards, turning against the MacWilliam who had submitted to the Queen and who tried to expel the Scots from Connacht. Most of the Scots with the Earl of Clanricarde's sons returned to the Route in Antrim when Sidney advanced from Galway to Mayo in September 1576. The MacWilliam chased the remainder from the province near Castlebar.[199]

In early 1577, the Earl of Clanricarde was examined before Sir Nicholas Malby, who had been appointed military governor of Connacht after Fitton, for trying to bring in Scots mercenaries to the province, and allegedly having attempted to hire 10,000 Scots in Ulster. The government tried continually to cut off mercenary aid to Ireland. Sidney went to Newry (see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster) to speak with Turlough Luineach, to try to persuade him to send his mercenaries away, but with little success.[200] The English feared that continental powers might take advantage of the rebellious state of Ireland, and that the Scots, Spain and the Pope could join forces to invade it. That this was at least a potential threat is proved by the bishop of Killaloe's (see fig. 5.1, Church of Ireland dioceses c. 1570) negotiations with the Pope in 1578 about the prospective invasion by James Fitzmaurice, which was to be joined by the sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, the sons of Seán O'Neill and 600 Scots. Fitzmaurice actually landed in Smerwick in Kerry in July 1579 with a small force of Spaniards. He wrote to Somhairle Buidhe's nephew, Randal MacColla MacDonald asking him to come to join him with as many mercenaries as he could, and did the same to Ustian MacDonald, leader of the Clan Donald of Mayo. However, on his way to raise Connacht in arms, Fitzmaurice was killed. Nonetheless, O'Rourke of Breifne still retained Scots in 1579, one of the few references to the name of MacPhee: 'The M'Avies and the rest of the Scots are with O'Rourke yet, save Donnell Oge M'Avie.' Moreover, more Spanish aid came to Kerry in October 1580. In

Fig. 1.9
THE COUNTIES AND BARONIES OF CONNACHT



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Ruth Dudley Edwards,
An Atlas of Irish History,
(London and New York,
2nd edition 1981), p. 19.

November, there was further unrest caused by the death of Seán MacOliverus, and the tanist, Richard an Iarainn, took over as MacWilliam. He felt constrained to hire Scots mercenaries to maintain his position with the result that upper and lower Connacht broke into rebellion, and the Earl of Clanricarde's son, John Burke, seized Loughrea (see fig. 1.9, The Counties and Baronies of Connacht) from the Crown Constable.[201]

As in 1576, the rebellion in upper Connacht was suppressed. In dealing with the Mac an Iarla brothers and the Burkes of Mayo, Malby took on himself the task of combatting the Scots mercenaries whom he regarded as "the only hope that any evil-disposed Irishry have to sustain them in their enterprises." Malby prevented the meeting of the Clanricarde and Mayo rebels, which encouraged Richard an Iarainn to surrender, but Malby refused to negotiate with him unless he dismissed his Scots. The new MacWilliam agreed not only to do this, but also proceeded to attack the Scots under Alexander MacDonald, son of Donald Balloch. (See "Donell Ballaghe" in fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick's report 1595/6.) The Scots headed back to Ulster, but were attacked by Conn, son of Cathal Og O'Conor, the nephew of Donald macTeige O'Conor of Sligo, whom they killed. O'Rourke of Breifne in north Connacht then hired them until autumn 1581, after which Malby hired them for the government. (See Carbury and west Breifne, in fig. 1.8, Connacht lordships c. 1534.) Malby unwisely billeted them on the territory of Cathal Og O'Conor who, not surprisingly, killed Alexander and many of his mercenaries "a ndighuil ar marbadh maille fris gairid roime sin ... gidh nár bhéruic i naghaid aroile iad" (in revenge of the persons slain along with him a short time before that ... although they were not a sufficient compensation for each other). This was an unfortunate aspect of mercenary soldiering.[202]

From 1581 to 1585 the Tudor conquest of Connacht forged ahead. The native Irish continued to hire Scots, keeping them at *buannacht* against the English. When Richard MacOliverus Burke rebelled against the MacWilliam in May 1582, he requested Scots from O'Donnell, but according to Malby, the Scots had "no fansie to come into Connaught any more except they may comm many, which no Connaught man ys able to enterteigne." In spite of this comment, a troop of some 1,200 Scots came to Connacht on 3 July, bringing with them Con O'Donnell, son of the Calbhach, who had allied with Turlough Luineach against his uncle, Hugh O'Donnell. The traditional hostility between the O'Donnells and O'Conor Sligo led Con to attack O'Conor, who held Sligo for Elizabeth, on their way south to Richard Burke. Thomas Woodhouse reported from Sligo, on 7 July, that: 'The Scots came boldly to the hard walls of Sligo Castle, for which they paid well.' However, this gave Malby time to approach the Scots from Athlone and after burning the town, they retreated over the Erne in such haste that a number of them were drowned. Consequently, they did not reach Burke who was forced into submission on 20 July. When the Earl of Clanricarde died shortly afterwards, his son Ulick who succeeded him, supported the English settlement in order to safeguard his position and thus South Connacht was neutralised.[203]

For the next three years, between the summer of 1582 and 1585, the Scots mainly confined their mercenary activities to Ulster. In July 1585, Malby's successor in Connacht, Sir Richard Bingham, was granted a commission to consolidate the English administration there by the settlement or the Composition of Connacht which aimed to improve on the ineffectual exaction of cess. The government hoped by its implementation both to improve their fiscal position and to erode the independence of the Irish lords. According to Sir Henry Docwra, the English officer who helped to establish it, it aimed "to take away the greatness of the Irish lords ... that the inferior subject might be freed from their Irish customs, cuttings and unreasonable exactions, and by knowing what was their own ... be drawn to depend ever after upon the state, and not on those Irish lords or gentlemen." By entering into indentures with the local chieftains, the latter were made tantamount to government rent collectors by which they undertook to pay 10s a quarter to the Crown for usable land, to provide men for hostings, to abolish Irish jurisdictions and the Gaelic system of apportioning land and stock. The old exactions due under the Gaelic system were embodied in composition rent or annual revenue to the Crown, and overall, by trimming and defining the lords' power and giving them an interest in the operation of the settlement, English authority was consolidated. The composition was largely successful.[204] However, the work of composition was handled roughly, degenerating into plundering and burning in some areas and in September, a sept of the Burkes in Mayo rose in rebellion around Loch Mask where they retreated into "Castle Ne Callye" [Hag's Castle]. They swore not to agree to peace until the name of MacWilliam was restored and the MacWilliamship bestowed on Edmund Burke, the tanist, 'to run by the course of eldership according to the old custom.' They were pursued by Bingham, to whom "the chief of their confederacy," Richard Og Burke came in when he first arrived at the castle. Burke was summarily dealt with by martial law, "being indeed the most dangerous man in all the county of Mayo, especially for the drawing in of Scots." Though a truce was entered into, terms had not been reached by July 1586 and the Burkes rebelled again, murdering 15 to 16 of the sheriff's men in Sir Murrough Ne Doe O'Flaherty's country. Much to his annoyance, Lord Deputy Perrot forced Bingham to protect the Burkes, who took advantage of the situation by telling him that if they could not have a MacWilliam they would go to Spain for one. They also "proceeded against Her Majesty in most odious and undutiful speeches, saying What have we to do with that Caliaghe [hag, old woman], how unwise were we, being so mighty a nation, to have been so long subject unto a woman!"[205]

The English eventually cleared the area of rebels except for a small group of Burkes who persisted around Castlebar. These Burkes had sought to make their father, Edmund Burke of Castlebarr, MacWilliam until Bingham had executed him. Donald Gorm MacDonald (of the MacDonalds of Dunyveg) who had landed in Inishowen in the summer of 1586 with his brother Alexander or Alasdair Carragh and one Gilleasbuig MacDowell, a representative of the House of Argyll, was

approached by the Burkes to assist them, and were offered lands on which to settle in Connacht if they defended them and banished the English. According to Bingham, they were drawn in 'under pretence to be repossessed of their lands, which their cousins the Clandonnells [i.e. Mayo *gallóglaigh*] possessed.'[206] Certainly Sir Geoffrey Fenton, wrote to Walsingham on 29 September that the MacDonalds were "boasting proudly[207] that they came to invade that country [Connacht] and inhabit it." Between 1,400 and 2,000 Scots of the "M'Conells in Cantier" then crossed the Erne "with Edmund Kecraghe [Burke] and Shane Itleave"[208] where they began to build a fort, and moved south towards Sligo. After much manoeuvring,[209] the Scots finally camped at Ardnarea on the Moy, in Tireragh, where they were routed by Bingham on 23 September. (See fig. 1.8, Connacht lordships c. 1534.) He massacred all the men, who included some sent by Sir Arthur O'Neill and Hugh Maguire, all three leaders, as well as their women and camp followers to the number of about 2,000 people.[210] Bingham's comment that: "On our side was not one man slain by the enemy, but divers hurt and galled" is corroborated by the Irish *Annals of Loch Cé* which state that "do bhí do dhonus ar Albancuibh nar loitedar duine na each" (such was the misfortune of the Scots, that they wounded neither man nor horse).[211] The slaughter of the Scots was commemorated in a lament for Donald Gorm, son of James MacDonald by Brian Ó Gnímh.[212] It was the biggest single massacre of Scots in Ireland in the sixteenth century, and probably affected the Scots willingness to fight in Connacht thereafter. Another of James MacDonald's sons came with 600 Highlanders and 300 Lowland Scots under the Calbhach, to exact revenge two years later, when they killed Captain Merriman and 60 English soldiers, took their prey and then left. After this the MacDonalds largely avoided Connacht. From the surviving evidence, Scots who came to Connacht after this, appear to have come less for political motives than for spoil.[213]

In September 1589, 600 Scots mercenaries "of the sept of the Barrones," probably MacNeills of Barra, embarked at Erris in west Mayo, expecting to be hired by the Burkes. Their guide was a son of Grainne or Grace O'Malley (Gaelic *Granuaile Ó Máille*), the chieftainess and pirate of the O'Malleys of the Owles, the only native Irish with a fleet who operated from a base on Clare Island. (See fig. 1.8, Connacht lordships c. 1534.) However, even though it appears that the Burkes had contracted with them to come from Scotland, the Irish combined against them and drove them away, blood being shed on both sides. The MacNeills certainly undertook some cattle raiding where they landed, and whether this was the reason for their dismissal or not, they redressed the balance by taking away with them the hides and tallow of more than 1,000 cows. A second force of marauding Islesmen landed again in Erris in Mayo in June 1591. On this occasion, there were 700 men led by Angus MacLean, Rory MacNeill of Barra, a notable pirate, Ewen MacNeill, and a son of one of the MacLeods. Their reason for coming was simply to plunder. The sixteenth century MacNeills were noted for their piracy which they pursued largely because of the lack of agricultural potential of the island of Barra. Their former allies, the O'Malleys, fought against them with the Burkes who drove them out and killed Ewen MacNeill and MacLeod. Bingham informed

of 'the bickering that was between the Scots and the Burkes at the island of Clear [Clare],' and that there was 'some like bickering' in Ulster as the MacNeills made their way home.[214] According to the dean of Limerick, writing in c. 1596, MacNeill's raiding of the O'Malleys was reciprocal: "Grany ny Mallye and he invaded one anothers possessions, though farre distant." The MacNeills also preyed further south on the west coast of Munster, in Thomond, Desmond and Kerry, sometimes in conjunction with the O'Malleys. The dean had "hard some of McNeales sept to have come with the Mallyes to pray Valensia, an iland in McCartymore his countrey [Kerry], with the borders adjoyninge."[215] In another two years the MacNeills reappeared. On 2 July 1593, thirty Scots galleys were seen off the coast of Munster making for Connacht. By 13 July 1593, Bingham wrote to the Lord Deputy that they had been identified as the "Gallies and boats of one Neale M'Barrie, a Scot that usually maketh his summer's courses to steal what he can."[216] The connection of the Barramen with Connacht was not just military, it was also religious, for in the same year, 1593, they are reported to have visited County Mayo on pilgrimage where, Bingham informed Burghley, they 'offer at Knockpatrick - a superstitious practice.'[217] The connection was still vital in the early years of the seventeenth century when, in February 1602, John Achinross, secretary to MacLean of Duart, wrote that: 'McNeill of Barra and others with him go to Ireland to the north west of Lough Foyle and are of mind to enter upon the islands as ye will see in "Keart" which pertains to "O'Maill" where they are "acqwentit." '[218]

D. The Ulster rebellion, 1594-1603

By 1594, Connacht and Munster were settled, but the English attempt to overcome the Gaelic order in Ulster was to have effects throughout the entire country. The rising in Ulster, which led to the period of conflict known as the Ulster rebellion (the Nine Years War or Hugh O'Neill's rebellion) was directed against the completion of the Tudor conquest, began simultaneously in many parts, but did not become well coordinated until it was joined by Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone. O'Neill had lived in England as a young man and initially had English sympathies, but became increasingly wary of the Tudor bureaucracy which overran his territory with petty English officials. His initial plan seems to have grown from a defence of Ulster to a rebellion which fought for the freedom of the whole of Ireland, especially Gaelic society and Catholicism. O'Neill's demesne land, or *lucht tighe Uí Néill,* was in east Tyrone, around Dungannon and Tullaghogue, but after his agreement with Turlough Luineach, he also had control of Strabane, in west Tyrone, where the latter's demesne land was located. (See fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) Hugh gradually built up his power-base by winning the support of the MacDonnells of Knockinclohy, hereditary *gallóglaigh* in Tyrone, and of the O'Hagans, O'Quinns, MacCanns, O'Devlins and other east Tyrone lords, which provided a more reliable, indigenous support than Scots mercenaries engaged through Turlough Luineach. Moreover, his succession to Turlough in 1595, in preference to the MacSeáns and others, established him as the ruler of the greatest lordship in Ulster, in the Gaelic mode.[219]

During the rebellion, Scots redshanks were far less of a problem to the government than they had been in previous decades. This was partly due to the problems of the Clan Donald South and the rise of the Campbells, and to James VI's increasing caution as Elizabeth grew older. When they did present a threat, as with the fleet of 1595, they were effectively dealt with, but the invasions of Scots in Ulster during the rebellion have been described as 'nugatory.' Hugh O'Neill trusted the Scots less than his own levies and found them more difficult to recruit without the benefit of a Scottish marriage, but O'Donnell always relied more on Scots.[220] The Islanders were also occupied in their own affairs. By the time the dean of Limerick wrote his opinion[221] regarding the hiring of Scots in March 1601, he said that, apart from the Campbells and the MacDonalds, 'the rest of the islanders [were] much perplexed by reason of the late conquest of the island called the Lewes by Colonel Stuard.'[222]

The struggle for power in Ulster between the English and the native Irish began in Maguire's country of Fermanagh, when Hugh Maguire, O'Neill's son-in-law, began a campaign against the English officials who were attempting to displace him and undermine his authority. He was assisted by his cousin O'Donnell, and probably encouraged by O'Neill.[223] O'Donnell had his agent 'one of the M'Cleries, a scholar' in Scotland in early 1594,[224] as did Maguire, to hire mercenaries, with a promise from Maguire of land in Fermanagh to any Scots who assisted him. At the same time, conflict was apparent among the Scots in Antrim. Somhairle Buidhe had maintained good relations with his brother until his death, even while pursuing his own aims, but now there were signs of a breakdown in relations between the Antrim MacDonnells and the MacDonalds of Kintyre and Islay. James MacSomhairle rejected the authority of both Angus of Dunyveg and Randal, his appointed lieutenant in Antrim, thereby adding to the general exercise of Gaelic independence in Ulster at the time. A Scots force promised at Easter eventually arrived in July 1594. By this time, Maguire, O'Donnell and O'Rourke were in open rebellion, and the Irish were besieging Enniskillen in Fermanagh. (See fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) Hugh O'Neill had still to come out, but English spies in Scotland reported that O'Donnell and O'Neill had sent to Argyll in May looking to rejuvenate the "auld frindship" between their houses and offering to pay him a yearly pension of £8,000-10,000 Scots. In 1595, the old tribute from O'Donnell was offered with payment of arrears. The Ulster chiefs were therefore greatly perturbed later in the year when, as a result of the cumulative effects of the Huntly-Campbell conspiracy, the plotting of Huntly and the Catholic lords, and the affair of the Spanish blanks, between 1592 and 1594, Argyll, who had been commissioned to take action against Huntly, was defeated at Glenlivet on 3 October 1594. They were particularly solicitous of the welfare of one MacConnachie, probably Dougal MacConnachie Mhic Prior of Inverawe, one of Campbell of Glenorchy's tenants, 'because he had oft done them good service in Ireland,' and was a respected mercenary leader.[225]

Throughout 1594, O'Neill continued to prepare for war, bringing in lead, powder, arms and equipment from Scotland, and though, in November, he refused *buannacht* to Randal MacDonnell's forces in Clandeboye, he tried to coerce Randal to join him. In the western Isles, Donald Gorm (Sleat) and Angus MacDonald subscribed a band to assist O'Neill in August 1594, and at the end of the year, an envoy from O'Donnell was apparently offering double pay to mercenaries in Argyll. In January 1595, a new informant, John Colville, *agent provocateur,* was procured for the English spy network in Scotland, specifically in relation to mercenary activity. His main informer in the Isles was James Campbell, younger of Lawers, but it was also at this point that John Achinross, secretary to Lachlan MacLean of Duart began to pass general information to the English. He also negotiated with George Nicolson, an English agent in Scotland, offering the services of the MacLeans to Elizabeth, with the suggestion that they and the Campbells of Argyll prevent the Clan Donald from sailing to Ireland. Mindful of the hanging of Hugh Gavelagh, the MacLeans and the Campbells (since Catherine MacLean, his mother, had first been married to the fourth Earl of Argyll) also proposed that they could fight O'Neill in Ireland.[226]

Hugh O'Neill entered the rebellion with his first direct act of hostility against the English, the destruction of the Blackwater Fort in February 1595, and on 23 June was declared a traitor at Dundalk. He assumed the leadership in a struggle for the preservation of the Gaelic order in Ulster which was to continue for the next six years. Maguire retook Enniskillen in June and Sligo fell to O'Donnell, putting the Monaghan garrison to the south in danger and the government on the defensive in Connacht. Bagenal also encountered difficulty in resupplying Newry. During this year, the rebels were also in contact with Philip II of Spain, through the Irish exiles there, requesting assistance against Elizabeth.[227] Edmund MacDonnell, Catholic dean of Armagh and a senior member of O'Neill's hereditary MacDonnell *gallóglaigh,* wrote a letter of 20 May 1595 to his kinsman and probable head of family, 'Fìrdorcha MacEoin Mic Somhairle'[228] from Alcalá de Henares in New Castile. Hoping to see him soon, Edmund spoke of progress "re gnothaibh maith 7 ni gnothaid eglaise no romha ata air maire ach gnothaidh ataim do denamh air son mo thigerna .i. an tiarla o neill air dtug me relation maith don righ 7 don chomhairle uile 7 cuir fein sin gceill don niarla 7 abair ris nach fada furtacht dia uadh ma catha se air son na heglaise." (...in respect of a good matter - not of business anent the Church of Rome I am thinking - but affairs I am forwarding in the interest of my lord the Earl of O'Neill. To the King and Council I have submitted a strong report in his favour. And do thou make the same known to the Earl, and also impress on him that, with the Divine assistance, aids will come his way provided only he fight in defence of the Church.)[229] However, they could not command such aid for a provincial struggle and it was probably for this reason that the struggle was presented as one for Ireland, and Philip was offered the Crown. There was also a connection here between O'Neill and the Jesuits in Huntly's territory in the north-east of Scotland. James MacSomhairle informed that 'the Earl of Tirone hath lately sent his priest, named Francis Moumford, an Englishman, towards Spain, to draw over forces into

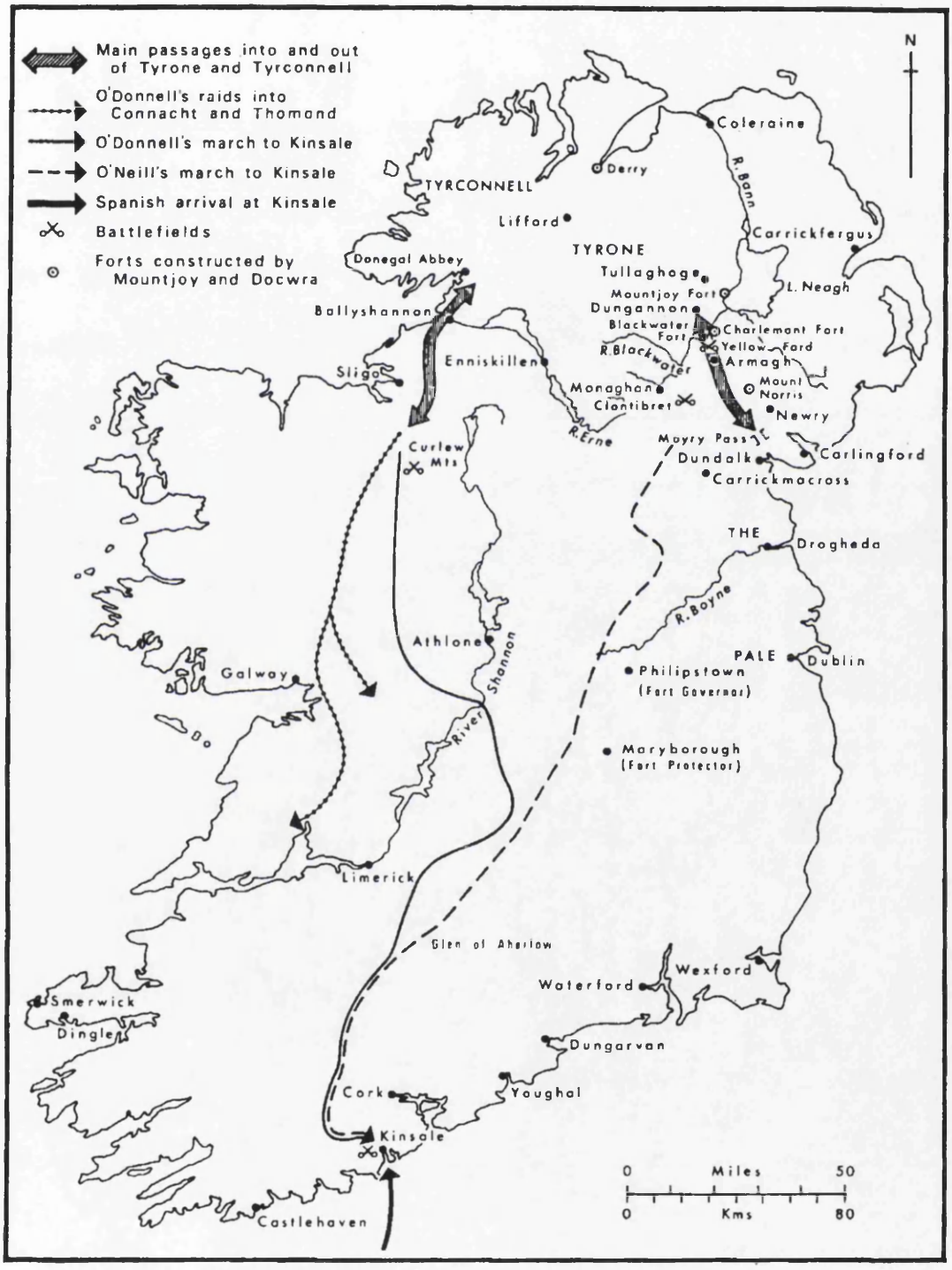
this realm from thence this winter against Her Majesty, which Moumforde was by a Scottish boat transported forth of Lough Foyle into the Earl of Huntly's country in Scotland, from whence he intendeth to take shipping for Spain.'[230]

In the absence of reinforcements to O'Neill, the English were making headway in Ulster. The Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell and Sir John Norreys, the new General, had reached as far as Armagh in June and July, forcing O'Neill to raze his castle at Dungannon, and they then relieved Monaghan. Still trying to hinder the Clan Donald from sailing, Nicolson spoke with James VI in June, but James replied that the MacDonalds were rebels and it would be difficult to stop them, though the Scottish government issued an enactment on 15 July 1595 forbidding aid to be sent to Tyrone, specifically mentioning MacDonald of Dunyveg and MacDonald of Sleat as rebels.[231] Nevertheless, after some deliberation as to whether they should attack Argyll and MacLean before they left, or raid the Isle of Man on the way,[232] a force of 3,000 men eventually sailed to Ulster from Arran under the leadership of Sleat, MacLeod of Harris and Lewis and the eldest son of Dunyveg on 22 July 1595. O'Neill had sent them £300 sterling before they set out, and they were to receive another £600 when they embarked, £300 in cash and an equivalent amount in armour, clothing and horses.[233] When a back-up force of 900 men under MacDonald of Clanranald and the MacIains of Ardnamurchan put in at Mull on the way south, in late July, Duart captured the leaders and ferried the men back to their homes on the mainland.[234] Indeed, most of the clans of the western Isles became involved in the rebellion in Ireland except for a number of minor septs and the MacNeills of Barra whose connections were more with Connacht. The mercenary fleet anchored off one of the Copeland Islands, on the north coast of Down, where the English also anchored two of the Queen's ships to try to prevent them communicating with O'Neill. On 28 July, Captain Thornton entered into negotiations with one Stewart, Angus MacDonald's secretary, to dissuade the Scots from fulfilling their contract. The Scots gave in pledges, and seem to have been willing to enter the English service instead, but eventually both Dunyveg and Sleat returned to Scotland with most of their men. Only two companies got through to the Irish - 500-600 men under Angus Og, son of MacDonald of Dunyveg, went to O'Neill, and 600 men under MacLeod, the Tutor of Harris entered O'Donnell's service. O'Donnell took the Harrismen to besiege MacCostello's castle in Mayo, which was held by the English. They then plundered and ravaged Galway, and heading north, joined the defence of Sligo Castle. Other Highlanders, only 40 in number, were raiding in MacCoghlan's country in Leinster in March 1596 with O'Madden, and 'got over the Shannon by flight, and are returned again into Connaught' where they assisted in the defence of O'Madden's castle of Cloghan in the far south of Connacht. (See fig. 1.8, Connacht lordships c. 1534.) However, small mercenary groups like this had been in the habit of coming to Ulster each year prior to the Ulster rebellion, and their presence should be seen in this light rather than an attempt to send substantial assistance to the Irish rebels.[235]

In Ulster, the rebellion slowly gained pace. The Irish advanced on the English strongholds from two fronts, from south-west of Loch Neagh, through Newry, to the north Pale, under Hugh O'Neill, which isolated the garrisons of the march lands, and also, under O'Donnell, across the Erne by Ballyshannon, through Sligo to Mayo and Galway, which largely destroyed the work of the Tudor conquest. (See fig. 1.10, The Ulster rebellion, 1594-1603.) Tyrone and Fermanagh were held by the Irish, and the failure of the English to hold Enniskillen or to maintain control over Monaghan permitted communication between O'Neill and O'Donnell. By the end of 1595, by which time a truce had been entered into with the Ulster rebels, Tibbot Fitzwalter Burke had been set up as the MacWilliam Iochtar in Mayo. (See fig. 1.8, Connacht lordships c. 1534.) Hugh O'Neill was now also the undisputed leader of the O'Neills since Turlough Luineach's death in autumn 1595.[236] Throughout the campaign, O'Neill was well supplied with munitions from the Lowlands of Scotland, and on one occasion from Danzig. It came into Lough Foyle and in to Lough Strangford which according to Chichester in 1601 'has during all this rebellion been a great support to the rebels by a frequent trade into it of Scottish baarques with munition, cloth, wine and acqua vitae, often supplying the rebel.'[237] In 1595, O'Neill sent his chief agent, the merchant Patrick O'Conor, servant of John Bath of Strabane to the Lammas Fair in Glasgow for munitions. However, he was also supplied from merchants and pedlars in Ireland, as well as from Irish in the English army who had access to supplies, and got powder from Dublin and towns in Leinster and Munster. In 1596, O'Neill kept three Scots in residence at Dungannon to manufacture firearms, though they were eventually enticed away from him in January 1598 by Captain William Warren.[238] In the same year, the government employed the old ally of the MacNeills, Donnell O'Malley, 'to keep from the north both the Highland and Lowland succour of Scotland.'[239]

Russell, the Lord Deputy, was very enthusiastic about employing assistance for the government nearer to hand, in the form of the MacLeans, and felt that even if the idea was not implemented, it should be used to intimidate the Irish. Towards the end of 1595 or in early 1596, the English involved Denis Campbell, the dean of Limerick,[240] in their negotations concerning the mercenary clans. As a known loyalist in Ireland and, as the illegitimate son of the fifth Earl of Argyll (see fig. 1.5, Relationships between the Campbells of Argyll and the MacLeans of Duart), with an unrivalled knowledge of the situation in the west of Scotland, he was now engaged to comment on dealings with MacLean. This led to his report, the 'Observations ... for the West Isles of Scotland' in which he stated that he did not regard MacLean as particularly suitable for the service because "McIllaine and those out ilanders, in eny greate nombers, have not come into Ireland, to my knowledge or remembrance and hereinge, theis 30 yeres. At leaste they had no contynuance there." The Campbells and the MacDonalds of Kintyre, on the other hand, had been in continuous service. Nonetheless, he though it "no il policie to enterteigne McIllaine, whose people for abidinge all hardines of toyles are not enferrior to those of Ulster." He was of the opinion that MacLean should be employed but only if Argyll agreed to assist him because, if the English did not

Fig. 1.10
THE ULSTER REBELLION 1594-1603



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T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (editors),
A New History of Ireland, III,
(Oxford, 1976), p. 120.

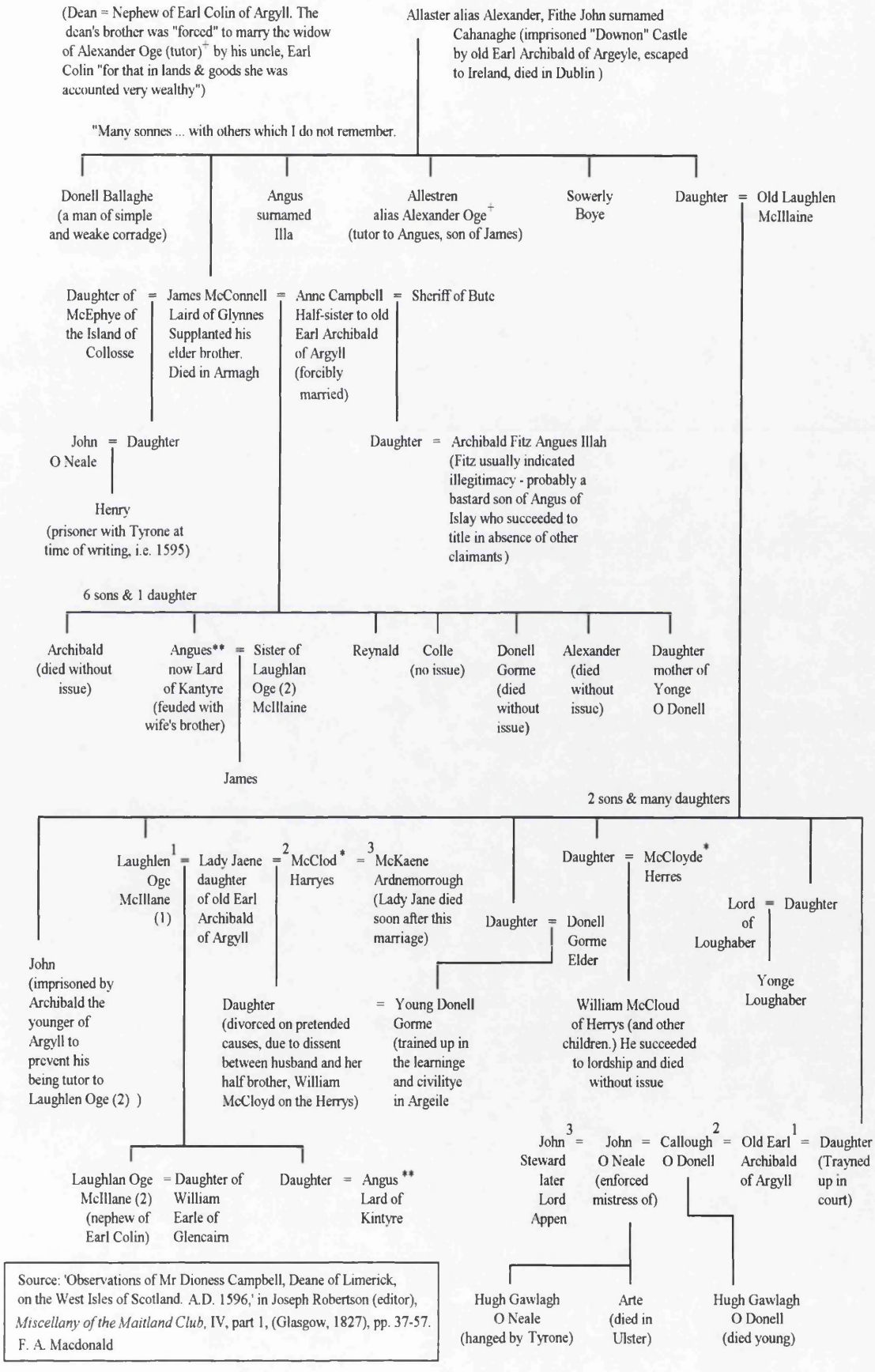
employ Argyll, O'Donnell, whose ancestor Calbhach O'Donnell had first pledged an annual tribute to Argyll for his assistance, might employ him on the Irish side.[241] His brother, the Provost of Kilmun felt similarly that 'these forces of Argyll's shall do especial services to her [the Queen], in regard that few of the Isles in Scotland or on the frontiers in Ireland towards Argyll will fight and draw blood against the Campbells.'[242] The dean supplied a detailed commentary on the genealogical interconnections of the main mercenary families in the late sixteenth century, which is set out in fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick's report 1595/6.

1596 was a year of strategy. Denis Campbell was sent to the Isles in March 1596 where he succeeded in persuading Argyll to parley with MacLean. At this point, the English backed their dealings with money for the first time, sending £150 sterling to MacLean, with the promise of a pension, and £30 to Achinross, in May.[243] In Ulster, there were also negotiations between O'Neill and Sir John Norris, who had been appointed military commander in 1595, following a truce which was concluded at the end of the year. On his agreeing to sever connection with Spain, the English pardoned O'Neill in May 1596, but his Earldom was forfeit, and none of the rebels were to "suffer anie Scotts or other strangers to reside in their countrie." In the same month, however, envoys arrived from Philip II bringing weapons and ammunition to O'Donnell. They also spoke with O'Neill about prospective landing places for their forces, but such assistance did not come until the rebellion intensified some years later. Both sides were keeping the truce only nominally, and in February 1596, it had been broken by the Ulster Irish who sent a force to Feach MacHugh O'Byrne, a rebel in the fastnesses of County Wicklow, near Dublin. Scots mercenaries in Connacht were also secured for the rebels in Offaly and the English were sent to O'Molloy's country against them by the Lord Deputy.[244]

The far-reaching extent of those who were in rebellion, as well as their vision of an Irish Catholic State, can be seen in two letters. The first, of July 1596, from the Ulster leaders to the Munster lords, indicated that "Whosoever of the Irishrie especiallie of the gentlemen of Mounster assists Christs Catholique Religion and joyne in Confederacie, and make warr with us, ... wee will remaine and be unto them a barke or staid warrant or suertie, for their soe aydinge of gods just cause." Attacks on the Munster settlers seem to indicate that they responded. The second, of August 1596, from Feach MacHugh O'Byrne of Wicklow to O'Neill assured the latter that he depended on his guidance. Relations were very poor, at this juncture, between O'Neill and MacDonnell, largely because of O'Neill's claim to the overlordship of the Route. A treaty was concluded, at this point, between James MacSomhairle and O'Neill, whereby O'Neill relinquished his support of MacQuillan, though at the expense of alienating Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg. By August, there was severe difficulty in the relationship between MacSomhairle who had 'put himself into possession of the Glynns,' and his uncle, Dunyveg. By 26 October, MacSomhairle had alleged to James VI that the chief of Dunyveg was illegitimate (on the basis of James MacDonald's abduction

Fig. 1.11

Genealogy re dean of Limerick's report 1595/6



Source: 'Observations of Mr Dioness Campbell, Deane of Limerick, on the West Isles of Scotland. A.D. 1596,' in Joseph Robertson (editor), *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, IV, part 1, (Glasgow, 1827), pp. 37-57.
F. A. Macdonald

of Lady Agnes without divorce from the Sheriff of Bute) and asked for his lands in Antrim to be bestowed upon himself. Though he came to Scotland in April 1597, nothing came of his attempt, but it can only have added to Dunyveg's difficulties at a time when he was being pressurised to submit to the Lowland government.[245]

During the rebellion, O'Neill developed the *buannacht* system to build up locally recruited Irish mercenaries or *buannadhan*, which were distinct from the risings out, and better trained and armed than the Scots. As Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Elizabeth's secretary in Ireland commented, he armed 'all the peasantes of his countré.' Companies of *buannadhan* also formed in Connacht but O'Neill did not have the same confidence in them. Apart from a certain element of Irish in *gallóglaigh* companies, only the O'Malleys and the O'Flahertys in Connacht had any documented history of mercenary soldiering, and in the case of the O'Malleys, at least, this may have had something to do with their links with the MacNeills of Barra.[246] MacLean of Duart employed 60 musketeers and "hagbuttaris" of "Omailyeis" land in Ireland in July 1598, who left him to go 'farther north in the Isles.'[247] There were some fifty Spaniards who like the English 'butter captains' given to O'Neill when in the Queen's service, helped to train his men. Throughout the 1590s, O'Neill and the rebels maintained large numbers of *buannadhan* who were trained in the use of the caliver or arquebus, and the musket. In late 1595, the lordship of Tyrone (excluding Oireacht Uí Chatháin or O'Cahan's country) supported 2,500 horse and foot, and by 1601, 4,000. The particular terms under which O'Neill contracted mercenaries were laid out towards the end of the war in a proclamation in Irish, at Dungannon, on 2 February 1601.[248]

By 1597 the Irish were in a good position. In April, the English held only Newry, Carrickfergus, Carlingford, Green Castle, Armagh, Dundrum and Olderfleet in Ulster. (For most locations, see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) The government again entertained the idea of employing Scots against the Irish in this year, but as usual it remained nebulous. Sir Geoffrey Fenton wrote to Cecil that he considered: "There is so gret unlikelihood that the rebels of Ulster can be pulled down by the Scots of Cantire, for dogs will not eat dogs flesh."[249] With the arrival of the new Lord Deputy, Thomas, Lord Burgh, in the summer of 1597, and the appointment of a new governor of Connacht, Sir Conyers Clifford, a concerted effort was made to suppress the rebellion in Ireland. Burgh attacked O'Neill between Newry and Armagh and set up a fort on the river Blackwater, and Clifford attacked the Ballyshannon fords in the west. Though both crossed the Blackwater and the Erne, further attempts to advance were repulsed. Rumours abounded of communication between O'Neill and James VI, but the connection has never been proved. The King did, however, strike up a close association with James MacSomhairle MacDonald in 1597 and 1598, from which the MacDonnells were greatly to benefit when James VI came to the English throne in 1603. He probably cultivated MacSomhairle as someone with Scottish roots, who was not as openly rebellious as either O'Neill or Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg. MacSomhairle followed a middle

line in an attempt to protect what he had, a policy which his descendant, the second Earl of Antrim, was to follow during the early years of the civil war of the following century.[250] He did not disobey Elizabeth, but neither did he pay the Crown rents and having reduced the castles of Glenarm and Redbawn, he and his brother, Randal, fortified Dunluce. Moreover, he was betrothed to O'Neill's nine-year-old daughter. Though he defeated an English force outside Carrickfergus on 4 November 1597, it was the English who charged the Scots when MacSomhairle said he had simply come to speak to Chichester about cattle raided from him by a Captain Mansell.[251] James MacSomhairle went to Scotland in December 1597, and though, following his claims of Angus MacDonald's illegitimacy, he was not confirmed in the possession of the chief's territories, he was knighted Sir James MacDonnell of Dunluce. This connection redounded unfavourably for the King, resulting in more rumours of his involvement in Irish affairs. In the same month, in Ireland, Walter Butler, the twelth Earl of Ormond, appointed supreme military commander after Burgh, negotiated another truce with O'Neill.[252]

In March 1598, Donald Gorm MacDonald of Sleat again offered to serve Elizabeth, promising to raise such rebellion in Scotland as would keep James VI entirely occupied there, or otherwise that he and his allies send their men against the Queen's rebels in Ireland, for it was now three years since there had been a Scots expeditionary force there.[253] This was probably because James MacDonald of Lochrinsay, the elder son of Angus MacDonald (who was at this time leading the Clan Donald South) and MacLean of Duart were again in conflict over the Rhinns of Islay and were in no position to send aid to O'Neill. The Irish branch of the Clan Donald South was said by Campbell of Glenorchy, one of Colville's informers, to be implicated in Lachlan MacLean's murder at Loch Gruinart in August 1598.[254] He informed that James MacSomhairle "had directit out of Ireland privielie the nowmer of foure hundrecht Ireland men, quha were principall executaris of this conspiracie." James MacSomhairle also joined O'Neill in his assaults in the summer of 1598, during which Carrickfergus was attacked on 13 June, and Belfast Castle and Blackwater Fort were besieged. O'Neill's greatest coup was the ambush of Marshal Bagenal, his particular enemy, on 14 August at Béal an Atha Buidhe (the mouth of the Yellow Ford) as he was heading north from Armagh to resupply the fort after the truce had ended. Bagenal was killed and the English summarily defeated, with a loss of over half their force of 4,000 men. Both this and the earlier battle with Clifford in 1597 for the fords of the Erne, which freed south-east Ulster and the south-west into Connacht respectively, opened Ireland to the Ulster rebels. (See fig. 1.10, The Ulster rebellion, 1594-1603.) Furthermore, the degree of cooperation between the Ulster rebels and their organisation under O'Neill has no parallel in the earlier internecine feuding in Ireland, and to that extent was indeed a struggle by Gaelic Ireland against the English conquest. The English did little to promote their own situation at this stage, by failing to appoint a replacement for Burgh, the Lord Deputy, when he died in October 1597, which left the government in the hands of a committee until Essex took over in April 1599. However, in the time between the battle of Béal an Atha

Buidhe and his arrival, the growing support for O'Neill's cause resulted in a near collapse of English authority in Connacht, Munster and areas of Leinster.[255]

1598 was the highpoint of Irish achievement during the Ulster rebellion. O'Donnell took advantage of their upper hand to move south into Connacht where Clifford had only 120 soldiers, and set up a new MacWilliam in Mayo to counter the English government's nominee, and a new MacBrian in Thomond, north Munster. Groups of Scots mercenaries began to enter Connacht through the Ballyshannon passage, adding to the rebels in the province.[256] An Englishman commented of O'Neill in 1598 that: "He is now become impotent to contayne himself within his bounds; but Seeketh to Usurpe the whole province."[257] At this juncture, the war was said to cost O'Neill £500 sterling a day, indicating the existence of a vibrant economy in Ulster in the middle of the rebellion. An anonymous Scot[258] informed Cecil in 1598, not only that large numbers of mercenaries went from Argyll to assist O'Neill, but that his bodyguard of approximately 200 musketeers, 'of which guard the better part are Argyle men, naturally avaricious, bloody, and covetous; who for money will refuse enterprise or perform no murder, without respect to father, brother, master, or friend whatsoever.' Nonetheless, the rebels relied more on the *buannadhan* than Scots. By February 1599, O'Neill was heading south to Leix in Leinster with 3,000 infantry soldiers and 400 horse. James MacSomhairle and O'Cahan covered his rear from attacks from the Ulster coast. By May, the rebels were looking for reinforcements and sent Inneen Dubh, O'Donnell's mother, to Scotland as their envoy. According to intelligence from Captain James Carlisle,[259] a government spy who operated mainly to elucidate the Scottish position in Ulster, and received much of his information from a redshank in the MacDonald of Dunyveg's camp, the Clan Donald South were willing to serve O'Donnell because Inneen Dubh was their aunt, but would not serve O'Neill because he supported James MacSomhairle.[260]

1600 marks the last phase of the Ulster rebellion, in which O'Donnell and O'Neill placed increasing expectation on military assistance from Spain, and sought papal recognition of the rebellion as a Catholic crusade, in the hope that this would win support from the Irish lords in Munster and Leinster. By this time, Philip III had succeeded to the Spanish throne, and though unsure whether to attack England from Ireland, he continued to supply O'Neill with arms and ammunition. By April, there seems to have been an element of disaffection in O'Neill's camp, with Sir Arthur O'Neill, Turlough Luineach's son, threatening submission to Elizabeth. The appointment of Sir Arthur Chichester to replace his brother, John, as colonel and governor of Carrickfergus in the same month, did little to enhance the Scots' relations with the English government, since James MacSomhairle feared Chichester would seek to avenge his brother. Certainly, Chichester's commission ordered him "to pursue with fire and sword such Scots as are there landed or shall land."[261]

By the summer of 1600, the English were slowly beginning to contain the Ulster rebellion. Sir George Carew, lord president of Munster (1600-03), was breaking O'Neill's hold on Munster where he had sent some of his *buannadhan.* Charles Blount, eighth Lord Mountjoy, the new Lord Deputy, aimed at nothing less than the removal of O'Neill's sovereignty which he achieved by coordinating the use of seapower and land manoeuvres, by establishing garrisons in Ulster and by destroying his economic resources. An extreme scorched-earth policy, of ruining the harvests, and killing and driving off cattle, was executed so that the land could not support *buannadhan.* As Chichester commented later in March 1602: 'Starvation, as I have often said, is the only thing which will cut the throat of the grand traitor; and this is well begun.' English encroachments around Derry under Sir Henry Dowcra, from May 1600, eventually led to the breaking of the Irish defences in Ulster, and O'Donnell went on his last successful Connacht raid in the summer of 1600. The latter's requests to the Clan Donald South led, on 20 October, to the arrival of a small force of redshanks in Inishowen[262] under Randal, a brother of Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg though, according to the English, Randal may have been working for his nephew, Sir James of Knockrinsay. O'Donnell, however, had already left to go south to Thomond, leaving Niall Garbh (lit. rough) O'Donnell, the Calbhach's grandson and his brother-in-law, in charge. Niall Garbh had unexpectedly defected to Docwra on 6 October, assisting him to take Lifford. Sir Arthur O'Neill had also deserted O'Neill, as did some of the O'Doghertys of Inishowen in early 1601.[263] On 12 March, it was said that 'he [O'Neill] and his bonnaughts are almost parted for want of means, and will not hold long.'[264]

Randal MacSomhairle also signed a truce with Chichester in December until May 1601, though his brother, James MacSomhairle, flouted Chichester's authority by maintaining 700 *buannadhan* in his territory. When James MacSomhairle died in April 1601 and his brother Randal, returned from Scotland to take over from him, he met with Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay as he was coming from discussions with O'Neill about the provision of mercenaries. The two branches of the MacDonalds entered into combat in which Randal overthrew Sir James's forces, both those from Kintyre and some he had from Tyrone under O'Hagan, and took him as a prisoner to Dunluce, a move undoubtedly designed to further his own claims on the Glens. This is significant as the first and only recorded encounter between the rival branches of the Clan Iain Mhòir on Irish soil. Randal MacDonnell immediately entered into negotiations with Chichester to safeguard his position, asking for an extension of the truce and ultimately a pardon for himself, his brothers and retainers, a patent for the Route and permission to maintain 400-500 men for his own defence. He would not, however, surrender Sir James since his imprisonment neutralised one of the main claimants to the Glens, because in stepping into his brother's place, Randal was passing over the latter's children by Mary O'Neill of Clandeboye and disregarding the English law of primogeniture. Yet, in Gaelic terms neither was he the tanist.[265]

A particularly interesting document survives in the State Papers, probably dated around April 1601.[266] Written in the hand of Thomas Douglas, who seems to have been in Chichester's service at the time, he pretends to Sir James MacDonnell of Dunluce and to Hugh O'Neill of Tyrone to be a messenger from the Catholic Earls in Scotland, Huntly and Erroll. The document brings into focus the whole area of O'Neill's negotiations with the Catholic party in Scotland which had been ongoing for at least 20 years.[267] He claimed to have brought the following verbal message from Huntly to O'Neill: 'knowing in what hard state ye are, the Earls of Huntly and Arrel [Erroll] they willed me (since ye fight in a common cause) to make proffer of what they might do in your favour for maintenance of these wars, in which they fear lest ye fent [faint], and if ye will make them largely acquainted with your proceedings they will do much to draw the King to be your friend.' O'Neill, however, seems to have been unconvinced, indicating that James had only sent him one letter during all this time 'and that was rather a letter of frowning nor favour.' However, the document also provides evidence that two Scottish Jesuits were staying with O'Neill, one the Earl of Huntly's uncle, and the other William Maxwell, whom he intended to use as agents to Huntly through whom he hoped to procure Highland mercenaries. It also offers evidence that Douglas tried to bribe MacDonnell's doctor, William Lin, 'to despatch him.' However, his main achievement - whether it was his prime purpose or not - was setting fire to O'Neill's house.[268]

Under threat from both Docwra in the north and Mountjoy in the south, O'Neill had known since October 1600 that the Ulster cause could only be saved by Spanish aid. By the summer of 1601 he was in a defensive position. On 23 May 1601, Chichester wrote that O'Neill was 'weak in men, weak in opinion; every catching knave is desirous to serve upon him.' Mountjoy regarded the establishment of garrisons as more effective than combat and had O'Neill surrounded by the new fort on the Blackwater and Armagh and Downpatrick to the south, by Sir Arthur Chichester in Carrickfergus, while in the far west, Niall Garbh and Docwra took Donegal Abbey on 2 August. By this time, O'Neill commanded very few Scots. Argyll, for instance, was unwilling to be involved in Ireland when Elizabeth was likely to die in the near future, and refused assistance to O'Donnell. A sept of the Clan Donald, hereditary *gallóglaigh* to O'Neill, even came out in rebellion against O'Neill who was in a very precarious position. Philip III was finally motivated to send a force to Ireland to counter the assistance Elizabeth I was giving to rebels in the Spanish Netherlands. Therefore, when troops were freed by the Treaty of Lyons in early 1601 which brought about peace between France and Savoy, they were deployed, under the command of Don Juan del Águila, to Ireland. About 3,500 men disembarked at Kinsale in County Cork, on 23 September 1601, having missed a last minute communication from Ulster to land at Limerick instead.[269]

Spanish assistance came too late and was of too little consequence to be useful. The rebellion in Munster, where they landed, had already been quashed, and the only active resistance was in

Ulster. The Spaniards were said to be discontented that none of the country came to them. Mountjoy responded immediately, and by October had 7,000 men in Cork, even taking some from the Ulster forts other than those serving with Docwra. Mountjoy and Carew began a siege of Kinsale where the Spanish force was hemmed in. In Antrim, James MacSomhairle's son, Ustian MacDonnell, went into rebellion with Con O'Neill, who 'possessed themselves of the Dufferin, save only the castle of Ranahady.' Leading 350 mercenaries against Chichester, Ustian was killed. Randal MacSomhairle also joined Hugh O'Neill in his march south to the Spanish in Kinsale with over 100 foot and up to 40 horse. He was 'so blockish' [foolish] to write asking Chichester's permission to assist O'Neill,[270] who took advantage of this to invade the Route where there was but a small force to oppose him and he 'spared neither house, corn or creature.' At the same time, Sir James managed to persuade the constable of Dunluce, an Islander, to release him. He subsequently took over the castle, asserted his rights to the Glens and the Route, and parleyed with Chichester in order to get English assistance against the MacSomhairles. Chichester sent him supplies and 80 men but told the ship's captain 'to deliver him only a few trifles unless he will deliver up the castle.'[271]

At various points throughout the year the government entertained employing Scots against the O'Neill, but were generally in agreement with George Nicolson's opinion of 28 October that 'these Islesmen and Ulstermen are both matched together in blood and this people of a loose and mercenary condition.'[272] In a great feat of tactical marching, both O'Donnell and O'Neill marched south past government opposition, in early November, reaching Kinsale towards the end of December with a joint force of about 5,500, where they boxed the English in between the Irish and the Spaniards in the town. Though the Irish attacked first on the morning of 24 December, they then withdrew to improve their position. Mountjoy left most of his force guarding the Spaniards and managed to break the Irish infantry with his cavalry. The Irish attributed their defeat 'to the fact that their horse ran away when the Lord Deputy's horse charged them, and brake into their battalia and disordered their foot, and then the Lord Deputy's horse followed and killed them at their pleasure.' Unused as the Irish were to fighting in formation, Mountjoy quickly took the upper hand and defeated them. On the same day, George Carew suggested, by way of rearguard action, that Scots 'be entertained to divert the Ulster forces which are here, for O'Donnell and Tyrone cannot remain long in Munster, as the country cannot support them.' The government showed their customary wariness of employing them.[273] The Spaniards did not attack at all, and surrendered to Mountjoy nine days later. O'Donnell returned with them to Spain where he died in the following year, probably assassinated at Carew's instance, by Captain James Blake, brother of Sir Valentine Blake, first baronet of Menlo, in Galway.[274]

Kinsale effectively marked the end of the war for Gaelic superiority in Ireland, though not the end of O'Neill. The Irish Annalists mark the event by stating: "Bá hádhbhal, 7 bá dírimh in ro

fáccbhadh isin maigin sin gér bhó dedhbal an líon do rochrattar ann, uair ro fáccbhadh gérraideacht 7 gaiscceadh, 7 rath 7 roconach, uaisle 7 ionnsaicchidh, aireachar 7 airbeart, eineach, 7 eangnamh, cródhacht 7 cosnamh, crábhadh 7 caoín iris insi gaoidheal isin iomairecc sin." (Immense and countless was the loss in that place, although the number slain was trifling; for the prowess and valour, prosperity and affluence, nobleness and chivalry, dignity and renown, hospitality and generosity, bravery and protection, devotion and pure religion, of the Island, were lost in this engagement.)[275] It has even been suggested that 'Kinsale was Gaelic Ireland's Culloden'[276] but Ireland was to make two further significant attempts in the 1640s and in 1689-91 to regain her independence, which refutes the comparison to a certain extent.

On his return from Kinsale in early 1602, O'Neill ordered Sir James of Knockrinsay to return Dunluce Castle to Randal MacDonnell. Randal then deserted to the English, and Sir James fled first to O'Cahan, then returned to Scotland, in March. O'Neill was still being supplied from Scotland from where he received wine, meal, salt and aqua vitae in July 1602. Unwilling to endanger Randal's new found loyalty, the Lord Deputy and the Irish Council left him in possession of the Route and the Glens, to the detriment of Angus MacDonald. In the summer of 1602, Mountjoy and Docwra began the final pursuit of O'Neill. He was forced to burn Dungannon and fled to the woods of Glenconkein and Killeightragh, and he was said by the English to be 'almost a wood kerne.'[277] (For Glenconkein, see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) In a symbolic gesture of English victory over the Gaelic sovereignty, Mountjoy "broke down the chair wherein the O'Neills were wont to be created" at Tullaghogue. O'Neill finally submitted to Mountjoy at Mellifont, in March 1603, six days after Elizabeth's death and shortly before James VI was proclaimed King of the three kingdoms.[278] The English were of the opinion that 'our union with Scotland are snaffles in their [the Irish] jaws.[279] With Gaelic independence effectively broken, the English granted both O'Neill and O'Donnell fairly generous terms. O'Donnell was confirmed in his lands, comprising almost all County Donegal and created Earl of Tyrconnell.[280] Anxious to conclude terms with O'Neill before he knew of the Queen's death, and perturbed by rumours of further Spanish aid coming to him, Mountjoy hurried through negotiations at Mellifont on 31 March, which resulted in two important concessions to O'Neill. Though he renounced "all challenge or intermeddling with the uriaghs," Mountjoy allowed him authority over O'Cahan. He was also confirmed, contrary to previous negotiations, as absolute owner of the O'Neill lordship or Earldom of Tyrone, except for 300 acres for the forts of Charlemont and Mountjoy.[281]

However, the mercenary bands did not stop coming immediately. Chichester wrote to Cecil in 1604 of the 'unlawful excursions of our neighbouring islanders, who come and go at their will and pleasure, leaving ever behind them some note of their incivility and disobedience.' Donald Gorm Mòr MacDonald of Sleat certainly visited Ireland in 1604. Nonetheless, when Randal MacSomhairle made a bid to regain Portrush, a mile and a half from Dunluce (see fig. 1.2, The

Glens and the Route of Antrim), from the English in 1605, it was said that it could be held against the Irish and the redshanks with a ward of only ten men.[282]

Conclusion

Military interaction between Irish and Scottish Gaels was substantial from the late thirteenth century until the defeat of the Ulster lords by the English at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Scottish mercenaries made seasonal expeditions, mainly to Ulster, but also fought in Connacht. They came to assist the Irish chieftains against the onslaught of the Tudor conquest which sought to destroy the power of the great lordships and thus reduce the whole of Ireland to English authority. Elizabeth attempted to stem the flow of mercenaries to Ulster not only by military action against the MacDonalds and the passing of legislation against Scots in Ireland, but increasingly, after 1595, also in the Isles through occasional payments to the MacLeans of Duart. She was fortunately assisted by the feud between MacDonald and MacLean over the Rhinns of Islay, the demise of the Clan Donald South[283] and to a certain extent by the actions of James VI. A concerted attempt at overthrowing the English was made by Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone, who employed Scots as well as Irish *buannadhan* in his campaign between 1594 and 1603. The increase in Irish militarism during the rebellion can be partly attributed to the Counter-Reformation and to the availability of men displaced by the Tudor confiscations and plantations, as well as to the desire to defend Irish society against the encroachments of the English. O'Neill and his predecessors had not been unwilling to be English Earls, but had also wished to retain their Gaelic sovereignty as O'Neills. As became evident with the Flight of the Earls in 1607 and the reduction of the Gaelic lordships, this was impossible.[284] The end of the Ulster rebellion at Kinsale, on 24 December 1601, marked the end of organised Gaelic opposition to the English conquest of Ireland for a number of decades. The 'treaty of Mellifont' in March 1603 left O'Neill and the other Ulster leaders simply as landlords deprived of their traditional authority under the Gaelic system, a situation which ultimately led to the Flight of the Earls.[285] It was a defeat for the Gaelic order and the Catholic religion which unified it, and scotched any designs the Spanish might have had on England. The idea of a Catholic nation in Ireland was to emerge more fully later, both at the time of the Catholic confederacy in 1642-49 and during the Jacobite war of 1689-91. The defeat of O'Neill had far-reaching consequences, the most significant of which were a decline in Gaelic institutions, and the mercenary system, because the destruction of the Gaelic polity and the social power of the Gaelic lords removed their need for, and ability to hire, Highland mercenaries. The west coast swordsmen were left without employment, the Highland economy lost significant cash injections and henceforth had to rely on the cattle trade for supplies of specie. One of the few who survived the undermining of the Gaelic social and political structure, Randal MacDonnell of Antrim, was able to retain his landed power only by compromising his independence as a Gaelic

lord. His choice also rendered permanent the split between the Irish and Scottish branches of the MacDonalds.[286]

NOTES

1. See Chapter 16, section III. Poetic evidence from the mercenary period.
2. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. liii-liv; *A New History of Ireland,* II, p. 315; John O'Donovan (editor and translator), *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616,* 7 vols., (Dublin, 2nd edition, 1856), I, pp. xi-xii, 1-2; William M. Hennessy (editor and translator), *The Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590,* 2 vols., (London, 1871), I, pp. xxxiv, 2-3.
3. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. liv-lv.
4. Herbert F. Hore (editor), 'Marshal Bagenal's Description of Ulster, Anno 1586,' *UJA,* 1st series, 7, (July 1854), pp. 137-60.
5. Edmund Hogan (editor), *The Description of Ireland, and The State thereof as it is at this present In Anno 1598,* (Dublin, 1878), pp. vi-viii.
6. Rev. Richard Butler (editor), *A Treatice of Ireland by John Dymmok,* (Dublin, 1842.)
7. However, even this cannot be marked as the absolute beginning of such settlement. For instance, John Bannerman, begins his *Studies in the History of Dalriada,* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 1, with: 'Whether the Dál Riata had settled in Scotland before the advent of Fergus Mór mac Eirc c. 500 is open to argument.'
8. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 12-13.
9. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 5, 7; Donald J. Macdonald of Castleton, *Clan Donald,* (Loanhead, 1978), pp. 51, 55, 57; *A New History of Ireland,* II, 19.
10. Rev. John MacKechnie (editor), *The Dewar Manuscripts,* I, (Glasgow, 1963), p. 378.
11. The progenitor of the Irish branches of the MacSweeneys was Murchadh Mear, great-grandson of Maolmhuire an Sparain of Castle Sween, who came to Ireland at some time after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. From him derived the first MacSweeney sept of Fanad, *gallóglaigh* to the O'Donnells of Tirconnell, and then the other two Tirconnell septs of na dTuath, and Baghuine, in which province they were strongest. The progenitor of the three Connacht septs of MacSweeneys was Donald na Madhmann, the mainline of which established itself in the barony of Tireragh, County Sligo (see fig. 1.9, The Counties and Baronies of Connacht), or North Connacht, a second sept of Clanricarde and Roscommon or the Plains of Connacht were *gallóglaigh* to the Burkes of Clanricarde and O'Conor Don in Roscommon, and a third sept, *gallóglaigh* to O'Brien in Thomond. The main Connacht septs seem to have been those in Sligo and Galway, from which the septs of Clanricarde, and those at Ardnaglass, Ballicottle, Dunneil, and Dunnycoffy were probably derived. There were also MacSweeney septs in Cork and Kerry. The MacSweeney sept of Desmond in the lordship of MacCarthy Mòr, in Munster, derived from a son of Donnchadh Mòr, and was an offshoot of the MacSweeneys of na dTuath. They did not remain as a unified sept in Desmond, but split up into antagonistic sections within the sub-divisions of the lordship. The sept of Ormond, *gallóglaigh* to the Butlers derived from a brother of Donald na Madhmann of the Connacht branches. Like the MacDonalds (see footnote immediately below) the MacSweeneys established themselves in three provinces of Ireland. (*Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 31-34, 65-66.)

12. For continuing relationship between the MacDonald *gallóglaigh* of Connacht and the Clan Donald South, for instance, see below, section III C. Scots mercenary involvement in Connacht.
13. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 20, 22; *CSPI,* 1588-1592, p. 94.
14. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 6, 15-16, 18; W. C. MacKenzie, *The Highlands and Isles of Scotland,* (Edinburgh and London, 1949), p. 131.
15. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 26; *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 57; 'History of the MacDonalds,' in J. R. N. MacPhail (editor), *Highland Papers, I, 1337-1680,* SHS, 2nd series, 5, (Edinburgh, 1914), pp. 15-16. Alasdair Og's son Somhairle, is recognised as the founder of the sept of MacDonald *gallóglaigh* in Connacht, and his grandson, another Somhairle, was the founder of the sept of MacDonald *gallóglaigh* in Tyrone. In 1420, Charles, the great-grandson of Alasdair Og, founded a sept of *gallóglaigh* in Tynekille, the Leinster MacDonalds. Thus, by the early fifteenth century, the MacDonalds had established themselves in three provinces of Ireland. The MacDonald *gallóglaigh* were strongest in Connacht, where they settled in Rossly, Kilglass and other areas in Sligo (for this and other areas and baronies in Connacht, see fig. 1.9, The Counties and Baronies of Connacht), and at Ardkillene in Roscommon under O'Conor Roe, in Galway under Clanricarde and also in Mayo where they were organised into no fewer than seven septs - the septs of Tirawley at Rathlacken, of Magh Uladh at Aghelaharde, the Sliocht Donogh Ruadh at Clooneen, Carrignedy, Kyleogeleigh and other areas, of Tireragh in the barony of the same name, of Aedh Buidhe, probably in the barony of Kilmaine, of Coogue in Costello, and of Angus the Abbot at Moyla in Burriscarra and at the Togher. There were many MacDonald *gallóglaigh* in Munster but over a broad area and it is therefore difficult to say that one particular place was their seat. They were also the strongest of the *gallóglaigh* septs in Leinster where there were three main septs in Tynekille, Rahin in Offaly and Wicklow. However, they had also settled at Brittas, Boyeston and Ballyboy in County Dublin, and at Ballyfinan and Castlenoe in Offaly. (*Scots mercenary forces*, pp. 29-30, 65.)
16. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 8; *A New History of Ireland,* II, pp. 19, 283-84; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages,* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 93; G. A. Hayes-McCoy, *Irish Battles,* (London, 1969), p. 39.
17. The name is now usually Sheehy or Shee. (A. McKerral, 'West Highland Mercenaries in Ireland,' *SHR,* 30, (1951), p. 9.)
18. MacDowell also became Doyle or Coyle. (McKerral, p. 7.)
19. According to the *Red Book of Clanranald,* the progenitor of the MacSheehys was Siothach, grandson of a brother of Angus Mòr, Lord of the Isles, and thus a branch of the MacDonalds of Islay and Kintyre. (McKerral, p. 9.) There were a number of MacSheehy septs under the Desmonds - the main sept was of Lisnacullia and Ballyalinan Castle, there was a sept of Ballynoa or Newtown, and they also held land in Downemowne, in Rathnegor and Dromturk in the parish of Kilbradran, in Ballicollen and Ballymackerye. (*Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 67-68.)
20. For an explanation of coigne and livery and its relationship to *buannacht*, see below, section III A. Operation, contracting and maintenance of redshanks within the Irish system.
21. *Scots mercenary forces*, pp. 22-26, 35-36, 40, 49, 58-59, 66, 69; McKerral, p. 9.

22. *Scots mercenary forces*, pp. 8-9; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 17-18, 36, footnote 49; *Clan Donald*, (1978), pp. 71-3; Donald Gregory, *The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from 1493 to 1625,* (London and Glasgow, 1881), p. 63.
23. *Scots mercenary forces*, p. 12.
24. Significantly, the Biséds themselves had come to Ireland, in the last instance, from Scotland. Originally they had come to England at the time of the Norman conquest and subsequently had moved to Scotland. Once there, they separated into two groups, one in the north of Scotland, known as the Biséds of Aird and others in the south who were rivals of the Galloways, earls of Atholl. The northern line failed of male heirs, but the Frasers of Lovat are reputedly descendants of one of the daughters of the northern family. The southern line, on the other hand, was coerced into selling up their estates and moving to Ireland, when Patrick, Earl of Atholl was murdered and the Biséds were accused of having killed him. (*MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 21.)
25. The term Old English, or in Gaelic *Sean Ghaill,* was one used in seventeenth-century Ireland to describe the descendants of the English colony established in Ireland in the medieval period, who were Catholic but loyal to the English government. The sixteenth-century term was 'Anglo-Irish.' They are to be distinguished from the Gaelic or native Irish, the Old Irish or *Gaedhil.* (*A New History of Ireland,* III, p. xlii.)
26. Gregory, p. 193; Wallace Clark, *Rathlin - Disputed Island,* (Portlaw, 1971), p. 71.
27. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 27-32, 35; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages,* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 315.
28. Gregory, p. 90; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 33-35.
29. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 36; *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 132; Lord Ernest Hamilton, *Elizabethan Ulster,* (London, 1919), p. 9.
30. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 38-39.
31. Brian Samuel Turner, 'Distributional aspects of family name study illustrated in the Glens of Antrim,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1974), p. 86.
32. Here reference to McNeill, as noted by Turner (p. 128) must be equated with the McNeills of Gigha and Taynish, rather than of Barra because the latter fought with the MacLeans. (*Scots mercenary forces*, p. 141.) Although the McNeills of Tirfergus and Losset, progenitors of the Irish McNeills of Ballyucan, Cushendun, Drumaduan, Ballycastle, Parkmount, Craigs and Culbane in Derry did not settle in Ulster until the latter half of the seventeenth century, evidence from the Antrim Hearth Money Roll of 1669 indicates that a considerable number of McNeills settled before then, though perhaps not in as great numbers as MacKay and MacAllister. (Turner, pp. 129-31.)
33. Turner, pp. 80-81.
34. Hiram Morgan, 'The end of Gaelic Ulster: a thematic interpretation of events between 1534 and 1610,' *Irish Historical Studies,* 26, (1988), p. 16.
35. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 27-38.
36. Turner, pp. 74-75.

37. Turner, pp. 81, 93-94, 104; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 35; D. Sellar, 'The earliest Campbells - Norman, British or Gael?,' *Scottish Studies,* 17, (1973), pp. 120-121.
38. For a definition of this term, see below, section III A. Operation, contracting and maintenance of redshanks within the Irish system.
39. *Scots mercenary forces*, pp. 10-12; McKerral, p. 13.
40. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 38.
41. Turner, pp. 126, 129, 135.
42. *Description of Ireland,* p. 15.
43. *MacDonnells of Antrim* pp. 51, 53; Hamilton, p. 10. For a definition of bonnachts, see below.
44. Morgan, p. 15. Also see Chapter 12, section II. Mercenary contraband.
45. His full name is given by the Lord Deputy in December 1566 as 'Brian Carragh M'Cormac M'Donnell.' He was married to a daughter of Sir Brian MacPhelim. (*CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 321, 372.)
46. 'Marshal Bagenal's Description of Ulster,' pp. 154-55.
47. That this was a real fear is shown by the departure of an expedition under the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, to Kintyre and Arran, where the MacDonalds' territory was burned, though the voyage was largely unsuccessful. (Jane E. A. Dawson, 'Two Kingdoms or Three?: Ireland in Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century,' in R. A. Mason (editor), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815,* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 17-18.
48. Hamilton, p. 11; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 69, 72, 77, 80; MacKenzie, p. 145; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' pp. 114, 117, 119.
49. For Somhairle Buidhe's Irish connections, see Chapter 11, section I B. ii. Clan Donald South. He acknowledged his Irish birth, himself, four days before he took Irish citizenship on 18 June 1586, writing to Lord Deputy Perrot that he was "a man born out of this realm, and gotten large possessions in the same, whereupon I lived, though I might claim none by inheritance." (*CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 76.) See below, section III B. The kinship factor in the contracting of mercenaries.
50. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 124; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 134-35, 191; *Irish Battles,* p. 70; David Mathew, *The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe: A Study of the Celtic and Spanish Influences on Elizabethan History,* (London and New York, 1933), p. 282; *CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 64; MacKenzie, p. 163.
51. See the settlement of 1586 below, by which Somhairle Buidhe was confirmed in half of MacQuillans' lands, in section B. The kinship factor in the contracting of mercenaries in Ulster, 1560-1593.
52. 'Two Kingdoms or Three ?,' pp. 115-17; Morgan, pp. 10, 14.
53. *CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. 31.
54. For further details, see introduction to Chapter 2.
55. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 11-13; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' p. 120.
56. *CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. 445.
57. MacKenzie, p. 127.
58. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 14.

59. MacKenzie, p. 129; Jane Dawson, 'The Fifth Earl of Argyle, Gaelic Lordship and Political Power in Sixteenth-century Scotland,' *SHR,* 67, part 1, (1988), p. 4.
60. MacKenzie, p. 169; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 14; Mathew, p. 276.
61. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 385.
62. For a later MacLucas who saved the charters of the forfeited ninth Earl of Argyll, see Chapter 18, footnote 2.
63. 'The Fifth Earl of Argyle,' p. 4, 4 footnote 3. By the late seventeenth century, it appears that the MacGilleChonaills were operating from Dunstaffnage. I owe this information to Alastair Campbell of Airds who has found bills of theirs written from Dunstaffnage, in that period, in Inveraray Castle Archives.
64. Mathew, p. 277.
65. Indeed, the Marquess of Argyll was still making use of this facility, almost a century later, to transport men to Ulster in 1642 to counter the Ulster rising. He wrote, on 11 April 1642, to Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy: "Thes ar earnestlie requesting yow to give the len of your birling to the Laird of Inverlive for helpeing to transport his companie that goes in my regiment to Ireland." (SRO GD112/39/834, Breadalbane Muniments.)
66. 'The Fifth Earl of Argyle,' pp. 4-5; *CSPS,* 1563-1569, p. 516; Jane E. A. Dawson, 'The Origins of the 'Road to the Isles': Trade, Communications and Campbell Power in Early Modern Scotland,' in Roger Mason and Norman MacDougall (editors), *People and Power in Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 91-93; Argyll Transcripts, Scottish History department, University of Glasgow, VII, p. 89. For the fishing industry in the Highlands, see Chapter 12, section V. Fishing Industry.
67. Iona Club, *Collectanea de rebus albanicis,* (Edinburgh, 1839), pp.23-24, 26, 28.
68. Only the elite coloured these with saffron. According to a manuscript history of the Gordons, "yellow war coat" was apparently "the badge of the Cheiftanes of heads of Clans." (*Collectanea de rebus albanicis,* pp. 34, 37.)
69. *Collectanea de rebus albanicis,* p. 31.
70. For more of whom, see introduction to Chapter 5.
71. *Collectanea de rebus albanicis,* pp. 35, 33.
72. MacKenzie, p. 131; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 38, 69, 72-74. The term, referring to soldiers billeted on the local populace, also occurs in Scottish Gaelic as *buannachan,* but inasmuch as the evidence considered here refers to the billeting of Scots mercenaries in Ireland, the Irish term is used.
73. M. Ó Báille, "The Buannadha: Irish professional soldiery of the sixteenth century,' *Galway Archaeological Society Journal,* 22, (1946), p. 53.
74. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 13.
75. *Irish Battles,* p. 70. The technique was also said, in early 1594, to be used by the second Earl of Tyrone. The antiquarian, Dr. Meredith Hanmer, stated in March that 'if he make a fire upon the bank (i.e. if he light the beacons upon the rocks) within 7 hours he can have an endless supply of Scots, by whom he is greatly favoured.' (*CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 229.)

76. Lachlan MacLean of Duart informed Robert Bowes, English ambassador to Scotland, in October 1595, that the MacNeills 'furnish me three hundred men in time of trouble, the principal man of whom is named McNeill of Barray.' (*CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 37.)
77. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 13-14, 103, 141; Lieut.-Col. Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, *The Mackays of the Rhinns of Islay,* (Inveraray, 1979), p. 25; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 29, footnote 30.
78. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 13-14, 103, 141, 246; Lieut.-Col. Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, *The Mackays of the Rhinns of Islay,* (Inveraray, 1979), p. 25; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 29, footnote 30.
79. Mathew, pp. 280-81.
80. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 15, 17, 37-38, 48; *A New History of Ireland,* II, pp. 425-26; *Irish Battles,* p. 72.
81. *A Treatice of Ireland,* p. 8; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 73.
82. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 38, 49, 61.
83. For more of whom, see Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.
84. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 39.
85. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 43, 62; *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 48.
86. John MacKechnie, 'Treaty between Argyll and O'Donnell,' *Scottish Gaelic Studies,* 7, (1951-53), pp. 95, 97, 100.
87. 'The Fifth Earl of Argyle,' pp. 3, 6; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' pp. 120-23. For details of his territorial holdings from the Clyde to North Uist, see 'The Fifth Earl of Argyle,' p. 8.
88. MacKechnie, pp. 98, 100-01.
89. When Colin Campbell had succeeded as sixth Earl of Argyll in 1575 he stated to Robert Bowes, the English agent, that traditionally the O'Neills of Tirconnell gave a yearly pension to the Campbells to ensure their mercenary assistance, but indicated that he was willing to break off these connections with Ireland to please Elizabeth. (*Scots mercenary forces,* p. 126.)
90. Translation unsure.
91. MacKechnie, pp. 98, 101.
92. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 114; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 194, 719.
93. Morgan, p. 16.
94. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 60-61.
95. See below, section III B. Scots mercenary involvement in Connacht.
96. *CSPI,* 1574-1585, pp. 294, 363; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 134.
97. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 412. See also *CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 27.
98. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 126.
99. See Chapter 14, section I. Settlement during the mercenary period.
100. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 61. The Rev. George Hill states that the amount generally exacted as *buannacht* was 20s 10d sterling quarterly for every spear, 'with corn to the measure of three score and

three half hoopes, or eight pecks wanting (half) a hoope for 63 cakes, and nine score and nine quarters of butter.' However, he does not date this. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 48.)

101. 'The Origins of the 'Road to the Isles,' ' p. 78.
102. *CSPI,* 1574-85, p. 116.
103. Mary O'Dowd, 'Gaelic Economy and Society,' in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (editors), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641,* (Dublin, 1986), p. 130.
104. MacKenzie, p. 170; G. A. Hayes-McCoy, 'Gaelic Society in Ireland in the late Sixteenth Century,' *Historical Studies,* 4, (1963), p. 58.
105. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 203.
106. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 173-74.
107. *CSPI,* 1598-1599, pp. 329-30.
108. *CSPI,* 1598-1599, p. 421.
109. Morgan, p. 14; J. Michael Hill, *Fire and Sword: Sorley Boy MacDonnell and the Rise of Clan Ian Mor, 1538-1590,* (London, 1993), p. 136, quoting PRO SP 63/28/10, John Smith's advice for the realm of Ireland, April 1569.
110. See *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 378.
111. Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages,* (Dublin, 1972), p. 117; O'Dowd, p. 130; Rev. Patrick S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus béarla,* (Dublin, 1927), p. 163; MacKenzie, p. 144.
112. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 46.
113. *CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. 385.
114. Morgan, p. 14; *CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. xxvi.
115. Argyll Transcripts, Scottish History department, University of Glasgow, VII, p. 70.
116. 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' p. 117; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 84. This legislation was not repealed until 1615, for which see Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.
117. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 508.
118. MacKenzie, pp. 158-59.
119. Seán claimed the overlordship of an area which extended from Strangford Lough to the river Erne, and from the Pale to the Foyle, (see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster) an area which covered much of the old earldom of Ulster, the rights to which were held by the Crown. He claimed to rule in his own territory of Tyrone, and also in Maguire's territory of Fermanagh, in MacMahon's of Monaghan, O'Hanlon's of south Armagh, the territories of Magennis, McCartan, the Savages of the Ards and the Dufferin in Down, as well as O'Cahan's territory, now in County Londonderry. Exempt from his claim, for the time being, were the territories of O'Donnell of Tirconnell and the Antrim territory of the MacDonalds, who represented Seán's most powerful opponents. (*A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 82, 84.)
120. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 77-80; Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster,* (Belfast, 1992), p. 76; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' p. 125; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. lv, 76, 81, 83; *Irish Battles,* pp. 69, 70. The

same was claimed for his later successor, Hugh O'Neill, the second Earl. See below, section D. The Ulster rebellion, 1594-1603.

121. *A New History of Ireland,* II, p. 41; *CSPS,* 1547-1563, pp. 672, 678; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 149. However, he seems to have gone through some ceremony with Catherine MacLean in 1565. "Olde Adonel maye gette hym a newe wyf whear he cane, for his is mariede to Shane Onel, and her father presentlye ther at the brydeale." (*CSPS,* 1563-1569, p. 203.)
122. *CSPS,* 1547-1563, pp. 604, 612; *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 237. This perhaps relates to his agreement to maintain 500 *buannadhan* for Argyll in his lordship, because he married Catherine MacLean around the time he began his campaign to depose his father. (*CSPS,* 1547-1563, p. 196.)
123. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 142, footnote 72.
124. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 172; Morgan, p. 26.
125. Hamilton, pp. 12-13,
126. 'The Fifth Earl of Argyle,' p. 16.
127. *CSPS,* 1563-1569, p. 110. "She is all the daye chayned by the arme to a lyttle boye, and at bede and bourde - at meate I myght saye - when he [Seán] is presente, at her libertie."
128. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 94, 149-51; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' p. 123; Morgan, p. 26; MacKenzie, p. 178.
129. Hamilton, pp. 40-41.
130. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 149, 151.
131. Observations of Mr Dioness Campbell, Deane of Limerick, on the West Isles of Scotland. A.D. 1596,' in Joseph Robertson (editor), *Miscellany of the Maitland Club,* IV, part 1, (Glasgow, 1847), pp. 43, 45.
132. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 151.
133. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 80-81.
134. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 80; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 81-82; *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 245-46; *Irish Battles,* p. 73.
135. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 83, 95; *CSPS,* 1563-1569, pp. 201, 284; *The Annals of Loch Cé,* II, pp. 388-389; MacKenzie, p. 151.
136. 'The Fifth Earl of Argyle,' pp. 7-11, 16.
137. It has been proposed that this was Janet, eldest legitimate daughter of Archibald Campbell, the fourth Earl by his second wife (MacKenzie, p. 147), but she had married Hector Og MacLean, eldest son of Hector Mòr MacLean of Duart, in 1557. (MacLean-Bristol, pp. 79-80.) See fig. 1.5, Relationship between the Campbells of Argyll and the MacLeans of Duart. While, in this period of changing relationships, this does not necessarily discount the fact that Seán was proposing to Janet, it seems more likely that it refers to Margaret Campbell, the fifth Earl's second stepsister, who did not marry until January 1564. (Sir James Balfour Paul (editor), *The Scots Peerage,* 9 vols., (Edinburgh, 1904-1914), I, p. 340.)
138. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 86-89, 92-93, 96-97; *CSPS,* 1563-1569, p. 290; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' p. 125; MacKenzie, pp. 147-48.

139. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 85; *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 324, 329.
140. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 86; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 83-84; *Annala Rioghachta Eireann,* V, pp. 1618-19.
141. Ciaran Brady, 'The killing of Shane O'Neill: some new evidence,' *Irish Sword,* 15, (1982), pp. 116-17, 119-20, 122-23.
142. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 340.
143. Mathew, p. 283; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' p. 116.
144. The 'Luineach' was from his fosterers, the family O'Luney. (MacKenzie, p. 173, footnote 1.)
145. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 78, 85; Hamilton, p. 25; *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 375.
146. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 86-87, 95-96. For the progression of this feud and its ultimate affect upon the clan, see Chapter II, section II A. Internal dissension and external assault.
147. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 350-52; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 97-98.
148. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 363, 420; *The Scots Peerage,* I, p. 338; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 100, 102; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' pp. 127, 137, footnote 101. The English were prepared to try and stop the liasons. Captain Nicholas Malby wrote to Cecil on 19 March 1568 that: 'Capt. Thornton is in readiness to intercept them on the sea. ... Neither honours nor rewards will bring the North to obedience; it must be the sword.' (*CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 368.)
149. For details of her three marriages, see Chapter 11, section I C. xvii. Campbells of Argyll.
150. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 105-06, 117.
151. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 369, 411, 420; *CSPS,* 1563-1569, p. 669; *CSPI,* 1574-85, p. 73.
152. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 338, 390.
153. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 393.
154. 'The Fifth Earl of Argyll,' p. 17.
155. Mathew, pp. 284-85.
156. *Description of Ireland,* p. 27.
157. Morgan, p. 22.
158. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 372; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 106, 196; 'Two Kingdoms or Three?,' p. 129; MacKenzie, p. 177; 'The Fifth Earl of Argyle,' p. 17; *CSPI,* 1574-85, p. 245.
159. *Fire and Sword,* p. 131; Hamilton, pp. 147-48.
160. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 114-15, 143; *CSPS,* 1563-1569, p. 349. Note that the Provost of Kilmun was the fifth Earl's son and not his brother, as stated by Hayes-McCoy, pp. 114-15. (MacLean-Bristol, pp. 79-80.)
161. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 95.
162. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 444.
163. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 95-96; *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 488.
164. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 521; Morgan, pp. 11-12; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 118-19.

165. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 98; Bardon, p. 84; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 120; MacKenzie, p. 159; *CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. 69.

166. Clark, pp. 94-95.

167. See Chapter 3, section IV. Covenanting period.

168. MacKechnie, p. 314. See Chapter 14, section V. Family name evidence, for McCurdy and MacKay. The name MacCuaig, with a 'c' was common in Islay in the seventeenth century. (George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland,* (New York, 1946), p. 482.)

169. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 98-99; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 129.

170. *CSPI,* 1574-1585, pp. 227, 284; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 132, 136-37, 145; Morgan, p. 17.

171. For details of Highlanders who served as mercenaries on the continent in the early seventeenth century, after mercenary opportunities in Ireland had largely disappeared, see Chapter 3, section III C. Mercenary service in Protestant nations on the continent.

172. The Lambeth genealogist lists nine sons in all - Henry, Seán Og (the first of the name), Art, Neal, Con, Hugh Gavelagh, Brian, Cormack, and Turlough, as well as two daughters. (*Scots mercenary forces,* p. 151.)

173. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 109, 111; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 149, 151; *CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 133; *CSPI,* 1574-1585, pp. 520, 524; *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. xviii-xix.

174. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 152, 154, 156-57.

175. Perrot's comments on both the strength of the fortress and the ability of the captain of it to speak English, are worth noting in full: "Myself, with the rest of the company, are incamped before Dunluce, the strongest piece of this realm, situate upon a rock hanging over the sea, divided from the main with a broad, deep, rocky ditch, natural and not artificial, and having no way to it but a small neck of the same rock, which is also cut off, very deep. It hath in it a strong ward, whereof the captain is a natural Scot, who, when I sent to summon them to yield, refused to talk, and proudly answered (speaking very good English) that they were appointed and would keep it to the last man for the King of Scots' use, which made me to draw thither." (*CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. 527.)

176. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 111; *CSPI,* 1574-1585, pp. 534, 539-50, 585; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 157-61, 164, 193.

177. For which, see below, section III C. Scots mercenary involvement in Connacht.

178. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 39, 43; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 176. For his elegy by Brian Ó Gnímh, see Chapter 16, section II B. The Ó Gnímhs, an Irish bardic family of the mercenary and plantation periods: Case study.

179. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 177.

180. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 58-60.

181. "That the Scot be received into peace, and that the lands they have usurped be divided, part of them for rents, services, and reservations, as Her Majesty was pleased it should have been before they were prosecuted; and part to M'Quillin, and the ancient followers: otherwise Her Majesty's charge in prosecuting

them will be great." (*CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 73.) Somhairle Buidhe was confirmed in four tuoghs in the Route - "the three twoghes [i.e tuatha] or territories of Donseverige, Loghgill, and Togh Balamonyne, with the constableship of the castle of Dunluce." MacQuillan, on the other hand, was confirmed in the four tuoghs of "Killconmorye, Killaghequyn, Killmurrye, and Clashe marye ganegh." However, since Somhairle Buidhe had been granted "the best part of the Route," and MacQuillan "the desert and barren country" the latter apparently "sheweth great discontentment therewith." (*CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 83-84, 91, 98.)

182. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 69-70, 73, 76, 83-84, 91. A list of the names and surnames of any so brought was to be deposited with the Seneschal of Clandeboye. (p. 69.)
183. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 112, 115; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 182; *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 335-336.
184. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 183-84.
185. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 115; *CSPI,* 1588-1592, pp. 53, 63, 65; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 187-90, 194-98, 200-201.
186. This should be read 'McCleyne.'
187. *Description of Ireland,* p. 27.
188. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 115.
189. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 203; *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 68.
190. *CSPS,* 1589-1593, pp. 584-85; Bardon, p. 94.
191. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 209; *CSPI,* 1588-1592, p. 520; *CSPS,* 1589-1593, p. 691.
192. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 213; *CSPI,* 1592-1596, pp. 116, 145; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 117.
193. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 102; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 109-11, 303.
194. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 111-12; *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 441.
195. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 482-83, 490; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 112-13.
196. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 113-14.
197. That is, Burke.
198. *CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. 12; E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, *Handbook of British Chronology,* third edition, (London, 1986), pp. 383, 406.
199. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 99, 101; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 123-24.
200. *CSPI,* 1574-85, p. 109; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 124-26.
201. *CSPI,* 1574-85, pp. 173, 186; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 126-28, 132-33.
202. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 133-35; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 102; *The Annals of Loch Cé,* II, pp. 442-45.
203. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 138, 143-44; *CSPI,* 1574-1585, pp. 384-86.
204. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 171-72; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 109-11.
205. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 172; *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 170, 172, 198. Five years later, Mr. John Bingham, brother of the governor of Connacht apparently witnessed an Irish form of voodoo in relation to the 'Caliaghe.' On 16 July, he made 'declaration of his knowledge touching the picture of a woman made

of wood, with a pin in the belly of it, that O'Rourke caused to be dragged at a garran's tail in derision of Her Majesty, calling it the old calliagh in the other side of the sea!' (*CSPI,* 1588-1592, pp. 404-05.)

206. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 172-73; *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 198, 242.

207. When written to by Bingham asking why they had come to the province, Donald Gorm and Alasdair Carragh, replied arrogantly at the end of August (in translation of the Scottish Gaelic by the government): "And James [MacDonald] his sons have no other shift, but to take an enterprise upon themselves for such as will give them most, as all other soldiers in the world do use. And whosoever in Connaught shall forbid or let them thereof, they will not take it at their hands, except they be stronger than they, or of greater power. This is sufficient.' (*CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 153-54.) Less than a month later they were both dead.

208. In a note on the septs of Burkes in County Mayo, the Irish State Papers inform that 'Shane Netlevie (of the mountain) was a guide and a bringer in of the Scots.' He was also 'son to M'William.' (*CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 153, 215.)

209. For a detailed itinerary of the Scots' movements from when they crossed the Erne on 24 August to 22 September, by which time they had been at Ardnarea for three days, see *CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 255.

210. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, pp. 149-50, 162, 174-75, 179.

211. *The Annals of Loch Cé,* II, pp. 474-75.

212. See Chapter 16, section II B. The Ó Gnímhs, an Irish bardic family of the mercenary and plantation periods: Case study.

213. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 175; MacKenzie, pp. 165, 184.

214. *CSPI,* 1588-1592, pp. 232, 236, 242, 396-97, 400; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 202-03, 206; Rev. John MacInnes, 'West Highland Sea Power in the Middle Ages,' *TGSI,* 48, (1972-74), pp. 543-44; MacKenzie, p. 183; Clark, p. 79.

215. 'Observations of Mr Dioness Campbell, Deane of Limerick,' p. 49.

216. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, pp. 123, 125, 303.

217. MacKenzie, p. 184. See also Chapter 5, section IV. The Catholic counter-attack.

218. *CSPS,* 1597-1603, part 2, p. 945.

219. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 115, 118; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 211-12; MacKenzie, p. 178.

220. Morgan, p. 18; Bardon, p. 96; MacKenzie, p. 184.

221. See main discussion of dean of Limerick observations below, 1595/6.

222. *CSPI,* Nov. 1600-July 1601, p. 256.

223. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 116, 118.

224. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 217.

225. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 217-18, 221, 224-28; *CSPI,* 1592-1596, pp. 216, 283; *CSPS,* 1593-1595, pp. 457-58, 476, 518; *CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 31.

226. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 119; *CSPI,* 1592-1596, pp. 282, 412; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 229-34; *CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 27.

227. Bardon, p. 196; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 121; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 242.

228. The Tyrone sept had originally been founded by Somhairle, grandson of Alasdair Og of the Isles, in the fourteenth century. See above, footnote 11.

229. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 316; Paul Walsh, *Irish Chiefs and Leaders,* (Dublin, 1960), pp. 82-85, 98-99. Edmund seems to have become head of the Tyrone MacDonnells in December 1596 after the death of Firdorcha and his two sons. (Walsh, p. 99.)

230. Also see Chapter 5, sections IV. The Catholic counter-attack, and V. The Jesuit missions.

231. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 122; *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 413; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 244, 247-48.

232. For a fuller account, see A. I. Macinnes, 'Scotland and the Manx connection: relationships of intermittent violence, 1266c.-1603,' *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society,* 8, (1982), pp. 373-74. The initiative would seem mainly to have been Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg's. As early as February 1584, Robert Bowes, the English agent in Scotland wrote to Walsingham stating that MacDonald had renewed his lease for the Isles and 'offered very largely to take possession of the Isle of Man.' (*CSPS,* 1584-1585, p. 35.) In November 1595, some months after the fleet sailed, MacDonald dealt earnestly with the King 'that he might be suffered to invade the Isle of Man to force it to the King's obedience.' The English expected, in the same month, that it would be taken by Spaniards. (*CSPS,* 1595-1597, pp. 58, 64.)

233. *CSPS,* 1595-1597, pp. 13, 15, 647-48, 650, 661.

234. *CSPS,* 1593-1595, pp. 667-68.

235. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 251-54; *CSPI,* 1592-1596, pp. 364, 370, 490, 497; MacKenzie, p. 186; *CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 677.

236. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 256-58.

237. *CSPI,* 1599-1600, p. 73; *CSPI,* 1598-1599, pp. 140, 142, 340, 424; *CSPS,* 1595-1597, pp. 141, 467; *CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 505; *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 281.

238. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 260, 271, 292; *CSPI,* 1598-1599, pp. 49.

239. *CSPI,* 1598-1599, p. 289.

240. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections.

241. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 263, 265; 'Observations of Mr Dioness Campbell, Deane of Limerick,' pp. 51-53, 56-57. The dean's report appears in the State Papers, dated April 1596. (*CSPS,* 1595-1597, pp. 201-11.)

242. *CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 198.

243. *CSPS,* 1595-1597, pp. 181, 195-96, 214, 241-42.

244. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 122-23; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 268, 270-72.

245. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 273-74, 276-80, 283; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 123; *CSPI,* 1596-1597, p. 69; *CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 511. For the Clan Donald South's difficulties in Scotland at this point, see Chapter 2, section II A. Internal dissension and external assault.

246. See above, section C. Scots mercenary involvement in Connacht.

247. For a similar phenomenon after the conquest of Ireland and the plantation of Ulster, see Chapter 3, section III. Territorial dispossession in Ulster and the west of Scotland: Problems of the displaced and redundant population.

248. Morgan, pp. 18-19; Ó Báille, pp. 54-55, 62, 65, 67, 69; Bardon, p. 97; *CSPS,* 1597-1603, part I, p. 247. For O'Neill's proclamation refer to John O'Donovan (editor), 'Military proclamation in the Irish language issued by Hugh O'Neill in 1601,' in *UJA,* 1st series, 6, (1858), pp. 57-65.

249. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 281-82; *CSPI,* 1596-1597, p. 232.

250. See Chapter 3, section IV. Covenanting period.

251. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 123; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 284, 286-88; MacKenzie, p. 186; *CSPI,* 1596-1597, pp. 397, 441-46, 448-49, 465-67.

252. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 289-91; *CSPI,* 1596-1597, p. 446.

253. Also see Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland for further reference to Donald Gorm in this connection.

254. See Chapter 2, section II A. Internal dissension and external assault.

255. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 293, 296-97, 299-300; E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy, *Handbook of British Chronology,* third edition, (London, 1986), p. 496; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 123-24, 126-27.

256. *CSPI,* 1598-1599, p. 304; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 303-05.

257. *Description of Ireland,* p. 33.

258. From his comments, it seems likely that he was from the MacDonald faction.

259. For more of whom, see Chapter 12, section II. Mercenary contraband.

260. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 125-26; *CSPI,* 1598-1599, p. 437; *CSPI,* 1599-1600, pp. 74-75; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 306-08.

261. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 129; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 312, 316, 318.

262. Inishowen was a long-established landing place for mercenaries. It was stated in 1598 that O'Dogherty's country, "lying upon the Sea, and upon the Isles of Ila and Jura in Scotland, was wont almost yearlie to be invaded by the Scotch, who tooke the Spoyles at their pleasures, whereby O'Doghertie was forced always to be at their devotions." (*Description of Ireland,* p. 30.)

263. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. Iv, 129-31; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 319-21, 323, 328; Bardon, p. 99; *CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 335; MacKenzie, p. 189.

264. *CSPI,* Nov. 1600-July 1601, p. 248.

265. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 323-28; *CSPI,* Nov. 1600-July 1601, pp. 332-33.

266. It appears in the Irish Calendar at *CSPI,* 1601-1603, pp. 338-42. However, there is a verbatim transcription which identifies, and a more precise identification of the author in the Scottish Calender at *CSPS,* 1597-1603, part 2, pp. 1138-43.

267. See Chapter 5, sections II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland (reference to Donald Gorm) and V. The Jesuit missions. Inasmuch as he met four Jesuits from Scotland in O'Neill's camp, who

'had known me from Rome' it seems that the agent had probably served there in some ecclesiastical capacity. He claimed to have brought letters and gifts from the Earl of Huntly. (*CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 340.)

268. *CSPI,* 1601-1603, pp. lxxv-vi, 338-42.

269. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 132-34; *CSPI,* Nov. 1600-July 1601, p. 356; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 326-27; *CSPI,* 1601-1603, pp. 84; David Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century,* (London, 1925), p. 72.

270. Randal's defection surprised Chichester who wrote to the English Privy Council: 'Before joining with Tyrone, Randall seemed the most conformable to honesty of all those I have seen in these parts. His defection resolves me never to trust any of them further than I am commanded.' (*CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 207.)

271. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 331-33; *CSPI,* 1601-1603, pp. 129, 134, 175, 206; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 134.

272. *CSPS,* 1597-1603, part 2, p. 890.

273. On 12 January 1602, the Lord Chancellor lamented that: 'If the "contract of Scots" had fallen on Tyrone's country during his absence they must have wrought good effects to his ruin; whereas now he will no doubt try to get in some of that race himself, being otherwise weak.' (*CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 270.)

274. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 333-35; *CSPI,* 1601-1603, pp. 235, 283, 504; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 135.

275. *Annala Rioghachta Eireann,* VI, pp. 2288-89.

276. Bardon, p. 112.

277. For a more detailed discussion of wood kearn see Chapter 3, section III A. Small tenant farmers, wood kearn and broken men. Glenconkein had dense forests and was a popular retreat, and because it allowed for further retreat into the mountains between Dungiven and Newtown. (Hamilton, footnote to p. 32.)

278. *CSPI,* 1601-1603, pp. 325-26, 455; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 335-38; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 135.

279. MacKenzie, p. 195.

280. J. C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923,* (London, 1969), p. 24.

281. Nicholas P. Canny, 'The treaty of Mellifont and the re-organisation of Ulster, 1603,' *Irish Sword,* 9, (1969-70), pp. 254-55.

282. MacKenzie, p. 195; *CSPI,* 1603-1606, p. 276; *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 414.

283. See Chapter 2, section II A. Internal dissension and external assault.

284. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 312, 334; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. xl-xlii, 79; Ó Báille, p. 57.

285. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. xli, 94.

286. 'The Origins of the 'Road to the Isles,' ' pp. 78, 93.

CHAPTER 2
THE DECLINE AND EXPROPRIATION OF THE CLAN DONALD SOUTH, 1597-1615

Introduction

The two events which had most serious consequences for the history of inter-Gaelic relations in the early seventeenth century, were the dispossession of the Clan Donald South and the plantation of Ulster. In the Highlands, both exacerbated the general realignment which had continued to occur after the demise of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493. In addition, the lack of effective religious authority in large areas of the Highlands and Islands after the Reformation did little to contribute to stability.[1] Though James VI succeeded in centralising government power in Edinburgh through the instrument of the Privy Council and brought a degree of order to the Lowlands, while he was King of Scotland, he made only a small impact on the problem of disorder in the Highlands. He tried various schemes to control the power of the clan chiefs who, in many cases, were also the feudal lords, and thus to put a stop to clan feuds, raids and cattle reiving. First, he tried coercion, attempting to force the chiefs to keep to the letter of the law by appearing in Edinburgh from 1587 with the enactment of 'the General Band,' which bound them to take oaths for the peaceable behaviour of their clansmen, and by a further act in 1597 which, in addition, required them to produce their title deeds and to find security for the payment of Crown rents. Second, there were two colonisation schemes in Lewis and Kintyre,[2] but they failed, dismally in the case of Lewis. Having made insufficient impression through royal authority alone, James then attempted to exercise control through powerful agents such as the Campbells of Argyll, the Gordons of Huntly, and the MacKenzies of Kintail (later of Seaforth). After his accession to the throne of England, James particularly sought to pacify what he saw as the most unruly areas of his kingdom - the Borders, Ulster and the Highlands - by coordinating action against them as King of the three kingdoms.[3]

The expropriation of several west Highland clans - the MacLeods of Lewis, the MacGregors in Argyll and Perthshire, the Clan Donald South or MacDonalds of Dunyveg, and the MacIains of Ardnamurchan[4] - may have quashed the organised resistance of the most intransigent clans, but occurring at more or less the same time as the opportunities for mercenary employment in Ireland were disappearing, it also left a body of discontented clansmen who occasionally cooperated with those similarly dispossessed in Ulster in acts of disaffection. The most significant of the Scottish dispossessions was undoubtedly that of the Clan Donald South which, with territories in Kintyre, Islay and Jura and in the Glens of Antrim, was one of the most powerful clans in the western seaboard. Its demise came about mainly as a result of its own internal weakness, which exhibited in divisions in the Scottish clan itself, and between the Scottish and Irish branches of the family, but

was further exacerbated by a draining feud with the MacLeans of Duart over the title to the Rhinns of Islay. The inability of the chief, Angus MacDonald, to eradicate these problems, provided an opportunity for the Campbells, both of Argyll and Cawdor, to witness against them in the Privy Council, and to win titles to Kintyre and Islay for themselves, in 1607 and 1614, respectively. In the conviction that, as a MacDonald, he had more right to these lands than the Campbells, Sir Randal (MacSomhairle) MacDonnell of Antrim made a series of attempts, in the early seventeenth century, to gain leases to the lost lands, whenever the occasion arose, but to little effect. He managed only to gain a short lease of Islay in 1612, which the Scottish Privy Council did not permit to run the full seven years for which it was originally granted to him.

I. SOURCES

Material concerning Sir Randal MacDonnell, first Earl of Antrim's dealings with the Privy Council of Scotland, in his largely unsuccessful attempts to salvage some of the old Clan Donald South heritage in Islay, Kintyre and Jura, for himself, exists in the Antrim Papers, the records of the MacDonnells of Antrim.[5] Much material relevant to the downfall of the Clan Donald South in the early seventeenth century, including the Islay rebellion of 1614-15, is in the Denmylne Manuscripts, a collection of State Papers relating to political affairs in the reigns of James VI and Charles I. Most of the documents were connected with the work of the first Earl of Haddington, who was Lord Advocate from 1596 to 1612, Secretary of State from 1612 to 1627, and thereafter Lord Privy Seal.[6] Sources for the demise of the Clan Donald South which are useful in conjunction with these manuscripts, are the depositions of the 1609 trial of Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay, for fire-raising and attempted escape from ward,[7] *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* and the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland* and *The Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland.*

II. FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE CLAN DONALD SOUTH

A. Internal dissension and external assault

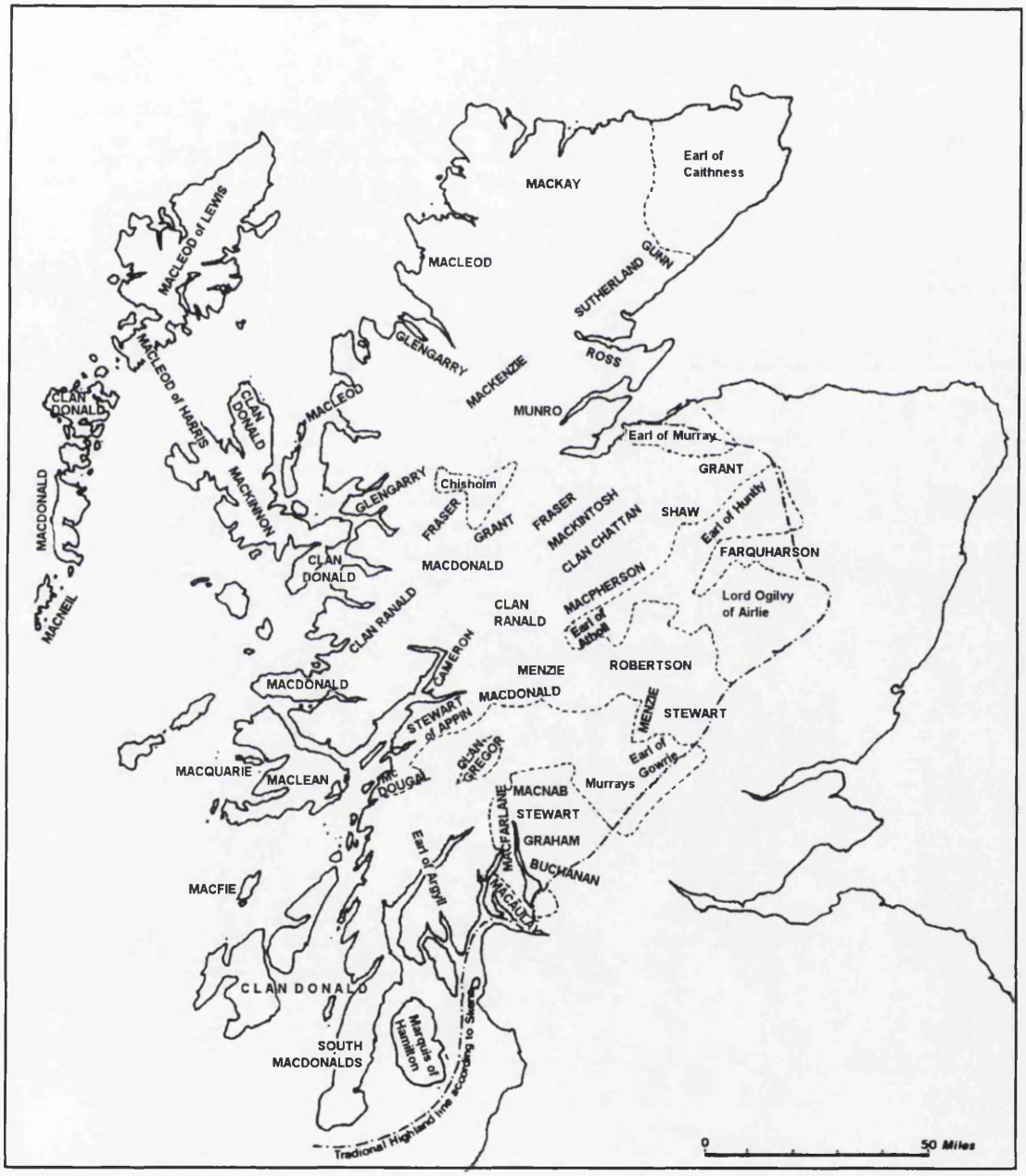
The Clan Donald South or Clan Eòin Mhòr was named after the younger brother of Donald, Lord of the Isles, Eòin Mhòr, who was killed in 1427. On the demise of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, the clan, nonetheless, survived to become the most powerful of the fragmented pieces of the old lordship. However, a lethal combination of internal dissension and external voraciousness preyed upon the clan, destroying its power-base in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[8]

The external attacks on the Clan Donald South came in two directions. The first attack was from the house of Argyll who, on the fall of the Lordship of the Isles, had sought to fill the power vacuum in the western Isles in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[9] The Earls of Argyll had coveted the Clan Donald territory of Kintyre from the early sixteenth century. At the same time, the MacDonalds were considered a threat by the newly united Crown both because of their continued intervention as mercenaries in Ireland in the employ of the native Irish, and because of their historical power-base. Thus, it was convenient for the government to use the Campbells, one of the most powerful clans in the west Highlands, to keep the MacDonalds in check. The Campbell-MacDonald feud intensified in the chiefship of Angus MacDonald, eighth of Dunyveg and the Glens, and the beginning of the seventeenth century saw a major coup by the Campbells.[10]

The second attack, which was also the final nail in the coffin of the Clan Donald South, was the rampant dissension in the late sixteenth century between the MacDonalds and the MacLeans of Duart over the Rhinns of Islay, a dispute which grossly weakened them and also gave the government a useful excuse for their containment.[11] (For the Rhinns, see fig. 2.2, The Western Highlands, and for the division of Islay between the MacDonalds and the MacLeans, see fig. 1.3, Main mercenary groups.) Many of the other clans in the western Isles, most of them also prominent in the mercenary trade, ended up taking sides in the dispute. The MacDonalds of Clanranald and Sleat, the MacIains of Ardnamurchan, the MacLeods of Lewis, the McNeills of Gigha, the MacAllisters of Loup and the MacPhees of Colonsay supported the Clan Donald South. The MacLeods of Harris, the MacNeills of Barra, the MacKinnons of Strathswordsdale and the MacQuarries of Ulva supported the MacLeans of Duart. (For most, see fig. 2.1, Highland clans in the late sixteenth century.) The position of the Earls of Argyll was ambiguous, because they basically worked for their own ends, though in 1578 Lachlan MacLean stated that Colin, the sixth Earl of Argyll, had "movit and steirit up Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg his kin and freindis with certain foreign enymeis of Ireland." They had committed great oppression and plundering on his Islay tenants and seized his castle of Lochgorm.[12]

The intensity of the MacDonald-MacLean feud waxed and waned. Lachlan MacLean, Angus MacDonald and Donald Gorm MacDonald were summoned to Edinburgh, in 1589, under safe conduct, in order to discuss the ruling of their territories. They were imprisoned instead, and only released in 1591 on surety of 10,000 merks each, as well as equal amounts in yearly rent. The MacDonalds were also compelled, at the request of Mr. Robert Bowes, the English ambassador to Scotland, to find surety for their good behaviour in Ireland.[13] Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay, Islay, was more or less continually imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for his father's surety from 1589, with the exception of brief periods of liberation in order to try and bring his father to terms. In 1594, both Lachlan MacLean and Angus MacDonald and other western chiefs were under sentence of forfeiture for refusing to obey the King's orders. Sir James was released to

Fig. 2.1
HIGHLAND CLANS IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



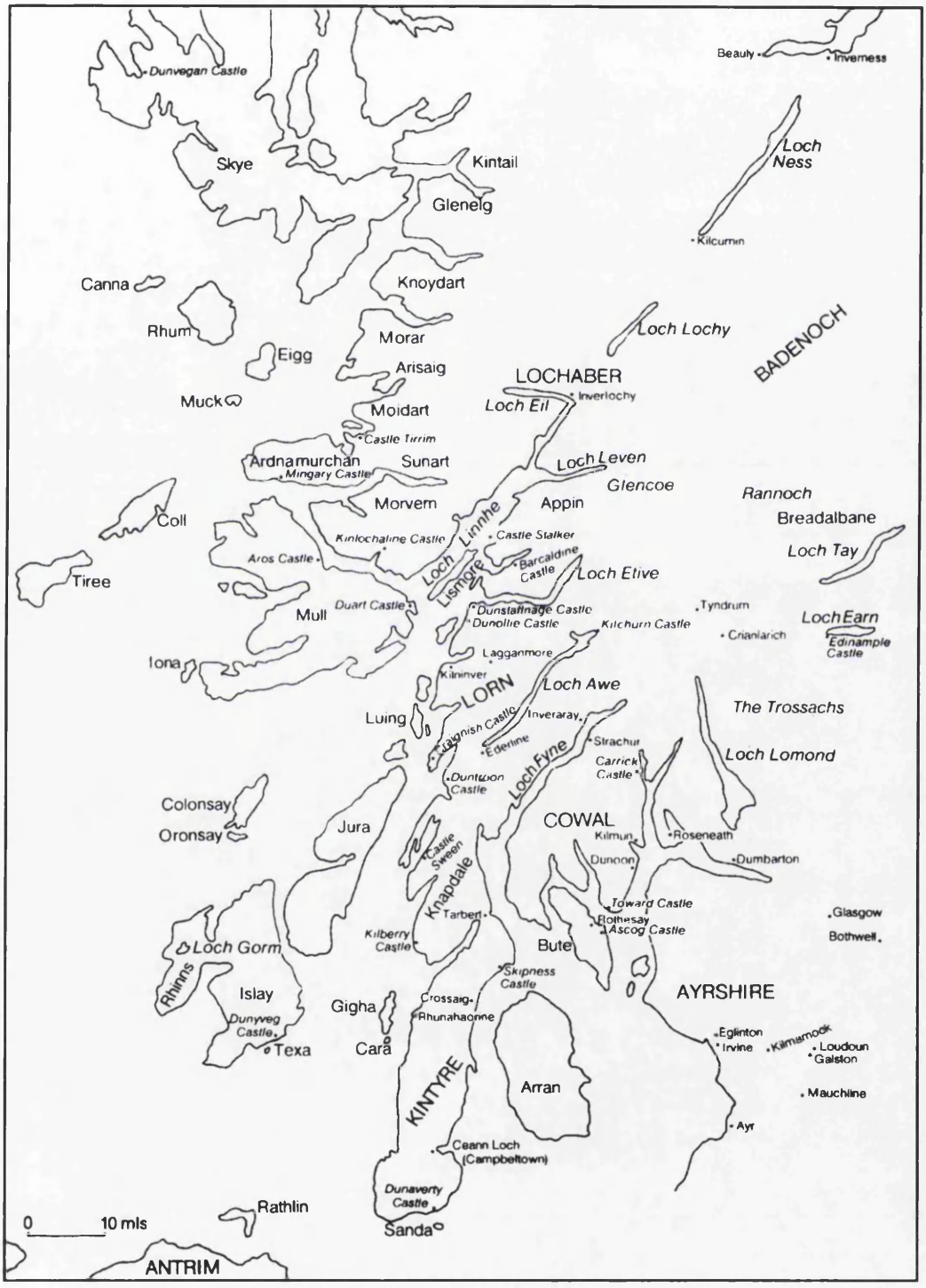
Reproduced from
I. Donnachie and G. Hewitt
A Companion to Scottish History
(London, 1989), map 8.

encourage his father to submit, but though MacLean of Duart and MacDonald of Sleat submitted in June 1596 and agreed to augment their rents, Angus MacDonald held out. In the same month, according to intelligence from Captain Charles Eggerton in Knockfergus, Angus sought O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone's help 'against M'Lanna who has lately attempted his country of Ile.' In exasperation at MacDonald's behaviour, the King gave a lease of the Rhinns of Islay to Lachlan Mòr MacLean of Duart. An expedition was commissioned in June against the Clan Donald South under the lieutenancy of Sir William Stewart of Houston, Commendator of Pittenweem, with specific orders to take and garrison the main castles in the area. By September, Stewart had drawn his companies to Glasgow, in readiness to go to the Isles. Angus, still unwilling to submit, was lying at the Isle of Bute, and according to Bowes: 'with the aid of O'Donnell and others in Ireland he shall draw into the Isles 3000 Irishmen to withstand Colonel Stewart and especially to invade MacLean and his possession.'· The Lord Deputy was asked to stop the forces or to have them intercepted at sea. James VI also sought to divide and rule the MacDonalds by requesting the assistance of James MacSomhairle MacDonnell (third son and heir of Somhairle Buidhe) in the expedition. He refused, but his failure to support MacDonald either contributed to the chief's submission on the appearance of the expedition in Kintyre in November 1596.[14]

Far less than offering assistance, in early October 1596: 'The sons of Sowrly Bowy in Ireland with eight score men surprised Angus MacConnell's house in Kintyre, killed 10 or 12 men and rode away with great prey.' It was this which apparently moved Angus to submit to the King. However, according to Bowes, on 12 November, Hugh O'Neill of Tyrone - apparently in response to Angus's June request - had 'sent to the aid of Angus MacConnell 6 score footmen, whereof 60 are drowned by tempest in the seas and the rest are returned into Ireland.' They sent out too late to assist him because MacDonald had already submitted to Stewart.[15]

The policy fixed upon, in 1597, to contain MacDonald of Dunyveg was that he be deprived of Kintyre and the Rhinns of Islay, and his retainers removed from both. He was also to find security for his arrears of rent to the Crown and to surrender Dunyveg Castle before 20 May.[16] (For Dunyveg Castle, see fig. 2.2, The Western Highlands.) It was, however, mainly because the clan exhibited internal weaknesses that it was able to be broken. These weaknesses manifested not only in the subsequent breakdown of relationships between the son and the father, but also in the breakdown of relationships between the Scottish and Irish branches of Clan Donald South. While it is clear that Somhairle Buidhe remained on good terms with his brother and chief until his death, this was not the case with his son, James MacSomhairle MacDonnell. At this juncture, the situation was complicated for the chief of Dunyveg by attempts by James MacSomhairle to profit from the former's misfortune. In the summer of 1596, James MacSomhairle, who had inherited the Route,

Fig. 2.2
THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS



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David Stevenson,
Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century,
(Edinburgh, 1980), p. 96.

also took possession of the Glens which was held of the English Crown by Angus MacDonald and looked after by his son Angus Og. He also put forward his own claims to Kintyre and Islay in a letter to the King, claiming that Angus MacDonald was illegitimate. James MacSomhairle's claim was unfounded, but provided the King with a useful weapon against MacDonald. He was, therefore, rewarded with a small 30 merklands estate in Cullelungart in Kintyre, on 4 May 1597, and with a knighthood, becoming Sir James MacDonnell of Dunluce.[17]

In the following year, relations were irreparably severed between Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay and his father. The former had concluded that the clan should make a tactical withdrawal from Kintyre so that they could at least keep Islay, but the chief could not accept this. Angus MacDonald failed to understand that prolonged passive resistance no longer forced the issue with the government any more, which sought to settle the Highland situation from 1597 by demanding the production of title deeds to lands, by exacting surety for payment of rents, and by making chiefs responsible for the behaviour of their clansmen.[18] Sir James therefore took drastic measures. Clearly no longer hopeful of persuading his father to submit to the Crown, in the company of "tua or thre hundreth barbarus, wikked and bludie Hieland-men," he set fire to his father's house of Askomull at Ceann Loch (Campbeltown) in Kintyre, (see fig. 2.2, The Western Highlands) in February 1598, in the knowledge that his parents were within. Badly burned, the chief survived to be imprisoned at the hands of his son who assumed leadership of the clan.[19]

The Clan Donald's enemies took advantage of this severe internal division in the clan. Sir Lachlan Mòr MacLean of Duart took a force to Islay to take possession of the Rhinns of Islay leased to him by the Crown, by driving the MacDonalds out. Arbitration having failed, the MacDonalds and MacLeans engaged in battle at Loch Gruinart, on 5 August 1598, where MacLean of Duart was killed. The MacLeans retaliated by invading Islay with assistance from MacLeod of Dunvegan, Cameron of Lochiel, MacKinnon of Strathswordsdale and the MacNeills of Barra. Seeking to confirm his leadership of the clan, Sir James went to Edinburgh and offered to carry through the promises which the chief had made in 1597 to evacuate Kintyre, surrender Dunyveg Castle and to pay Crown rents. In return he would pay his father a pension of 1,000 merks p.a. and wished to be confirmed in the title to Islay.[20]

At this point, the Campbells also seized their opportunity to profit from the division in the Clan Donald South, as they had done with the MacIains or MacDonalds of Ardnamurchan in 1611.[21] Though the government appeared to side with Sir James and condoned his seizure of his father, they did not reciprocate by granting the much-wanted feu of Islay, and this appears to have been because of intervention by John Campbell of Cawdor and the Earl of Argyll. Campbell of Cawdor's sister, Margaret, married Sir James around this time, and may have contributed to his coveting Islay. The old chief managed to escape from imprisonment by 1600 and, after this, both

father and son seem to have vied for leadership. In 1603, fearing another plot against him, the chief managed to capture Sir James, and deliver him to the Earl of Argyll. Sir James removed, an expedition was sent under David Murray, Lord Scone, to receive the obedience of the old chief. Angus MacDonald duly paid off all arrears on his lands in Islay and Kintyre and gave his natural son, Archibald MacDonald of Gigha, as a hostage to Dumbarton Castle. However, Argyll seems to have been working against MacDonald in the Privy Council, in order to further his own ambition to take Kintyre in feu.[22]

By November 1606, Lord Scone and the Earl of Argyll had drawn up a set of conditions under which Argyll was to receive a feu of the Crown lands of Kintyre and in the Isle of Jura which had been forfeited by Angus MacDonald. On hearing of the proposals, Sir James attempted an escape from Edinburgh Castle. Argyll was confirmed in their legal possession, in May 1607, by charter in feu-ferm, in recognition of his services in subduing the MacGregors and other turbulent clans. He was to expel all broken men of the surnames of MacDonald and MacLean and to set none of the lands to a MacDonald[23] At this, Sir James MacDonald attempted a second escape in December 1607 probably to raise the clan but was re-taken. At the same time, Campbell of Cawdor was making plans to possess Islay, allegedly having obtained a renunciation of his rights to Islay from Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg. Sir James was eventually brought to trial, two years later, before the High Court of Justiciary on 13 May 1609, to answer for his attempted escapes and the firing of his father's house in Kintyre, and was found guilty of both. He was condemned to execution as a traitor, but the sentence was not carried out, the threat probably being considered a better ransom for the good behaviour of the clan.[24]

An anonymous, undated, letter to the Scottish Privy Council, no doubt written at the instigation of Argyll, probably sometime in early 1607, and certainly evidencing in his favour, emphasised that the Clan Donald "hes evir from the beginning bein addictit nocht only to rebellioun within this continent land and the iles, bot evir wer assisteris of the northerne Irische people, dwelling in Ireland, in all thair rebellions." It also made much of Argyll's consumate ability to deal with the Irish, as well as the Islesmen:

> Now, this nobleman in actioun of blude being enterit with the said Clan Donald, nocht only will he procuire thair ruitteing out and utter suppressing, bot upoun that same respect will evir be ane feir to those in the northe of Ireland to rebell, haveing ane enemye lyand sa neir to thame...[25]

The Clan Donald South mobilised under their chief, Angus MacDonald, intent on exacting revenge where they could. The Privy Council received news, in July 1607, that the Clan Donald and their associates had gathered a force in galleys, intending to "invade and pursue his Majesty's good subjects by sea and land, wherever they might find advantage."[26] MacDonald was supported by his

kinsman, Donald Gorm MacDonald of Sleat, and also had help from Ireland. Sir Arthur Chichester wrote, on 16 July 1607, that news had been sent to him out of Tirconnell:

> that Caphare Oge O'Donnell, with thirty men in company, well appointed after their fashion, is gone to the Isle of Illa, among the rebels. His return with some forces against the country there is to be feared, for he is a malcontent, and unsatisfied with the Earl of Tirconnell, who witholds most of his land from him against right, as he affirms; and that was the cause of his and Neale M'Swyne's last stir in Tirconnell.

The Lord Deputy gave directions to Captain St. John, of his Majesty's ship the 'Lion's Whelp,' to bring him in, if he came across him. He also wrote to the Earl of Argyll, who was shortly afterwards appointed Justiciar and Lieutenant over the South Isles and commissioned to quell the disturbance.[27]

The combined MacDonald forces seem to have frightened the incomers who had begun to enter Kintyre on issuing of the charter, and some apparently fled across the Channel to Antrim for refuge.[28] Argyll had insufficient men to subdue them at this point, and the MacDonalds attempted to maintain a foothold in Kintyre. It is clear that there was a fairly wholesale extirpation of the clan *fine*, but a general clearance of all the old MacDonald tenants did not take place at this time, since subsequent rentals prove that the old Highland tenants existed alongside those of the new tenants introduced by Argyll. However, the survival of old tenants was paid for in loss of power and local influence and subjugation to the Campbells.[29] Individuals or small groups who found the situation intolerable or too insecure may have moved over to relatives in Ireland, or taken to piracy. War, transportations and disease were also to add to the depletion of the old Highland tenantry in the subsequent decades. A list of inhabitants of the Duke of Argyll's property in Kintyre in 1792, which survives in the accounts of the Chamberlain of Argyll, notes, for instance, a total of only 16 MacDonalds among the adult male population of Kintyre, though it also records the presence of MacAllisters, McNeills, MacKays and McEachrans, traditional vassals of the Clan Donald South in Kintyre.[30] The MacDonalds had lost Kintyre. They were also to lose Islay.

In Islay, Angus Og, the chief's second son, was occupying the castle of Dunyveg which he refused to surrender to Argyll, as royal lieutenant. Hence, Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, was commissioned to lead an expedition to the Isles in August 1608 which was joined by some troops from Ireland under Sir William St. John. The castle was surrendered and garrisoned by Ochiltree, but MacDonald's fort on Loch Gorm was destroyed. The chiefs of the Isles were then summoned to the King's Lieutenant's court in Mull, from where they were carried off to imprisonment in the Lowlands, an event which led to the promulgation of the Statutes of Iona, which received royal approval in 1610. The chiefs' subscription to the Statutes bound them to carry out nine particular

reforms designed for the civilisation of the Highlands, and the obedience of the clans. However, the salutary eviction of the Clan Donald South from Kintyre probably did more to induce the western chiefs to obedience than any statute.[31] Here, it is interesting to observe the difference in James VI's treatment of the Highlanders and of the native Irish. Although he was, at the time, actively engaged in removing most of the native Irish and in regranting their lands to English and Scottish settlers, it appears he hesitated to treat the Scottish Islanders with the same severity, even though he had proposed to extirpate them in the previous year. He seems only to have been interested in docking the power of the great Highland landowners by bringing about the voluntary surrender of large parts of their traditional estates.[32] Since the troubles which resulted from the disinheriting of the Irish chiefs had hardly began to manifest themselves in a big way, the motives for the difference in treatment have to be questioned. The most likely reason is that Scotland was his first inheritance. Religion was probably a very secondary factor, for though those disinherited in Ulster were confirmed Catholics, the chiefs who signed the Statutes of Iona[33] were probabably neither confirmed Catholics or Protestants, since there had been little in the way of organised religion in the Isles for four or five decades. Protestantism had made but a tentative beginning in three of their territories, in Mull, Harris and Skye.[34]

The old MacDonald chief, Angus of Dunyveg was worn down by his efforts to secure titles to his lands and preservation of his heritage. The last recorded transaction of his life was the deed of 1 January 1612 which surrendered his patrimony in Islay to Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, partly in exchange for other lands and partly to raise cash to pay his debts. The passing of the sum of 6,000 merks marked the first step in the absorption of MacDonald territory by the Campbells.[35] Yet, it was an attempt by the MacDonnells of Antrim to gain title to Islay which finally precipitated the end of the Clan Donald South, and not the Campbells. The deed had the strength of a mortgage, Cawdor having stipulated that MacDonald could retain Islay if he could repay the money. He managed to do this with the assistance of Sir Randal MacDonnell of Dunluce who, with the chief's agreement, obtained a short lease of the island in place of Cawdor.[36]

B. Islay rebellion 1614-15

After the death of Angus MacDonald in 1613, his three sons - Sir James who was still imprisoned in Edinburgh, Angus Og and the illegitimate Ranald Og (or Ranald Og MacAllester) - all decided to stake their individual claims to Islay.[37] Ranald Og made the first move, in March 1614, by successfully seizing Dunyveg Castle. When this was reported to Angus Og, the effectual leader of the clan, "who wes within sex myles of the house," he used this opportunity to show his loyalty to the King and sent round the fiery cross for men "to ryse and concur with him in the recourie of the house." Colla Ciotach MacDonald of Colonsay besieged the castle and, after six days, Ranald Og and his followers fled in a boat. Angus Og alleged that he offered the castle back to the old

garrison, but they refused it. Not unnaturally, the Council suspected that Angus had engineered the entire action "and reserved all deliberation."[38] The original motivator behind the seizure is hard to identify because there was obviously a good deal at stake. Information received by the Privy Council on 9 June 1614 from Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphoe and also of the Isles,[39] stated that "the surpryse and taking of the house be Ronnald proceeded from the said Angus, and by speciall command, warrand and direction from him."[40] Yet, according to Angus Og's deposition of 23 May 1615, Ranald Og was said to have stated in presence of Angus Og and Colla Ciotach that he:

> had bene at the bischop of Rapho a little before his comeing to Ila, and haueing receavit frome him a warrand to take meit and drink frome the tennentis in Ilay, quhair he come thairefter to Downlipis [Dunluce] pertening to Sir Ronnald Mcsorle, and haueing come out of Ireland he mett with Donald Gorme bastard sone to Sir James Mcdonald quha schew him that he hard the Isle of Ila wes to be gevin away be his Majestie and that his freindis was to be turnit out of the same, desyreing thairfore that the said Ronnald Oig wald go and tak in the house of Dunyvaig seeing it was the onlie strenth of the Ile, promitting to the said Ronnald mony good conditionis and that he wald be his mantenair and defender in that actioun.[41]

This not only implicates Donald Gorm's father, Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay, in the seizure of Dunyveg Castle, but indicates the ease with which members of the Clan Donald South moved round the whole of the north of Ireland and not simply to Antrim. Clearly, this account put Angus Og in a better light with the government, as did the discovery of a letter which Angus Og had written to his brother James in Edinburgh for transmission to the Privy Council in which he offered to give back Dunyveg to the bishop of the Isles if he were pardoned for any offences committed in its capture. The Council thus decided to test him by ordering the immediate surrender of the castle. It emerged, however, that Argyll had been sending Angus messages making him extremely apprehensive of the government's intentions, for Argyll probably feared that the MacDonalds would finally come to terms. He probably also hoped to weaken the credibility of the current leaseholder of Islay, Sir Randal MacDonnell, by stirring up trouble on the island. Angus thus decided to hold the castle, and the Council appear to have been concerned that the castle was back in MacDonald hands for the first time since 1608. When Bishop Knox went to Islay in September 1614, with a conditional pardon for Angus Og if he surrendered Dunyveg, he certainly reported of the MacDonalds:

> They have built a new fort on a loch[42] which they have made and provisioned. Angus Og their Captain affirms in the hearing of many witnesses that he got direction from the Earl of Argyle to keep still the house and that he [the Earl] should procure him therefore the whole lands of Islay and the house of Dunavage to himself.[43]

Angus Og refused to surrender the castle, and having insufficient forces to take it, Knox was compelled to leave hostages while he tried to secure a seven years' lease of the crown lands of Islay at 8000 merks p. a. for Angus Og, The Council were not disposed to do this, but considered a proposal from Sir John Campbell of Cawdor instead that he be granted a feu of Islay, for which he offered to pay a larger rental and to subdue the island at his own expense.[44] On 11 October 1614, Knox wrote to John Murray of Lochmaben, of the King's Bed chamber, concerning the attempts to procure Islay for Cawdor, that this "if it tak effect will breid grit trubill in the Iylles far moir nor all the fyn and dewite of the Iyles of Scotland will efford thir many zeris."[45] More interestingly, the bishop went on to say that neither he, nor anyone who knows the country, think that it is profitable to the Crown or the country:

> to make that nam [Campbell] gritter in the Iyles nor thai ar alredie, nor zit to rut out one pestiferous clan [MacDonald] and plant in one lytill bettir, seing his Majestie hes good occasione now with lytill expenss to mak a new plantatioun of honest men in that Iyland answerabill to that of Ulster in Iyrland lying upon the nixt schoir with the wiche Iyla haith dayle commerss.[46]

Thus, the bishop saw plantation as the answer to the problems of law and order in the Highlands and Ulster.[47] However, his vested interest in the policy, as a 'planting bishop' in the diocese of Raphoe should be remembered.

On hearing of his brother's plans, Sir James made one last attempt to save his family inheritance. In a petition to the Privy Council in about October 1614 he also offered a rent of 8000 merks p. a. for the crown lands of Islay, on a seven-years' lease to test his obedience. Secondly, if the King preferred to keep these lands, he undertook to make them worth 10,000 merks a year, "and to transport my selfe, my brethir and my kin to Ireland, or to whatsumewir other place his Majestie will appoynt us" on receiving a year's rent of Islay to buy lands within that country. He asked for forty days freedom to recapture the castle of Dunyveg. Should the above offers be refused, he undertook to transport himself and his clan out of Scotland on receiving a free pardon and a royal recommendation of his services to the Estates of Holland, indicating that he saw the future employment of the *fine* and *buannadhan* of his clan mainly as a mercenary force. Ironically, Cawdor, his brother-in-law, is cited as one of his cautioners, for 5000 merks.[48] None of the MacDonalds' offers appears to have received any consideration, but a charter was issued on 21 November 1614 granting a feu of Islay to Cawdor, who had been commissioned, on 22 October, to proceed against the rebels in Islay. The government had probably decided, by this time, that Islay would not be reduced as long as any MacDonalds remained there.[49]

Meanwhile, the Chancellor of Scotland, the Earl of Dunfermline, devised a plan unknown to the Privy Council to secure release of the hostages, whereby he dispatched a certain George Graham of

Eryne, to Islay, a Gaelic speaker from Ross-shire who knew Angus Og, who was said to be acting on the Council's instructions. Graham succeeded in convincing Angus to surrender the castle, release the hostages and to re-occupy it, himself, as constable. All proceedings were to be stopped against him and he was only to surrender the castle to the Chancellor, even if demands came from the King's Lieutenant. Dunfermline's motive seems to have been to put in an offer for Islay himself, having subdued the island without bloodshed, prior to Cawdor's arrival, though he later denied authorising Angus Og to resist Cawdor. When a Privy Council emissary duly arrived, he was treated to the rough treatment of Colla Ciotach. A force under Sir Oliver Lambert, a Cavan planter, arrived in the middle of December 1614, with the Irish section to support Cawdor's expedition. This is an illustration of the British government's attempt to coordinate action against the Gael. He brought a considerable number of soldiers and cannon, and was accompanied by Archibald Campbell, bailie of Kintyre, who had been sent to speed their departure. He also sought to ensure that the inhabitants of Islay whom he found "yet more barbarous than the rudest that ever I saw in Ireland," did not reinforce the Irish dissaffection in Ulster at the time. He attempted to convince Angus that Graham had no authority, but to no avail. Cawdor landed on 6 January 1615. The fort on Lochgorm was surrendered by Ranald MacJames (or Ranald of Smerby, a brother of the old chief, Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg) on 21 January, and the siege of Dunyveg began, at the beginning of February, which soon forced an unconditional surrender. Only Colla Ciotach and a few of his close kinsmen escaped. Cawdor held a justice court on 3 February, after which fourteen of the rebels were executed. Angus Og, himself and a few other witnesses were held for examination by the Privy Council. The Chancellor denied any dealing with Angus other than for the release of the hostages, nor was Angus's situation helped by the piratical activities of Colla Ciotach[50] whose action since his escape provoked the Privy Council to issue a commission of fire and sword against him.[51]

The example of the Islay rebellion appears to have promoted similar disaffection among the MacDonalds' kinsmen in Antrim. By 1614, several years after the beginning of the first phase of the Ulster plantation, there was a good deal of discontent among the native Irish in Ulster, some of which manifested itself in dissatisfaction by some Antrim MacDonnells with Sir Randal MacDonnell's leadership.[52] The two leaders were Alexander MacDonnell (son of Sir Randal's elder brother, the deceased Sir James) and Rory O'Cahan. MacDonnell, who was to the fore in the conspiracy, had lost his lands in Antrim on his father's death in 1601, due to the lack of deference by the Gaelic septs to primogeniture, and he thus aimed to assert his own authority in Ulster to the detriment both of his uncle, Sir Randal, and of the government. O'Cahan's aim was to regain the O'Cahan's castle at Limavady which Sir Thomas Phillips had captured from his father after O'Dogherty's rising.[53] This MacDonnell/O'Cahan partnership is an apparent continuation of old mercenary patterns of friendship. It is also evidence of the perennial theme of the Gaelic struggle against territorial dispossession, undoubtedly against the foreign government but just as often

against the personal kin group.

The plan in its entirety included attacks on Coleraine, Derry, Lifford, Culmore and Limavady - the main British settlements, the release of Con O'Neill, the bastard son of the Earl of Tyrone who had been left behind in 1607 and was imprisoned in Charlemont fort, and the capture of prominent English hostages. Confessions from the 38 conspirators who were ultimately identified spoke of a meeting which was held in May or June of 1614, when Angus Og was in possession of Dunyveg Castle. Certainly, Ranald Og had been in Dunluce, in Antrim, before he took Dunyveg in March 1614, and whether particular plans were made then or not, it is likely that Scots and Irish Gaels frequently commiserated over each other's unfortunate positions. One of the confessions states that the rising was to have taken place in the August of 1614. They also planned to "send for Coll MacGillenaspie into Scotland, who was sure to assist Alexander and his kinsmen in that action."[54] Another confession said that Alexander MacDonnell intended to raise men in Antrim and the Isles, while Ludar MacDonnell (Sir Randal's natural brother) was to be sent to Colla Ciotach to get his support.[55] Whether because of these weak links or not, the government in Ireland discovered the plot and arrested the majority of the leaders - O'Neills, O'Cahans, MacDonnells - representatives of the traditional Gaelic families. It appears to have been a conspiracy planned in general by young members of the native Irish élite and this possibly indicates one reason for its lack of substance. It is worthy of note as the only significant plan for an uprising in Ulster during the reign of King James after 1610.[56]

As such, it captured the attention of Sir Arthur Chichester, the Irish Lord Deputy, between the April and September of 1615, and was considered serious enough to necessitate the execution of some of the conspirators. This was not only because they were rebels whom Chichester thought would "never be loyall, nor conforme themselves to anie lawdable or civill course of life," but because he feared that they would escape to "Sir James McConnell, and other Scottish rebels, unto whom they were near neighbours, and some of them of kindred and alliance." The government clearly feared collusion between the disaffected Clan Donald South in Scotland and their kindred in Ulster. Though it was never a major threat to the plantation settlement, it was a genuine indication of Gaelic discontent. The confession of Gorrie McManus O'Cahan on 21 June 1615, mentioned the grievances of Alexander MacDonnell and Rory O'Cahan, especially 'how their lands were disposed of to others, and themselves left to trust to small portions and to mend their estate.' Alexander MacDonnell, for instance, felt that his uncle, Sir Randal MacDonnell, had reallocated him an insubstantial portion of his estate. In a confession of 21 April 1615, one Patrick Ballagh O'Murry stated that MacDonnell was 'discontented that his uncle had his land,' while the confession of Cowconnaught O'Kennan, on 26 June, stipulated that he 'therefore intended to gain the country by force.' However, if Sir Randal was astute enough to survive as a Catholic Gael in the midst of Protestant plantation, his nephew had small chance of bettering him. It is difficult to see why

Alexander MacDonnell was not executed, though it was perhaps because he was Antrim's nephew. After the conspiracy he was brought to obedience and held land in the barony of Kilconway. (See fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.) The conspiracy 'is the only indication, however tentative, that there was an element in gaelic society which did not accept that they had to adjust to a more ordered society.'[57]

While the Ulster conspiracy was being dealt with, and with Angus Og secured, Sir James MacDonald contrived an escape from Edinburgh castle, in May 1615, aided by the chief of Keppoch and his son, Alasdair MacRanald MacDonald of Keppoch, and the eldest son of MacDonald of Clanranald. His escape simply convinced the Council that he had been implicated in the rebellion and that both the brothers were guilty.[58] The MacDonald alliance, on the other hand, suggests that their collective fear of Campbell ascendancy in the western Isles had reached a peak. 'In less than a decade the Campbells had gained Kintyre, Islay, Jura, Colonsay, Ardnamurchan and Sunart, all at the expense of the MacDonalds; how long would it be before, having destroyed the Clan Ian Mor and the MacDonalds of Ardnamurchan, the Campbells turned on other MacDonald chiefs?'[59] Once in the Isles, Sir James conferred with MacDonald of Sleat, some of whose men joined him, and then sailed to Eigg, the MacDonalds of Clanranald being traditional allies of the Clan Donald South,[60] where he met Colla Ciotach, his own bastard son, Donald Gorm, and Sorley MacJames, a son of Sir James MacSomhairle of the Route (and half-brother of Alexander MacDonnell of the Ulster conspiracy). With a force of about 300 men behind him, he arrived in Islay at the end of June. He was also joined by some of the Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan. The rebels quickly forced the surrender of Dunyveg Castle and drove Cawdor's men from the island.[61] On hearing of the taking of the castle, the Privy Council wrote to the Irish Lord Deputy, who "because diuers of the rebells of Yreland doeth daylie repair from thense heere, and doeth joyne with our rebelles ... is desyred to tak some course wherby the resort of suspect persones from Yreland towardes this countrey may be stayed."[62] Sir James wrote passionately to Sir Thomas Hamilton of Byres, first Lord Binning, the Secretary of State, on 1 July 1615: "If his Majestie be not willing that I sall be his heighnes tennent in Ila, for Goddis cause let his Majestie hauld it in his awin hand; for that is certane, I will die befoir I sie a Campbell posses it."[63] He was certainly to blame much of his later misfortune on the Campbells, a view still shared in the middle of the century by the poet, Iain Lom, bard to the MacDonalds of Keppoch.[64]

In view of the support which Sir James MacDonald was engaging, it was felt more appropriate that Argyll rather than Cawdor should lead an expedition to repress the rebellion. Argyll did not return from England, where he had gone to escape his creditors, until the end of August 1615, and this tardiness in taking action allowed Sir James to start consolidating his position in the old Clan Donald South territories of Kintyre and Jura.[65] (For the extent of Clan Donald South territories, see fig. 1.3, Main mercenary groups.) Lord Binning chastised Argyll, on 5 August, informing him

that the rebels "ar so swelled in pryde, that they have sent the fyre-corse throw the cuntrie, and wairned all the inhabitants betuix Tarbert and the Mull of Kintyre, to tak their land of the Traitour Makoneill."[66] In September, Argyll finally set out to confront Sir James who was based on the west of Kintyre, near the island of Cara with about 1,000 men. Argyll advanced on land and Cawdor by sea, and on hearing of the approach, the MacDonalds dispersed. Sir James made good his escape to Rathlin, following a traditional fugitive trail, while Colla Ciotach reached Islay where he repossessed Dunyveg Castle and the fort of Lochgorm.[67]

When Argyll crossed to Jura, Sir James MacDonald returned to Islay after two days, but Argyll then proceeded to Islay, reinforced with some English ships of war and another force under Cawdor. Argyll agreed to a truce if Dunyveg and Lochgorm were surrendered but Colla Ciotach, who held them, refused to cooperate.[68] Sir James managed to escape to Ireland with Keppoch and his sons, Sorley MacJames and forty followers who wished to escape execution. They sailed to an island called Inchdaholl on the Irish coast. Sir James, his son Donald Gorm and two retainers were concealed by Valentine and Robert Black, resetters of Jesuits, in Galway in Ireland, with whose help they eventually escaped to Spain, evading capture by two parties sent after them by Argyll and the Lord Deputy of Ireland. Sorley MacJames was sheltered in the Glens and the Route, in Antrim, by his relations, along with some twenty-two men who included Malcolm MacLeod, natural son of Ruairi Og MacLeod of Lewis, and Ranald Og.[69] Recognisances for the peace were taken from him and the other Scottish rebels who arrived in Antrim in 1617 by a justice of the peace.[70] However, Sorley MacJames's discontent and restlessness eventually led to his capture by the French authorities for engaging in piratical activity.[71] Keppoch and his sons were sent back from Ireland to Lochaber by Sir James, with some of the MacAllisters and MacKays of Kintyre who had all accompanied him in his flight from Islay. Colla surrendered with terms that saved himself and a few of his followers but consigned all the others to governmental justice, even going to far as to bring in one of the leaders, MacPhee of Colonsay, by which he ultimately procured a lease to Colonsay in 1636.[72]

With the MacDonald rebellion finally quelled, the government renewed and added to the provisions of the Statutes of Iona, in 1616, in an attempt to take advantage of the demise of the Clan Donald South by binding the other clan chiefs to greater obedience. Indeed, it was at this point that the chiefs began to see the necessity for a degree of circumspection in their dealings with the government, and the more regular payment of Crown rents. Most of the MacDonald élite were expelled from the lands of the Clan Donald South in Kintyre, Islay and Jura. Three MacDonalds of some standing are known to have survived - the MacDonalds of Largie, in Kintyre, the MacDonalds of Sanda, near South Kintyre, and the MacDonalds of Colonsay - but as tenants of the Campbells.[73] The heads of other prominent local families - the MacBraynes, the MacKays and the MacEacherns - had also pledged allegiance to the Campbells of Cawdor by 1618.[74] A significant

irony in the dispossession, given the prominent part played by the Campbells in the expropriation, was the defection of the seventh Earl of Argyll to Catholicism in 1618 and his exile on the continent for the rest of his life. His noted association with Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay and Alasdair MacDonald of Keppoch while in the Spanish Netherlands was a further irony.[75] Though both MacDonalds received pardons in 1620, only Keppoch was permitted to return to Scotland. To allow Sir James to return was considered too dangerous, and he lived in London until his death in 1626.[76] However, the ultimate irony of the dispossession of the Clan Donald South must be that the rebellion which led to their expropriation was precipitated by the MacDonalds' desire, apparently from the grassroots to the highest level, to prevent their own kinsman, Sir Randal MacDonnell of Dunluce, from taking over Islay.

III. ANTRIM'S TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIVENESS

The end of the Islay rebellion did not mark the end of Antrim's interest in the territories of his old clan. Antrim pursued a number of land claims in Scotland, in the early seventeenth century, in an attempt to wrest the MacDonald heritage from the hands of the Campbells, but in the first instance, he had to defend his claim to the Isle of Rathlin, an island which had long been held by the MacDonnells.

A. Legal battle to decide nationality of Rathlin

Though the Antrim Scots were in favour with James VI and I at his succession to the united thrones, the patent of Sir Randal MacDonnell's grant of the Glens did not include Rathlin. Sir Randal immediately set to work to remedy this, and the King wrote to Sir George Carew, the Irish Deputy in April 1604, ordering him to prepare a new grant for Sir Randal including the Island of Rathlin, on surrender of the old grant. Instructions were passed on to Sir John Davies, (later Attorney-General for Ireland), commenting that the document had been drawn up quickly because of the hasty departure of Mountjoy, the Lord Lieutenant, and that the island of Rathlin had been "always esteemed one of the seven tuoghs [territories] of the Glyns."[77] Consequently, the island was made over to Sir Randal in 1605. The final possession, however, was not to prove as simple.

In 1617, a legal action was begun against Sir Randal disputing the ownership of Rathlin. It was claimed by a Scotsman, George Crawford of Leiffnoris,[78] on the grounds that the island had been granted to one of his forebears in 1500 by James IV of Scotland. It is likely that Crawford had also been encouraged by Sir Randal's failure to retain his lease of Islay. Sir Randal sought immediate legal advice and was told that the ultimate implication of the action was the decision as to whether Rathlin belonged to Ireland or Scotland. If the latter, then Crawford's claim was reasonable, but if

it belonged to Ireland then James IV had had no business granting it to his subjects at all. Sir Arthur Chichester, then governor of Carrickfergus, rendered his opinion in a letter of 10 March 1617. He clearly came down on the Irish side, possibly in case the authorities could be held accountable for previous behaviour towards Rathlin's inhabitants, if they were regarded as Scottish:

> If it be of Scotland, we have run into great error, for in the time of the rebellion [of Hugh O'Neill] we have often wasted it, and destroyed the inhabitants by the sword and by the halter as we did the rebels of Ireland. So did Sir John Perrot in his time, of whom no complaint was made by any subject of Scotland. It has been taken and reputed for half a tuogh of the Glynns in the County Antrime, ever since it was a county, and was so found by inquisition taken by commission the first year of the King [James VI and I], and is passed to Sir Randal McDonnell and his heirs by letters patent. The dismembering of it from the Crown of Ireland is a matter of State, and not to be mined as a private debate. ... It lies not past three miles from the mainlands of Ireland, and 24 miles from Scotland. In the maps of Scotland I have not seen any mention made of it, and on all those of Ireland it is set down as a member of this Country.[79]

The hearing, held according to Chichester's letter about 6 April, was said to have been attended by the King. Geographical proximity was probably the most likely point in his favour, but Antrim also called on more mythological evidence which would not be tenable in a modern-day court. For instance, the fact that the island "neither breeds nor nourishes any living thing venemous, but it clear of them as Ireland," was thought to be proof that it was drawn from the Irish landmass. Sir Randal also acquired the assistance of Peregrine or Cucogry O'Duigenan, a renowned Irish *seanchaidh* whose family had been responsible for compiling the *Annals of Kilronan.* He had also helped the O'Clery family in compiling the famous *Annals of the Four Masters.* O'Duigenan was brought to Dunluce. He suggested to Sir Randal that he use the judgement of Columbanus which had been given over a thousand years previously during the Dalriadic controversy at Drumceat, near Limavady, in 575. The proceedings had been preserved in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre.* The ancient controversy centred on whether the Scots who had then settled in Dalriada still owed taxes and military service to Irish High King. Columba decided that Irish Dalriada, which included the Isle of Rathlin, was regarded as Irish territory and was to continue under the dominion of the Irish King. Scottish Dalriada was freed from tributes and services to the High King of Ireland.[80]

Further than this, Sir Randal carried out historical researches in Dublin and London in his attempt to back up his claim. The more recent inclusion of the island as part of the dowry of Maire Biséd of the Glens when she married John Mòr MacDonald in the late fourteenth century, as well as its inclusion in earlier Irish jurisdictions, was cited. A letter from Oliver St. John, the Irish Lord Deputy, to Sir George Carew attests to the thoroughness of Sir Randal's research:

> Concerning of Rathlin of the records here, what he could discover Sir Randal carried with him. The Bishop's records are utterly lost by the mutiny of former times. I found a Registrar here who has executed the office under the last four Bishops. He affirms that the people of the island of Rathlyn, always with readiness, appeared upon summons in the Bishop's Court of Connor, underwent their censures, paid their portion according to the statute towards the maintenance of the schoolmaster and neither the people nor anyone else ever heard so much as of a claim being made by the Bishop of the Isles. The Justices of Assize and of the Peace always called them to their asemblies without gain saying, and they have ever felt the hand of justice both by the civil magistrate and marshal and it is close joined to the land of Ireland and therefore are possessioned continual without interruption unless other proof be made to the contrary which I can hardly believe it can be. Besides there is one Donell O'Murrey, yet living, that was Bishop of Connor in the time of popery; he affirms that in those times he ever recovered twelve shillings yearly of procuration due on to him out of the island of Rathlin.[81]

For his part, Crawford also used anachronistic evidence. He mentioned Solinus, the Roman geographer, and Ptolemy, Marcianus and Stephanus who had all included Rathlin as one of the Hebridean islands in their surveys of some 14-1500 years previously. Like Sir Randal, he then presented more contemporary evidence, citing a grant made of several lands including Rathlin by James IV to Adam Rede in 1500, following on the surrender of the island by John, Lord of the Isles, in 1493. At the time, Rathlin was held by John's grandson, Alexander, but in the struggle surrounding the lordship his Scottish lands had been declared forfeit and, for a while, this had included Rathlin. The island was granted to Rede for his service in the suppression of the Isles. His descendants kept up a nominal claim on the island for the next 100 years, but actual possession was always with the MacDonalds. George Crawford acquired his interest through his uncle, Henry Stewart of Barskymen. Stewart was married to the eldest of Adam Rede's great-granddaughters and claimed Rathlin as part of her father's inheritance. Potentially more interesting is the seventh Earl of Argyll's secret acquisition of a grant of the non-entry of the island. Stewart had negotiated with Argyll and bought out his wife's sister's interest in 1606, transferring his rights to his nephew, George Crawford, who petitioned the King for his rightful possession in 1617. Why he should do this then was probably because of the general climate of interest in Ireland, particularly in plantation, and presumably because he now regarded the Clan Donald South as sufficiently crippled to be unable to exert any influence in the matter. One significant point made on Crawford's behalf was that Rathlin was part of the sheriffdom of Tarbert in Kintyre, the sheriff of which paid its rents into the Exchequer of Scotland. A note by Sir George Carew elucidates the point. The jurisdiction of the South Isles, in which Rathlin was included, was assigned to the sheriffdom of Tarbert but not before 1503. Carew particularly observes, from an enactment of James IV, 6th Parliament cap. 59, that "this new institution of the Sheriffdom of Tarbar cannot prejudice the right of the Crown of England to the Rathlin which, since the conquest of Ulster, was annexed to the County of Antrim,

both for temporal and spiritual jurisdiction." Rathlin had, he said, always been granted by the crown of England as a separate territory. Ultimately, the verdict went against Crawford, mainly it is thought, because Sir Randal was very popular with the King. The King gave further weight to the decision by making Randal a baron, and from this time Rathlin was regarded as irrefutably Irish.[82]

The island was leased by Alexander, the fifth Earl of Antrim, in 1746, because he was in severe debt, and was forced to do so by his creditors. It was leased to the Rev. John Gage, a prebendary of County Derry, on 10 March 1746. It has been suggested that Gage's interest in the island may have stemmed from the marriage a few years previously of one of his nieces to a McNeill of Gigha, the Scottish island lying 30 miles from Rathlin north-north-east. Gage acquired rights to stone, limestone, slate and marble, while Antrim retained rights of fishing, airies of hawks, coal pits and mines and coal dust. In a petition he presented to parliament in 1758 Gage emphasised the trading links between the Isles and Rathlin, putting forward a suggestion that Rathlin be used "as a public granary where great stores of corn in cheap seasons might be brought from the islands and continent of Scotland where rents are mostly paid in grain and in scarce years might supply the northern part of this Kingdom at moderate price."[83] The age-old business of privateering was clearly flourishing, for he also asked for a King's ship to work from the island to suppress the piracy and smuggling which was carried out "on a vast scale."[84] The island was still in Gage's hands at the end of the period when, on 15 October 1759, Antrim changed two of the cautioners. Thus, an island which was indispensable as a strategic location on the mercenary route was now seen as a significantly peripheral holding to have been leased out of the MacDonnell family to address financial need.[85]

B. Antrim's interest in Islay and Kintyre

Although there was a considerable rift by the beginning of the seventeenth century between the Antrim MacDonnells and their relatives of the Clan Donald South, some ties of kinship still drew them together and interest was never more strong than when territory was at stake. Sir Randal was not indifferent to the prospect of the Islay inheritance being swallowed by the clan's old enemies. At the same time, he could not endanger his good relationship with James VI and I by giving active support to Angus of Dunyveg. However, when Angus renounced his title to Islay in favour of Campbell of Cawdor in January 1612, Sir Randal managed to get the contract cancelled on a legal technicality concerning a backbond, which stipulated that Angus could withdraw from the contract and keep Islay, if he could repay the money which Cawdor had advanced for it. Sir Randal arranged for Cawdor to be repaid and personally obtained a lease of the lands in Islay for seven years, in September 1612, through the agency of Lord Abercorn's brother, Sir George Hamilton. The lease was issued in Hamilton's name, since Sir Randal was not a Scot. The island was only

retained for the MacDonalds in the short term. As in Ireland, Sir Randal's enemies were quick to lodge complaints. Within less than six months he was accused of imposing excessive burdens on his tenants, and of attempting to introduce Irish laws and observances into the island.[86] It has been suggested that, in spite of the similarities apparent in Gaelic culture, the problem probably arose from greater progress made by the feudal system in the Highlands and Isles than in Ireland.[87]

However, it seems more likely, from the evidence, that the problem arose because Sir Randal was introducing plantation-style regulations into Islay, that is, operating the system on a more commercial basis, which the islanders disliked. For instance, he imposed an Ulster imposition for the maintenance of fighting men, whereby each holder of a merkland had to keep a fighting man in food and clothing in his household. Certainly, the inhabitants of Islay protested to the Scottish Privy Council that he had exacted 4s. [Scots] per day for every horse, cow or mare that grazed on wasteland and 12d. [Scots] for every sheep. In addition, he demanded 48s. [Scots] per annum from every weaver and cord-wainer in the island and "tuelff penneis for every kow that ane man ressavis with his wyff the tyme of his marriage."[88] The islanders objected to these "verie Havy burdynis exactionis and impositionis" along the general grounds that they were "the formes and lawis of Yreland." They also complained that they were oppressed by idle men, vagabonds and sorners, presumably Irish idlers who had come to the island since Sir Randal assumed possession, and they demanded to be freed from "foreyne and strange lawis." Sir Randal was consequently obliged to moderate his exactions and restore the ancient customs of the islanders when the Privy Council issued an act in favour of the Crown tenants of Islay. James Primrose, Clerk of Council, subsequently noted in his remarks on the state of the Isles, that "sensyne thair hes bene nothing hard among thame."[89] However, the islanders' reaction to their great Irish kinsman shows little evidence either of irrepressible cultural ties between Irish and Scottish Gaels, or of close bonds of kinship within the same family.

Though Sir Randal treated with the Privy Council for a heritable feu in consequence of the trouble which erupted in Islay in 1614, Campbell of Cawdor was ultimately to secure the title before Antrim's lease could run its course, having offered not only the exorbitant yearly feu duty of £6000, but also to burden himself with much of the cost of subduing the rebels himself.[90] Part of the expeditionary force was to include 200 soldiers from Ireland, which must have been an added insult to Antrim. Moreover, the particularly pertinent question has been raised of why Antrim's acceptance was now rescinded. In a sense, as a powerful landowner, well-affected to the Irish government and within easy reach of Islay, he was the obvious person to ask for help. Yet, the Council not only did not contact him, but strongly opposed him even visiting the island. The explanation appears to be, first, that the granting of the lease to Sir Randal had stirred up the MacDonald rebellion of 1614, and second, that they had possibly reconsidered the prudence of the territorial reunification of the Clan Donald and the creation of a large landowners with disparate

landholdings of strategic importance. Moreover, it would have been contrary to the policy exercised since the Union of the Crowns where a great deal of energy had been put into coordinating action against Gaels in both kingdoms, exhibited in the exchange of military forces to combat Gaelic rebellions and ecclesiastical tenure of bishoprics in Ulster and the Highlands.[91]

Despite attempts to discredit him, Sir Randal maintained his good relations with the King. The castle of Dunluce which had been excluded from his territorial grant in 1603, was restored to him on 10 July 1614. He was made Viscount Dunluce on 29 June 1618 for his faithful service to the Crown, "as in reducing to civility the barbarous people of those parts where he doth reside," and subsequently, on 12 December 1620, raised to the higher honour of Earl of Antrim, for similar reasons. This resulted in even more attempts to reduce him by his enemies. In 1627, Antrim tried to purchase the lands that he had formerly leased in Islay. A price of £5000 sterling was agreed with Campbell of Cawdor, but the agreement failed, probably due to the intervention of Argyll and his own influence with the King.[92] In the 1630s, however, another opportunity came for regaining part of the family inheritance. When Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg had been forced to surrender to Argyll in 1607, the barony of Kintyre - that is, the whole peninsula together with lands in Jura - had been given to Argyll's son James Campbell, created Viscount Kintyre in 1622. The latter fell into debt and was obliged to place his estates on the market. It is significant, in view of his later protest over the sale to Dunluce, that the lands were first offered to Lord Lorne for £10,000 sterling in 1631, and though the Earl of Argyll agreed to the sale, it did not go through, probably due to Lorne's own financial problems. Lord Antrim placed an offer on behalf of his son, Lord Dunluce and an indenture was entered into between them on 11 December 1634. A provision in the original deed actually prohibited the sale of the lands to any member of the Clan Donald, but a successful appeal was made to King James against this. On 16 January 1635, two charters were subscribed conveying "the hail lands Lordship and barrony of Kintyre comprehending the lands of south and north Kintyre, and the Ile of Jura" to Lord Dunluce. The deposit and legal fees were paid and the sasine given to Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, as attorney and on behalf of, Randal MacDonnell, Viscount Dunluce.[93]

Before the final infeftment was accomplished however, Lord Lorne (later eighth Earl of Argyll), Kintyre's half-brother, went to Edinburgh with a number of his friends and attempted to persuade Lord Kintyre to break off his transactions with the Earl of Antrim.[94] When this failed, Lorne strongly protested against the sale to the Privy Council and asked for an arrestment of the process. Although he had no particular wish to take on an emburdened estate,[95] he relished the thought of a member of the Clan Donald as his close neighbour even less. So, with the support of his leading Campbell kinsmen he submitted a petition dwelling on the dangers of restoring a branch of the MacDonalds to their old territories. Doubtless anticipating some difficulty, Lord Kintyre had given a written warrant, dated 16 January 1635, to Archibald Stewart, attorney, to possess and enter the

castle of Lochhead on behalf of Randal, Viscount Dunluce, stating that "incase the key be either lost or put out of the way I tollerate the said Archibald Stewart to break open the Doore and put on an other loke and posses himself."[96] Malcolm MacNachtan, bailie of Kintyre and James Stewart, chamberlain of Kintyre, were ordered by the Privy Council "To Reteane and keip the possessioun of the said hous And not to suffer the erle of Antrim & Lord Dunluce nor na utheris in thair Name nor to thair behove to enter in the said hous nor to apprehend possessioun of t he same not withstanding of any ryt or Infeftment made and gevin to thame thairof." It was occupied at Lorne's insistence, by a party of about ten armed soldiers under William Stirling of Auchyle.[97]

A proclamation issued to the people of Kintyre warned them not to attend any courts which the MacDonnells might set up, and not to give suit and service at them. Antrim protested that there were only a small number of MacDonalds in Kintyre and stressed his suitability as a planter, indicating that he would "be oblist to buld the ruinett churches and to bring in land Scots men to dwell ther for the Cevell easing of the kuntry." He also pointed out that he had two sixteenth-century titles to the said lands, but the Council had declared, in May 1630, that the charter granted by Mary, Queen of Scots, of the barony of Bar in North Kintyre was null for a variety of reasons, while the sasine following on the charter granted by James VI, dated 4 May 1597, to Sir James MacDonnell of Dunluce of lands in South Kintyre, had not been completed. The Council passed a recommendation, sanctioned by the King, ordering the whole proceedings to be annulled, and directing Lord Kintyre to return to the Earl of Antrim any money that had already been paid towards the purchase price. Notaries were prohibited from being party to instruments of sasine in favour of Lord Dunluce, and in July 1635 the writs in favour of Dunluce were cancelled.[98]

Antrim did not entirely give up on Kintyre, however. For when the First Bishop's war broke out four years later, King Charles, in seeking Antrim's aid to invade the west of Scotland, offered him the lands of Kintyre as a carrot.[99] Had Kintyre been transferred to the MacDonnells of Antrim in 1635, giving them control of its castles, the Royalists might have been able to mount a more serious offensive.[100] As it was, Antrim began to prepare for war in the summer of 1638, allegedly defending himself against the aggression of Lord Lorne whom he said was planning to attack him, but in reality, perhaps, it was only a thin veil over his old desire to acquire old Clan Donald South territory in Scotland. Wentworth, the Irish Lord Deputy, was unwilling to advance Antrim any government troops for what was essentially a clan crusade, and so Lorne, now eighth Earl of Argyll, was given time to prepare defences, fortify Kintyre and train men. In April 1639, Argyll began to make his move by arresting two of the Earl of Antrim's agents in Kintyre.[101]

It is a noteworthy postscript to this affair that the Marquis of Antrim, formerly Randal, Lord Dunluce, of the above transactions, was still sufficiently interested to make a final attempt to gain the lordship of Kintyre for the MacDonnells as late as 1663. This was as a consequence of the

execution of the Marquis of Argyll in 1661. A document entitled 'Proposals for Kintyre' in the Marquis of Antrim's own hand, points out that it was an ancient heritage of the MacDonalds and humbly requests "that the Marquis of Antrim may have the said lordship of Kintire, and the lands of Caradle [Carradale] which is now fallen into the King's hands, by the Marquis of Argile's Forfeiture." He offered to pay the King £10,000 sterling, "beinge neere the full value of it," or to pay the same to Argyll's creditors.[102] Antrim's interest, at this time, may have been heightened by the fact that he had been forfeited for his Royalism in the civil war, and that his own estates were in the possession of Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers. Indeed, he did not come into his inheritance again until 1665, and his toying with the idea of gaining Kintyre, which probably cannot be taken too seriously at this juncture, should be seen in the light of his own dispossession.[103] Nonetheless, though he wielded no political power in Scotland, Antrim maintained some influence in the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd* through his support of the Catholic mission in the Highlands and Islands[104] which, during his lifetime, was manned almost exclusively by Irish priests.[105]

Conclusion

The disappearance of the Clan Donald South as a territorial clan by 1614, significantly reduced the opportunities for interaction between Scottish and Irish Gaels because the MacDonalds, with lands in both the Western Isles and Ulster, had undoubtedly been the main promoters of Gaelic links across the North Channel, especially through their provision of mercenaries to the Irish lords in the late sixteenth century. In the short term, however, the clan's destruction led to the reinforcement of the MacDonnell community in Antrim, by members of the dispossessed clan *fine,* and some of their tenants, from Kintyre, Jura and Islay, who took refuge there when the Campbells assumed control of their lands. Furthermore, the clan's dispossession was a salutary lesson in obedience to the Crown for the other clans on the western seaboard, for the territorial dispossession of one of the most powerful clans had obvious implications for the lasting security of the rest. The Irish branch of the Clan Donald South, on the other hand, whose leader, Randal MacDonnell of Antrim, had been cultivated by James VI while he was King of Scotland, probably as a fellow Scot, but also in order to break the unity of the MacDonalds, survived as the only substantial Gaelic landholder in the plantation of Ulster. However, the government's estimation of his services as a planter did not extend to granting him any of the lands previously held by his Scottish ancestors, though he repeatedly made attempts to do so, until his death in 1636. His covert support of the Irish Franciscan mission to the Isles, from 1619 to 1637, can be seen as part of this attempt to maintain a stake in the old MacDonald territories. While James VI was happy to promote Sir Randal's interest in Antrim, and grant him privileges rarely extended to other Catholic Gaels, the King's policy of plantation in Ulster was designed to destroy links between the troublesome Gaels of the western

Isles and Ulster, rather than promote them. The plantation settlement legally encouraged connections across the North Channel between Ulster and Lowland Scotland rather than the Highlands, and thus, Highlanders were left to take their opportunities where they could.

NOTES

1. See Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.
2. For which see Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.
3. Ian Carter, 'Economic Models and the Recent History of the Highlands,' *Scottish Studies,* 15, (1971), p. 111-12; I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods: The History of a Clan,* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 179-80; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 25; Ernest Raymond Gillespie, 'East Ulster in the early seventeenth century: A colonial economy and society,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 1982), p. iii.
4. Allan I. Macinnes, 'Crowns, clans and *fine:* the 'civilising' of Scottish Gaeldom, 1587-1638,' *Northern Scotland,* 13, (1993), pp. 35-38.
5. PRONI D2977. The material relating to Kintyre was, at the time of viewing, unclassified.
6. J. R. N. MacPhail (editor), *Highland Papers III, 1662-1667,* SHS, 2nd series, 20, (Edinburgh, 1920), pp. 90-91. The collection was named after Sir James Balfour of Denmylne and Kinnaird, Lyon King of Arms from 1630 to 1654, and author of the Annales of Scotland, who brought the material together. (p. 90.)
7. Robert Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland, 1609-1615,* 3, part 1, Maitland Club, (Edinburgh, 1832.)
8. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 22; *Clan Donald,* II, p. 511.
9. Edward J. Cowan, 'Clanship, kinship and the Campbell acquisition of Islay,' *SHR,* 58, (1979), p. 133.
10. W. R. Kermack, *The Scottish Highlands A short history (c. 300-1746),* (Edinburgh and London, 1967), p. 83.
11. Kermack, p. 83.
12. Cowan, p. 134.
13. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 23; Cowan, pp. 134-35; Donald Gregory, *The history of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, 1493 to 1625,* 2nd edition, (London and Glasgow, 1881), p. 244.
14. Kermack, p. 83; Gregory, pp. 264-65, 268-69; *CSPS,* 1596-1597, pp. 30, 311; *CSPI,* 1596-1597, p. 30.
15. *CSPS,* 1596-1597, pp. 343, 360.
16. Gregory, pp. 272-73.
17. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 24; *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 192, 203, 277, 280, 286, 289; PRONI D2997, Kintyre papers, envelope 1, Copy charter by James VI dated 4 May 1597 to Sir James McDonald of Dunlus of Cullekungart of the four merkland of Cullekungart, Kilkevand, Ballegrogan, and Cragoth etc. in South Kintyre and Draft Instrument of Sasine following thereon not completed; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 188. The other lands comprised the 4 merkland of Kilkevin, the 4 merkland of Ballygrogan and Craigothe, the 3 merkland of Catcadell and Gorthbane, the 3 merkland of Clackmakill, the 2 merkland of Randleithes, the 2 merkland of Auchecoyne, the 2 merkland of Kilravane, the 2 merkland of Cloghquhordill, the 2 merkland of Auchinstefory, and the 1 merkland of Glenndeill. (Hill, p. 188.) The situation is complicated even further, however, by the suggestion, since it was during the Ulster rebellion, that Tyrone was using the MacDonald feud as an excuse to have a Highland force brought to Ulster for his use, under the guise of quashing internal dissension in the clan. This only serves as an example of the complex motivation

behind many occurrences of the period. (Hayes-McCoy, p. 277.)

18. Kermack, p. 83; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 25.
19. Pitcairn, III, part 1, p. 6; Gregory, pp. 281-282; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 25.
20. *Alasdair Macolla,* p. 26; Gregory, pp. 283-88.
21. Kermack, p. 81; Macinnes, p. 37. An heiress of the Maclains had resigned the superiority of Ardnamurchan and Sunart to the fourth Earl of Argyll, but the line of the male heir nonetheless continued to occupy the lands to the detriment of Argyll. Eventually, however, it proved expedient for that line again to resign the lands to the seventh Earl of Argyll, on assurance that he would give Maclain a feu. Argyll renegued on that agreement, however, and gave a feu to Campbell of Barbreck-Lochawe in 1611.
22. Gregory, pp. 289, 305-11; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 26-27; J. R. N. MacPhail (editor), *Highland Papers III, 1662-1667,* SHS, 2nd series, 20, (Edinburgh, 1920), (hereafter Denmylne Mss.), p. 91. In terms of internal dissension in the clan, it is worthy of note that Sir James showed no loyalty to his half brother either, though as a natural son of his father, he was scarcely a rival to the chiefship. MacDonald of Gigha escaped in March 1607 and Sir James wrote to the Duke of Lennox on 27 June 1607, from Edinburgh Castle: "As for my bastard brother, quha hes brokin your graceis ward, iff your grace taik ane doing for me, and taik me in your awin hand, I sall find the way he salbe putt in your graceis reverance, as he was befoir." (Denmylne Mss., p. 105.)
23. McKerral, p. 19; Gregory, p. 311.
24. Denmylne Mss., pp. 91-92; Pitcairn, III, part 1, pp. 9-10; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 27-28.
25. *RPCS*, 1604-07, p. 749.
26. Gregory, p. 312.
27. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 206-07; Gregory, pp. 312-13. In view of Chichester's writing to Argyll, see the anonymous letter concerning him mentioned above.
28. D. J. MacDonald of Castleton, *Clan Donald,* (Loanhead, 1978), p. 253. For further details of their flight, see below, Chapter 14, section II. Settlement during the plantation period.
29. McKerral, p. 27.
30. McKerral, pp. 27-28; A. I. B. Stewart, *List of Inhabitants upon the Duke of Argyle's Property in Kintyre in 1792,* Scottish Record Society, New Series, 17, (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 2, 54, 72, 74, 83, 85, 89, 99, 116, 141, 145-46, 210; Gregory, p. 308.
31. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 28-30; Gregory, p. 322.
32. Gregory, p. 325.
33. These were Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg, Hector MacLean of Duart, Donald Gorm MacDonald of Sleat, Donald MacDonald, Captain of Clanranald, and Rory MacLeod of Dunvegan and Harris. (Gregory, p. 323.)
34. See Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.
35. *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 255; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 30.
36. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 31. For greater detail, see below, section III B. Antrim's interest in Islay and Kintyre.

37. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 31.
38. Denmylne Mss., pp. 141-42.
39. Andrew Knox was appointed to the bishopric of Raphoe in 1611, but he still held his Scottish See, concomitantly, until 1616.
40. Denmylne Mss., pp. 143-44; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 36, from which the original reference was noted.
41. Denmylne Mss., p. 195; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 36.
42. This was the rebuilding of the fort on Lochgorm which had been destroyed in 1608, for the fort of Lochgorm was later surrendered to Cawdor in January 1615. See below.
43. *Clan Donald*, (1978), pp. 255-56; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 36-37; Gregory, pp. 351, 354-55.
44. *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 256.
45. Denmylne Mss., p. 161.
46. Denmylne Mss., p. 162.
47. He suggested that the way this be done was according to information which he had given to the Lord Secretary and the Treasurer Depute. No further details are provided, but he stated that "becauss it is to difficill to belewe thais pipill, I wold hawe a sycht of forces wiche wolde effray tham and mowe tham to keip conditione." These forces would partly be drawn from various towns on the west coast of Scotland and partly from old soldiers in Ireland - ten men out of each of the four garisons commanded by Sir Richard Handfurd, Captain Stewart, Captain Crawfurd and Captain Wachane, to be sent to Islay under Sir Rodolph Binglay. (Denmylne Mss., p. 162.)
48. Denmylne Mss., pp. 165-66.
49. *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 256; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 38, 40.
50. For which, see Chapter 3, section III B. Piracy.
51. *Clan Donald,* (1978), pp. 257; Gregory, pp. 359-65; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp.37, 39-41; Robert J. Hunter, 'The Ulster plantation in the counties of Armagh and Cavan 1608-41,' (unpublished MLitt thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1968), pp. 168-69. For details see Chapter 3, section III B. Piracy.
52. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 39.
53. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 154.
54. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 39.
55. Note the close connections between these characters and those who later join Colla on his piratical raiding, below, Chapter 3, section III B. Piracy.
56. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 155.
57. Timothy Paul Joseph McCall, 'The Gaelic background to the settlement of Antrim and Down 1580-1641,' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1983), pp. 106-08, quoting *CSPI,* 1615-25, pp. 73, 46.
58. *Clan Donald*, (1978), p. 258; Gregory, p. 367.
59. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 44.
60. See first page of this section.

61. Pitcairn, III, part 1, p. 19; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 43; Gregory, pp. 368-69.

62. Denmylne Mss., pp. 258-59.

63. Pitcairn, III, part 1, p. 21.

64. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 26. Iain Lom commented of the dispossession in his poetry:

"Thug sibh bhuainne le spleadhan, [You filched green, pleasant
Gur h-Ìle ghlas, laghach, Islay from us by trickery,
Is Cinn Tire le mhaghannan gorma." and Kintyre with its verdant plains.]

(Angus Matheson, 'Documents connected with the trial of Sir James MacDonald of Islay,' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow,* 5, (1958), p. 210, footnote 2.)

65. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 45, *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 258.

66. Denmylne Mss., p. 24.

67. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 46; *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 259.

68. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 46.

69. Pitcairn, III, part 1, pp. 26-27; Gregory, pp. 386-88.

70. Gillespie, p. 97.

71. McCall, p. 109.

72. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 47, 52; Gregory, p. 388.

73. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 47-48.

74. Macinnes, p. 37.

75. *RPCS,* 1616-1619, pp. 467-68, 507-08.

76. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 49.

77. Wallace Clark, *Rathlin - Disputed Island,* (Portlaw, 1971), p. 108.

78. The name is not 'Lisnorris' as appears in Clark, but Leiffnoris. (Balfour Paul, Sir James (editor), *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols., (Edinburgh, 1904-1911), IX, p. 320.) I am grateful to Dr. James Kirk, senior lecturer in Scottish History, University of Glasgow, for drawing this to my attention.

79. Quoted Clark, p. 109.

80. Clark, pp. 109-10; *CSPI*, 1615-1625, p. 215, for Cuchorgeerye O'Duinningeanan's Report.

81. Quoted Clark, p. 111.

82. Clark, pp. 12-14.

83. In practice, the flow of grain was usually in the opposite direction. Ulster more often had a surplus than the west of Scotland. See Chapter 12, section IV. Grain trade.

84. Clark, pp. 123, 125.

85. PRONI D2977/5/1/4, Antrim papers. I am indebted to the staff of the PRONI for allowing me to view four boxes of unclassified material in the Antrim Papers.

86. G. Gregory Smith (editor), *The Book of Islay: documents illustrating the history of the Island,* (Edinburgh, 1895), pp. liii, liv; *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 272; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 30-31.

87. Gregory, p. 348.

88. R. A. Dodgshon, ' 'Pretense of Blude' and 'place of thair deuelling': the nature of Scottish clans, 1500-1745.' in R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte (editors), *Scottish society 1500-1800,* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 189; *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 231, quoting *RPCS*, 1613-16, p. 13.

89. Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 160-01; *The Book of Islay*, p. liv.

90. *Alasdair MacColla,* p.38; Macinnes, p. 37.

91. *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 38; see also Denmylne Mss., pp. 168, 203.

92. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 230-31; *Clan Donald*, (1978), pp. 272; *Clan Donald*, II, p. 714.

93. *Clan Donald,* II, pp. 715-16; *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 50; PRONI D2977/Envelope 8, ms. docketed: An Copie of the instrument of Seasing;*Clan Donald*, (1978), p. 273. The Kintyre material referred to in this section is from an unclassified box labelled 'Early Correspondence and Vouchers,' which includes an envelope enscribed 'Kintyre papers.'

94. PRONI D2977/Envelope 4, ms. headed: Ane Naration of the bargaine betwixt the Earle of Antrim and the Lord of Kintyre for the land of Kintyre and Jura, fol. 1.

95. When the seventh Earl of Argyll had gone into exile in the Spanish Netherlands no fewer than twenty barons and lairds in the Campbell sphere had taken over the running of the Campbell estates. Campbell of Kilberry was to answer for Kintyre, and was to be assisted by MacDonald of Largie, the MacAllisters of Loup and Tarbert, and the McNeills of Taynish and Carskiey, the latter of whom received possession of the Castle of Kinloch. However, it was a confused and extended management and soon resulted in the lordship of Kintyre being encumbered with debt. (Gregory, p. 400; *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 238.)

96. *Clan Donald*, II, p. 716; McKerral, p. 34; PRONI D2977/Envelope 7, ms. docketed: A warrant from the Lord of Kintyre to take posession of the house of Kintyre.

97. PRONI D2977/Envelope 6, warrant from the Privy Council, ms. docketed: Copie for Johne Nicol younger, Wryter in Edinburgh 1635; D2977/Envelope 4, ms. headed: Ane Naration of the bargaine betwixt the Earle of Antrim and the Lord of Kintyre for the land of Kintyre and Jura, fol. 2.

98. McKerral, p. 35; PRONI D2977/Envelope 1, mss. docketed: A Charter of Mr James McDonnells for lands in Kintyre, and Sasina Dno Jacobi McDonald, D2977/Envelope 4, ms. headed: Ane Naration of the bargaine betwixt the Earle of Antrim and the Lord of Kintyre for the land of Kintyre and Jura, fol. 2; *Clan Donald*, II, pp. 716-17.

99. See Chapter 3, section IV. Covenanting period.

100. McKerral, p. 35.

101. *Alasdair MacColla*, pp. 67-68.

102. PRONI D2977, ms. docketed Proposals for Kintira. Though a pencil docket on the manuscript dates this document only as later than 1661, Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms: The career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683,* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 273, quoting PRONI T473/1, p. 58, has dated it to 1663.

103. *Clan Donald*, II, pp. 729-32.

104. Ohlmeyer, p. 274.

105. See Chapter 8, Catholic links between Irish and Scottish Gaels, 1637-1689.

CHAPTER 3
FROM REDSHANK TO ROYALIST: PLANTATION AND MILITARY TRANSITION, 1603-c.1660

Introduction

Following the reduction of the Irish lords, James VI and I's third attempt at colonisation, the large-scale plantation of Ulster, led to a revolution in the ownership of land, as well as the realignment of Gaelic social, economic and political structures. Six escheated counties in Ulster were planted at the expense of the native Irish, many of whom fled into exile abroad and were outrightly dispossessed. Some stayed to work as labourers on the settlers' lands or were relocated to unproductive, marginal lands, nevertheless, this left a large redundant labour force in Ulster. By this time, the MacDonnells of Antrim had basically been assimilated in Ireland as Catholic, Gaelic planters and, as such, are more accurately treated as Irish after their break from the Clan Donald South, though they still exhibited Scottish links and interests. The plantation had a similar impact, though indirect, on the western Highlands because, unable to work as seasonal mercenaries in Ireland, a pool of redundant swordsmen also formed in Scotland. Some of these became peasant farmers, some took to piracy, and others were redeployed as mercenaries in the Thirty Years' War. King James was also able to use the plantation to help solve the problems he had in the Borders which he achieved mainly by shipping out some of the most problematic families to Ulster when lands became available. Similarly, the establishment of royal authority in the Highlands had also led to the extension of feudal landholding which often resulted in conflicting loyalties to the clan chief and to the feudal superior who might be a different person. Disorders began to break out again in the Highlands and Islands, as well as in the Borders in the last years of James's reign.[1] Though he supported the suppression of the MacIains of Ardnamurchan as a territorial clan at the beginning of his reign, Charles I nonetheless, gave the Highlanders less cause for discontent than his father, simply because his authority became increasingly ineffective there which, in turn, permitted a return to a more autonomous Gaelic society.[2] Thus, when the Covenanters revolted in 1638, those who remained of the Clan Donald South and their associates, gave their support to Charles in an attempt to best preserve the *status quo.* The sixteenth-century redshanks of the independently operating Gaelic clans thus transformed into the Royalists of the mid-seventeenth century.

I. SOURCES

As far as Ireland is concerned, a proliferation of official data accompanied the various settlements undertaken in the plantation of Ulster, with the drawing up, for example, of surveys such as Sir

George Carew's of 1611, and Nicholas Pynnar's of 1618-19, to gauge the progress of colonisation. While this means that only the government's point of view is recorded, at the same time this allows for valuable comparisons between estates because the data is largely standardised. Such documents are a very useful supplement to the official line given in the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland* and *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.* Unfortunately, there is a lack of seventeenth-century estate records to supplement the official documents, which occurred because the estates changed owners so frequently. However, such documents, in any case, would be of less value in the Gaelic context of this thesis than the views of the native Irish who held very few estates. It is also difficult to find incidental material which might have been written in parish registers and miscellaneous legal records, both because they were inconsistently kept or suffered destruction during the Ulster rebellion at the end of the sixteenth century. Much of what did survive was destroyed much later during the burning of the Four Courts, in Dublin, in 1922.[3] The general tone of native Irish opinion on the infiltration of foreign settlers, can be noted in the bardic and vernacular poetry of the period.

Since plantation grants specifically precluded Highlanders and Islanders from taking up land in Ulster under James VI and I, indications of those who did settle must be made mainly by deduction from the family name evidence. A number of Highland names appear in the Antrim leases from the early seventeenth century,[4] for example, but though the leases themselves are dated, it is not possible to state categorically when these tenants came to Ulster. Though their presence has been noted in the late seventeenth century, and secondary commentators have often chosen to think that they therefore settled in Ulster at the time of the plantation, a case can be made for earlier settlement in many instances. In terms of occupational redeployment, the very extensive collection of Breadalbane Muniments, the family papers of the Campbells of Glenorchy, contains material on the MacGregors, who existed mainly by their rieving activities after their dispossession, and also on west Highland activity in relation to Ireland during the civil war.[5] Some material also survives in the Yule Collection relating to the piratical activities of the Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan after their dispossession in 1624.[6] For the civil war period in Ireland, the activity of Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, papal nuncio to the confederate Catholics, is recorded in *Commentarious Rinuccinianus,* written in 1661-66 by two Capuchins, Richard O'Ferrall and Robert O'Connell.[7] It reflects the native Irish point of view with which Rinuccini identified. In Scotland, the only Gaelic source for the civil war is the *Red Book of Clanranald,* a classical Gaelic prose text written by the poet Niall MacMhuirich in the late seventeenth century. The text is a history of the MacDonalds, with a bias towards the MacDonalds of Clanranald, as well as an account of the Montrose wars.[8] Both the Irish and the Scottish accounts emphasise the role of Alasdair MacColla, the redshank son of Colla Ciotach MacDonald of Colonsay, in the Scottish Royalist campaigns of 1644-45, rather than that of James Grahame, first Marquis of Montrose.

II. THE EXTENT OF HIGHLAND INVOLVEMENT IN THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

When James VI ascended the throne of England in 1603, Ulster, where the majority of Highlanders had settled in Ireland to date, was still the most Gaelic part of the country and was independent enough to retain Gaelic systems of land tenure. The most important chiefs in this native Irish hegemony were Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who held sway over Tyrone, north Armagh and south Londonderry (the barony of Loughinsholin), Rory O'Donnell (brother and successor to Hugh Ruadh) Earl of Tyrconnell, who controlled all of County Donegal except the barony of Inishowen, Connor and Cuchonnacht Maguire in County Fermanagh, John O'Reilly in County Cavan, Oghie O'Hanlon in the barony of Orier, County Armagh, and Donnell O'Cahan in County Coleraine. (For locations, see figs. - and -, Ulster Lordships c. 1534, and The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.) By the same year, due to piecemeal settlement since the late fourteenth century, the Irish branch of the Clan Donald South controlled almost half of County Antrim, though in terms of the overall number of those who migrated to Ulster in the seventeenth century, their settlement was small. The MacLeans and the Campbells had also acquired interests in Ireland in the late sixteenth century through Catherine MacLean and the two sons which she had with Seán O'Neill, and through the marriage of Lady Agnes Campbell to Turlough Luineach.[9] Thus, there had also been some Highland settlement in Counties Tyrone and Donegal, but there was far less land available there for the Crown to grant to settlers than in Antrim and Down, and, moreover, Highlanders were not generally regarded as worthy recipients of it.[10]

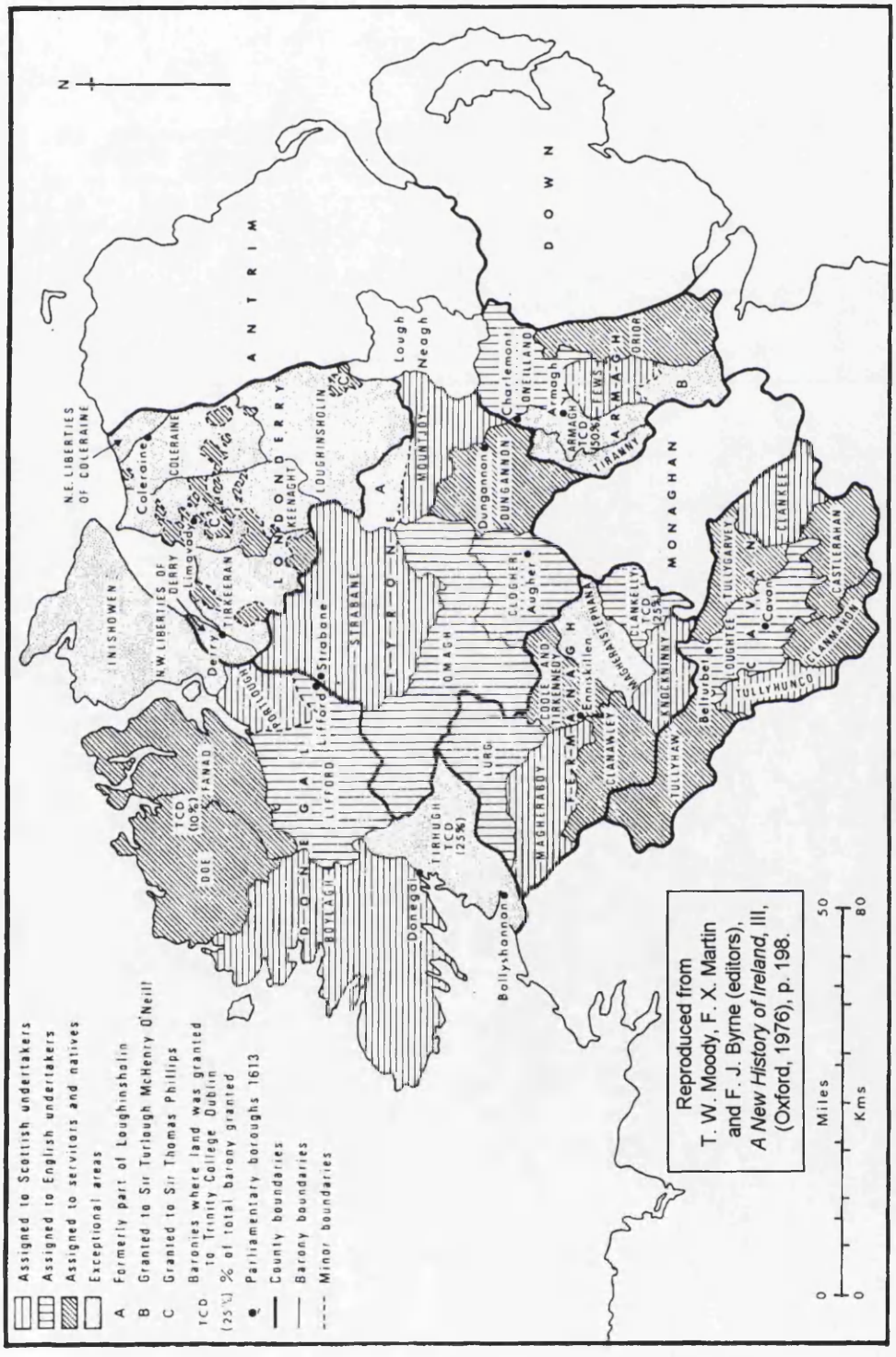
After a delay caused by the settlement of 1603, the English government in Ireland strove to establish their supremacy in Ulster by enforcing county divisions (which had existed only in theory since 1585), by holding assizes and by seeking to limit the power of the Irish chieftains.[11] Sir Arthur Chichester, who was appointed Lord Deputy in 1605 and Sir John Davies, who became Irish Attorney-General in 1606, worked together to contain the power of the northern Gaelic lords. In 1605, a commission appointed "for division and bounding of the lords' and gentlemen's livings" deprived Cuchonnacht Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh (see fig. 1.4, Ulster lordships c. 1534) of half of his demesne lands. Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, also lost out. The Crown commission decided that the O'Boyles and the MacSweeneys no longer needed to pay tribute to Tyrconnell, Inishowen was granted to Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, Niall Garbh O'Donnell acquired the particularly fertile lands around Lifford, and the Church lands were entirely in the hands of George Montgomery, bishop of Derry, Clogher and Raphoe. The authority of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was challenged by the garrisons planted in his country, by Bishop Montgomery's attempts to gain greater control over Church lands and by his encouragement of Donal O'Cahan to deny Tyrconnell's traditional overlordship. Fearful for their future if they stayed in Ireland, all three Gaelic lords fled to Spanish Flanders in September 1607, in the mistaken hope that Spain would help them regain the lands which they had abandoned.[12]

The so-called 'Flight of the Earls' and their subsequent conviction for treason, led to the planting of the six counties of Armagh (except the barony of Orier), Donegal (except the barony of Inishowen), over half of Fermanagh, Londonderry, all the temporal land in Tyrone, and Cavan, the latter of which had been found to belong to the Crown in the previous year. In all six counties, the former *termon* and *erenagh* land (ecclesiastical land enjoying special privileges of sanctuary, and held by a hereditary tenant, respectively) was almost entirely assigned to the bishops of the Church of Ireland. (See fig. 3.1, The Ulster plantation 1609-13.) By encouraging the introduction of 'civilised' settlement among the native Irish, the government sought both to keep them in order and to provide them with an example and, by dividing the Gaelic lordships into freeholds, tenants were made dependant on the Crown. The rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, lord of Inishowen, in April 1608, against the governor of Derry, also resulted in the availability of more land for plantation because the government regarded Donal O'Cahan, the principal landlord in County Coleraine, as implicated with the rebel. Furthermore, the suppression of the rebellion is an example of coordinated government action against the Gael following the Union of the Crowns. The Lord Deputy wrote to the Scottish Privy Council asking them to prevent aid reaching O'Dogherty from the western Isles. Scottish troops were also requested to assist in crushing the rebellion, and after its collapse and O'Dogherty's death, he wrote again asking them to prevent the concealment of fugitives in the Highlands and Islands.[13]

Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, who was on a punitive raid against the Clan Donald South in Islay, referred, in a letter of 12 August 1608 to the Scottish Privy Council, to the capture of some Irish fugitives from the rebellion. After reference to the chief of the Clan Donald and his son, Ochiltree stated that his "secund cair wes to mak diligente searche to know yf ony of the Yrishue rebellis had arryvit in the Yle."[14] His search parties apprehended two of O'Dogherty's men whom Ochiltree set in irons in the castle of Dunyveg, and ordered their resetters to appear before him. He had been informed that "some of thame ar gone to Kintyr; quhairfoir it salbe goode that your Lordships write to the Erll of Ergyle thairanent."[15] He also asked the Council's advice as to what to do with those Irish fugitives he had caught.[16] Their Lordships replied, on 19 August 1608, that they were to be delivered to Captain St. John who had been sent to assist Ochiltree with some troops from Ireland, to be transported to either England or Ireland. It was the punishment of the Irishmen's resetters, however, which was potentially more severe. Ochiltree was to commit them to sure ward, and if they were basically honest men to exact some caution from them, but "yf thair biggest offence hes bene so lewde and insolent as onywayes thay may be in dangeir of law, that your Lordship will caus execute thame to the deid." It should further be noted that Ochiltree incurred great debts through his expedition to the Isles, in 1608, which resulted in the sale of his Scottish estates and almost compromised the successful plantation of the lands he received in Mountjoy, in Tyrone (see fig. 3.1, The Ulster plantation 1609-13) during the first phase of the Ulster plantation.[17]

Fig. 3.1

THE ULSTER PLANTATION 1609-13



The inclusion of Scots of any description in planting the escheated counties of Ulster was not in the early plans. It was Chichester who first suggested it, envisaging that they take a secondary role as undertenants. This is unlikely to have been because of the success which the Highland Scots had had in settling the east coast of Ulster, mainly in Antrim, because when Chichester, then governor of Carrickfergus, had written to Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury (English Secretary), in 1601, his opinion of the MacDonnells was that they were 'a very savage and heathenish people, speaking Irish, wavering and uncertain, better affected to this nation than to us, liking their manners and dissolute living better than our justice and living under law.'[18] However, he regarded both Ireland and Scotland as "weaklynges" sucking at England and possibly hoped to relieve the burden on England by opening other opportunities for the Lowland Scots in Ireland.[19] It has been questioned whether even Lowland Scots would have obtained lands in the plantation, if James had been English rather than Scottish. Addressing the fear of English servitors in Ireland, Chichester could only reason that no land be given to northern Scots or Islanders, while those Irish chiefs and sub-chiefs or *uirríthe* who had surrendered large estates were only to receive small grants in the reallocations.[20] For there were basic differences in culture and motivation between the Scots who settled in Ireland in the sixteenth century and those who settled during the seventeenth-century plantation of Ulster:

> The Islanders came as soldiers first and secondly as settlers, while the Lowlanders, besides arriving in far larger numbers and covering a far greater area, came primarily as settlers though prepared, if necessary, to become soldiers. Another important difference between the two groups was their religion. The MacDonnells were Roman Catholics, whereas the vast majority of those who migrated from Scotland during James's reign were protestants.[21]

Though the power of larger lords was to be smashed, Chichester nonetheless envisaged most of the escheated lands being re-allocated to the Irish themselves. He only foresaw substantial English and Scottish settlement in Tyrone. When it became evident to him that Sir John Davies intended to introduce the Scots as undertakers (i.e. substantial landholders) as well, he protested to Cecil that if Scottish settlers introduced Highlanders or Islanders, this would result in "more trouble and less profit" than if the Irish had simply been left in possession. There is a case here for arguing that the English government had always regarded Irish and Highlander as one and the same and that their concept of the matter usually serves to confuse the issue (since the majority of official records are English/British), but in this instance, the Highlander was clearly deemed of a rank even lower than the native Irishman. There were, moreover, certain technical barriers to the Scots' holding of property rights in Ireland since, due to legislation passed in Queen Mary's reign, Scots born before James VI's accession to the English throne were foreigners and it was a felony to marry them, and thus, they did not hold full property rights in Ireland. Therefore, James had first to instruct that all patents issued to Scots should contain a clause making them denizens[22] of Ireland (and England)

and allowing them security of tenure to their allotted lands in Ulster. Even after the repeal of the discriminatory legislation in 1615, Scots were still obliged to obtain denization, and a law had to be passed in 1634 naturalizing all Scots born before 1603. Ultimately, Scots received 81,000 acres in the first phase of plantation in 1610, but these were Lowland Scots whose colonising teeth had already been cut in two attempts at plantation in Highland areas of Scotland - in the unsuccessful plantation of the Isle of Lewis (1598-1610), where the Fife Adventurers had also been ordered not to feu or lease land to Highlanders, and the partially successful plantation of Kintyre (1607-1619), where none of the lands were to be set to anyone with the name of MacDonald.[23]

Though there was an application from Ross and one from Perthshire among those trying for land in Ulster in 1609, Highlanders were not permitted to be undertakers or tenants in the plantation of Ulster, and generally participated in it only at the lowest echelons, probably as servers on the estates, for example. However, it has been suggested that, on the Earl of Abercorn's estate in Strabane, some of the tenants were drawn from among the second-generation Highlanders who had first settled there under Agnes Campbell in the reign of Elizabeth I, and whose homes were raised by O'Dogherty in 1608.[24] Equally, the attraction of a small number of Gaelic-speaking clerics from Argyll to Donegal in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, would seem to indicate that some of the tenants there were also second-generation Highlanders, descendants of Argyll mercenaries under contract to O'Donnell, rather than Campbells from Ayrshire.[25] Nevertheless, the scale of the social upheaval and reorganisation brought about by the plantation had a big effect, both on the Highland settlements already in Ulster, as well as in the proximate west Highlands and Islands.

Sir George Carew's survey of 1611, which assessed the progress made in the plantation lands, was the only one of the plantation surveys to include Counties Antrim and Down which, though not part of the escheated counties, were also extensively planted between 1603 and 1612. In planting a number of settlers, namely Sir James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery, sixth laird of Braidstone, in Down, and in cultivating Sir Randal MacDonnell of Antrim, King James sought to prevent the easy movement of fugitives and malcontents from his policies of subjugation in the Isles.[26] The most effective means of doing this was to strengthen royal authority in Antrim and Down by bringing in English and Lowland Scots settlers. However, since the landholders in Antrim and Down were not subject to the conditions later drawn up for the plantation of Ulster, the policy resulted in a number of large estates where, though the Crown had established title, in reality its authority was largely devolved to the new landholders.[27]

Carew noted many Scots living on Sir Arthur Chichester's lands in Belfast, also on Island Magee (see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster), and on Sir Randal MacDonnell's estates in Antrim. On 28 May 1603, shortly after James VI's accession to the English throne, Sir Randal received legal title

to the 333,907 acres of the Route and the Glens, which extended from Larne to Coleraine, in confirmation of his *de facto* control there. Though Sir Randal and his brother had taken territory from both the MacQuillans and Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg, the condoning of his behaviour by the King is apparent in that the title was granted to preserve Sir Randal's property "from the violence of his badde kynsmen." In the terms of Irish land tenure, it comprised sixteen Irish *tuoghs* or territories which spanned the four baronies of Dunluce, Kilconway, Carey and Glenarm. However, when Sir Randal received a re-grant of his lands in April 1604, because the original grant had omitted Rathlin Island[28] as well as containing a clause which entailed forfeiture were the rent not paid by a certain date, it was a blueprint for plantation which, in retrospect, was to become the norm throughout Ulster. For the grant gave Sir Randal the power to divide the land into several precincts of 2,000 acres each, giving different names to each division so that they could become manors, to set aside 500 acres in each division for his demesne lands, to build a castle or mansion on each within seven years, to hold courts baron, and to appoint seneschals or stewards.[29]

Chichester clearly did not trust Sir Randal and felt constrained to comment in a letter to Salisbury, on 14 June 1606, that "he is neither thankful or obedient," and that means should be found "to enforce him to what was fitting, by the creating to be freeholders immediately from the king, some of the ancient inhabitants who then were as slaves unto him, and yet have large quantities of land to himself." The extensive lands granted to Sir Randal "he had gotten from his majesty by mere suggestion, as his ancient inheritance, whereas his father held only four tuoghs of M'Quyllins' lands from the deputy."[30] However, it is apparent from a surviving fragment of an Irish manuscript history of the MacDonnells of Antrim, written in c. 1700, that Chichester, as a landholder in Ulster himself, was simply jealous, and turned many other Englishmen against Antrim. The manuscript states (in translation) that "Sir John Chichester and McQuilin had been there before Ranell and made a strong faction against the MacDonalds and informed the King that the MacDonalds wrong Macquilin and murdered his people." However, they would surely both have been constrained to prove, as they were putting forward, "that Macquilin was an ancient Englishman!" The manuscript also states that Chichester tried to entice some of Antrim's tenants from him: "... since he could not be revenged any other way he invited many of Ranel McSourl's gentlemen and promised them freeholds hopeing to break the Earl of Antrim or to waste his lands, but none went but Cahal O'Hara."[31] The author of *The Description of Ireland and The State thereof as it is at this present In Anno 1598,* identifies him as 'Cahal O'Hara of the Route, owner of Lochgiele, Legan-lic and Crebilly.'[32]

Soon after receipt of his grant in 1603, Sir Randal began to lease to Irish natives and Scots on arable lands on the coast depopulated by the Ulster rebellion.[33] The Irish manuscript of c. 1700 states that he "bestows upon his own both freeholds and Lease lands," providing a list of the freeholders who were of native Irish and Highland extraction. Sir Randal made freeholders of

James McKendrie of Castlereagh, and of other McKendries and O'Cahans who held townlands and half townlands. The McAlesters of Kinbane were "confirmed in their ancient freeholds," as were the MacCormicks in Carey. Some of the MacAulays in the Glens were made freeholders and "one Moolphale in Glenary." Roland MacQuillan was given a freehold of the Braes of Glenarm, and the poet O'[Gnímh?][34] was confirmed in his hereditary estate. Freeholds were also given to John Stewart of Redbay and John Stewart of Lisadavan, to Alester Stewart "of Insgrane," to Alester MacNaghten "of Kiltimorigh," to Alester Magee of Ballyukin, to Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, to Rory Beg O'Hagan who "came with the Countess of Antrim Elis McNeil to the Root," to Cochal McKinnon, to Donoghy More McKay, to John Donaldson of [blank],[35] and to Angus McDonald son of John McDaniel Ulleghat of Bann side. Daniel Chogy McDuffie was settled on the Clogher, holding both in freehold and leasehold, as did Archibald, Neil and Ferdaragh McDuffies. Besides this Sir Randal "had many freeholders and pensioners that I cannot call in remembrance."[36] At least one Englishman, in about 1606-07, considered that the families living in the Glynns were "most desirous to Live under the Scotch, because they do better defend them, and less spoile them then the Irysh doth."[37] Sir Randal was given further incentive to develop his estates, on 11 July 1610, when James reduced his rent by 50% to £80 sterling p. a. in return for the surrender of nine townlands around Coleraine, between the Bush and the Bann which, henceforth, became part of County Londonderry rather than of Antrim. Freeholders and tenants on these lands were to be given replacement holdings of equal value elsewhere on the Antrim estates. Sir Randal's son, the second Earl of Antrim, with the characteristic tenacity of the Antrims, was later to try to regain these lands in 1638. In association with the Marquis of Hamilton, he offered to take over the plantation lands recently forfeited by the London companies, which would permit him to "out a company of poor planters" and thus regain the nine townlands for his family.[38]

Sir Randal MacDonnell had no legal obligation to introduce English or Scottish planters on to his estates, and moreover, the first settlers there appear to have come from Kintyre, people fleeing from the reprisals of the former landholder, Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg, in 1607.[39] While these people have frequently been seen exclusively as Lowlanders brought in by the seventh Earl of Argyll to plant Kintyre,[40] there seems as much likelihood that they were incomers from Bute and the Cumbraes[41] and, as such, possibly bilingual English and Gaelic speakers. Perhaps they also included some of the traditional tenantry of Kintyre who originally held of the MacDonalds.[42] Apart from the political upheavals, the land in Kintyre had deteriorated. In 1605, 62 out of 151.5 merklands in North Kintyre lay waste, while 51 lay waste out of 203 merklands in South Kintyre.[43] Yet, whatever the different political forces involved, it is the proximity of the Antrim coast to Kintyre which should not be forgotten. 'It is possible to go from one side to the other without losing sight of land and we ought to remember that this may well have been done by men and their families for reasons of private social pressure rather than direct involvement in political or military activity.'[44]

This ease of movement and economic opportunity inevitably brought some Highlanders to Ulster to settle on the escheated lands. Nonetheless, when the Irish Council received instructions in May 1608 allowing Sir Randal to make denizens of those Scots who wanted to settle on his estates, it was stipulated that they were not to be Highlanders and Islanders.[45] Indeed, a distinction was made throughout the escheated lands between "inland Scottish tenants" who were permitted to settle, and Islanders who were not.[46] In a sense it could be argued that those Highland Scots who had already settled in Ulster under MacDonnell patronage prior to the plantation were unaffected by antipathetic attitudes from the government and the new undertakers, but the establishment of landholding on the lines of English law must necessarily have reduced the movement of Highlanders from Scotland to Ireland. Any Scottish Gaels who settled in Ulster after 1608 were obliged to do so illegally, and they joined the many Irish and Highlanders and Islanders who were already there. Some idea of the Highland element among settlers can be obtained from family name evidence though it is, by its very nature, non-specific in terms of precise date of settlement.[47] Moreover, some Highlanders may have come simply as traders. A customs surveyor reported some time later, in 1636, that many came ashore at Glenarm, stating that: "The pedlars out of Scotland take advantage of such unguarded creeks and swarm about the country in great numbers, and sell all manner of wares."[48]

The Ulster inquisitions of the Irish Council indicate that Sir Randal demised[49] land to 25 Lowland Scots between 1609 and 1626, and the inquisitions by no means record all transactions which occurred. Prior to the plantation he had largely depended for revenue on his fishings, coal mines and saltpans, but he soon realised that land-leasing was an easy method of raising cash. Yet, neither should it be overlooked that provision was made for over 20 Gaelic landowners on Sir Randal's estates between 1609 and 1629, with some 300 acres being retained for Gaelic tenants. Though twice as much land passed into settler hands, giving Sir Randal a ready cash income, a significant amount remained under Gaelic control on the Antrim estates. For then as in 1560, the Gaelic landowners' primary loyalty was still to themselves and leases to Gaels were not regarded as entirely detrimental to their interests. Significantly, at least half of Antrim's known tenants were Catholic who, according to the 1641 rental for the barony of Dunluce were also landlords of Protestant settlers. The Antrim leases are significantly different from those issued by other undertakers in that the shortest lease granted by Sir Randal was for 53 years, and most were for 101 years. These appear to be more in keeping with the rights of the traditional holders of the land, and were clearly an attempt to maintain a longterm power-base in Antrim. He also cooperated with incoming Scottish planters to their mututal advantage. Through the assistance of the first Earl of Abercorn, for instance, Sir Randal secured a parliamentary confirmation of his Antrim grant for which he betrothed his four-year-old son to Abercorn's daughter, while Abercorn was to become his son's ward in the event of his death.[50] In his muster survey of 1618, George Alleyne commented that the two counties of Antrim and Down were better planted with English and

Scottish settlers than some of the escheated counties of Ulster. Over half of these, most of whom were Lowlanders, settled in Dunluce and the remainder in Glenarm, thus creating ghetto-like settlements which were bound to increase Gaelic animosity, while the hinterland of the barony was populated by the native Irish.[51] In the same year, almost a decade after the beginning of the plantation, Sir Randal was recognised for his services as a planter by being created Viscount Dunluce. A further and more magnanimous confirmation was made in 1620 when he was made Earl of Antrim, while his role in the English polity can be seen in his appointment as a commissioner to the counties of Ireland in 1627.[52]

Following on the findings of Carew's Survey of 1611, a muster list of c. 1630 showed that in Antrim, the MacDonnell lands contained the most Scots, 814 in comparison to the 333, for example, on Island Magee. Most of them had settled in the barony of Dunluce, on the fertile lands of the Route, and a smaller number in Glenarm barony.[53] (See fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.) Leases of the Antrim estates in the 1630s indicate continued presence of west Highland names[54] in the three baronies of Dunluce, Carey and Kilconway. In those leases contracted between 20 June and 17 August 1637, lands were granted to five Stewarts, all in the barony of Dunluce;[55] to one McNeill, in the barony of Dunluce;[56] to two McMurrys, both in the barony of Dunluce;[57] to six MacNaghtens, in the baronies of Dunluce and Carey, and particularly in the barony of Kilconway;[58] to four MacDonnells, in the baronies of Carey, Dunluce, and Kilconway;[59] to a McPhillipp, in the barony of Dunluce;[60] to three MacAllisters, in the baronies of Dunluce and Kilconway;[61] to a McDuffie, whose lands cannot be identified to the barony;[62] to a McEver whose land is also only identified as in Antrim;[63] to a McMulline [MacMillan?] in the barony of Kilconway;[64] to a McMurtry in the barony of Dunluce;[65] to a MacKay ["Magee"] in the barony of Kilconway;[66] and to a "McCawlye" in the barony of Kilconway.[67]

Yet, though they may have held small grants of land, in general the Highlands Scots were not considered good colonising material. Why was this? After all, it could be argued that the three kingdoms now had a Scottish king who should necessarily show more favour towards his native subjects, including Highlanders, but, in practice, the Union of the Crowns simply provided 'new opportunities for coordinating action against Gaels of both kingdoms.'[68] The government of James VI and I generally worked at breaking the links between the Gaelic Highlands and Ireland rather than encouraging them. The King's support for the plantation of Ulster furthered this end by providing a cheaper means of maintaining order in Ulster than constant military coercion, giving further security to the British mainland, and enabling him to sow the seeds of Protestantism that he hoped would not only help to pacify Ireland but to bring it into line with Protestant Europe.[69] Though some parts of the Highlands had begun to embrace Protestantism by this time,[70] in general, the Highlanders and Islanders who had settled in Ulster in the sixteenth century, had done little to fulfil these three criteria of seventeenth-century plantation, and therefore had little credibility as

settlers. For instance, though the King had confirmed the grant of lands in Antrim to Sir Randal MacDonnell, and though Sir Randal gained financially from leasing to settlers and was loyal, nevertheless, the Union of the Crowns basically worked against the MacDonnell's original interests in Ulster as Gaelic lords.[71]

In spite of his fundamental loyalty to the government, Antrim still fought to maintain his influence at a local level. Both he and Sir James Hamilton, in Down, sought to minimise royal interference on their estates by making maximum use of their own manorial rather than royal courts.[72] For instance, Cormack O'Hara, sheriff of Antrim, complained in 1627 to the judges of assize that the Earl interfered with the execution of writs on his estate, and put bailiffs in stocks if they dared to execute warrants without his consent. More pertinently, O'Hara stated that 'If his people sue in the sheriff's court they are fined 10s. in the earl's court for doing the same,' though Antrim's action appears less insidious when it is known that Sir James Hamilton, actually inserted clauses in his leases which forbade tenants to take suits to the sheriff's court.[73] Similarly, Antrim was constantly called upon to defend his Catholic faith in the midst of Protestant plantation. He received an official reprimand for harbouring priests in his house in 1621, having appealed to the King's clemency. However, his faith was a lever which was readily used against him by those who coveted his lands. For instance when, in 1629, Sir Thomas Dutton, wrote to Charles I suggesting that Antrim's lands be planted, his appeal was to the eradication of popery from his domain.[74]

The rate of settlement in the plantation was greatest in the second decade of the seventeenth century. From the 1620s, the denization lists indicate that migration slowed down, particularly into east Ulster. It appears to have picked up again in the 1630s when a large number of new denizens were created in the Earl of Antrim's estates, for instance, many of whom became sub-tenants of the native Irish who had consolidated their holdings there. Some of these are likely to have been Highlanders. However, by the late 1630s the population of east Ulster was falling because of a noticeable return movement to Scotland and England. In July 1638, for example, a number of Irish, probably tenants on the Antrim estate, arrived in Kintyre in an attempt to escape the partial failure of the harvest and cattle murrain in Antrim. At this time, tenants were scarce throughout east Ulster and land values in south Antrim fell by 25% as a result. Furthermore, this situation was exacerbated by the beginning of the Covenanting wars. To avoid taking the Black Oath which denied the Covenant, a significant number of Scots went back home in 1639, and in many areas of Antrim and Down there was not sufficient labour to harvest the corn. In the same year, the second Earl of Antrim wrote that he had been unable to get boats ready for an attack on the Earl of Argyll in Kintyre because "carpenters, especially Scots, are very hard to be found and unless they are pressed they will not work for this occasion."[75] Some of these included Highlanders from Argyll, Kintyre and the southern Isles, because John MacLean wrote from Inveraray to Campbell of Glenorchy on 26 July 1639 that: "Our Scottish in Ireland ar in a miserable case, by reason of

fearfull oathes taken of them agains God or anie covenant with him."[76] By the same token, many of his Catholic tenants on Rathlin had come to the mainland by 13 October 1638, fearing an attack by Argyll, which concerned Antrim because "by that means I loose my rent there."[77]

At least one Highlander is known to have obtained a substantial grant of land after the first phase of plantation was over, though this was small in comparison with the grants of the major undertakers. Sir John Colquhoun of Luss took over Walter Stewart of Minto's small 1,000 acre proportion[78] of Corkagh in Portlough, in the barony of Raphoe, County Donegal (see fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster), at some time before 1619. This was the first land Colquhoun had owned in Ireland. According to Carew's survey of 1611, Stewart had taken possession of his estate in the summer of 1610 but by 1611 he had "returned into Scotland, has done nothing." By the time of Captain Nicholas Pynnar's survey of the plantation of 1618-19, Colquhoun had planted 10 British families on the estate, who with their undertenants, could raise 26 men, but only five of them had taken the oath of supremacy. There were two freeholders, having 300 and 100 acres respectively, three lessees, of 330, 300 and 195 acres each, and five cottagers who each had a house and garden plot. Besides these, it seems unlikely that Colquhoun would not have introduced some of his clansmen from Loch Lomondside in Scotland to work on the estate. Sir John's son, Robert Colquhoun, received his letters of denization on 14 July 1630, and a grant of the proportion of Corkagh.[79]

Though they may not have been involved at the upper levels of plantation, either as major undertakers or as tenants or leaseholders under them, Highlanders undoubtedly made up part of the large numbers of landless labourers who migrated to the north of Ireland, particularly to east Ulster. Some had undoubtedly also fled from judicial sanction. Since they went unrecorded in legal documents, it is impossible to trace them as individuals, but a study of the names of Scottish migrants to east Ulster, recorded in the muster roll of c. 1630, has been made. This permits a relative delineation of their Scottish provenance because population mobility in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Scotland was relatively low and surnames can therefore be fairly accurately assigned to certain localities. Processing of the Scottish surnames in Antrim and Down indicates, as might be expected, that most came from the south-west of Scotland. However, there was also a substantial minority from Argyll and the southern Isles of Scotland. E. R. Gillespie's mapping of the Scottish settlers c. 1630, using 1 dot to represent a person, shows that 13 came from Bute, 9 from Arran, 31 from Kintyre, 8 from Knapdale, 18 from mid-Argyll, 1 from North Lorne, 13 from Islay, 1 from Jura and 2 from Mull.[80] One qualification should, however, be made here, in that it seems probable that some of these surnames may represent earlier settlement during the mercenary period. It is, nonetheless, a useful exercise in the tracing of settlers of Highland origin in the early seventeenth century.

A significant number of the Scots who settled in Ulster at the plantation came from an equally unruly area, the Scottish Border counties. They were particularly numerous in County Fermanagh in south-west Ulster which, because it was further inland than many planted lands, (see fig. 3.1, The Ulster plantation 1609-13) was doubly immune from pursuit by the Scottish judiciary, and were also common in County Tyrone. An unsubstantiated local tradition in Fermanagh suggests that Borderers were imported deliberately because their aggression was useful in combatting incursions of the Connacht Irish. Furthermore, Connacht also had its share of imported criminals, the English having forcibly deported many Border Grahams from the English side of the Border to the province in 1606.[81] By encouraging their movement from Scotland, sometimes as voluntary fugitives, the Privy Council hoped to reduce disorder in the Anglo-Scottish Border region.[82] From King James's viewpoint, this policy can be seen as a classic attempt at divide and rule. By deporting Borderers and criminals from the southern border counties he, first, got rid of the problems they were causing in Scotland, and second, by using the presence of men as experienced in feuding as themselves, he introduced a check on the Gaels, both Irish and Scottish, and drove a wedge between them.

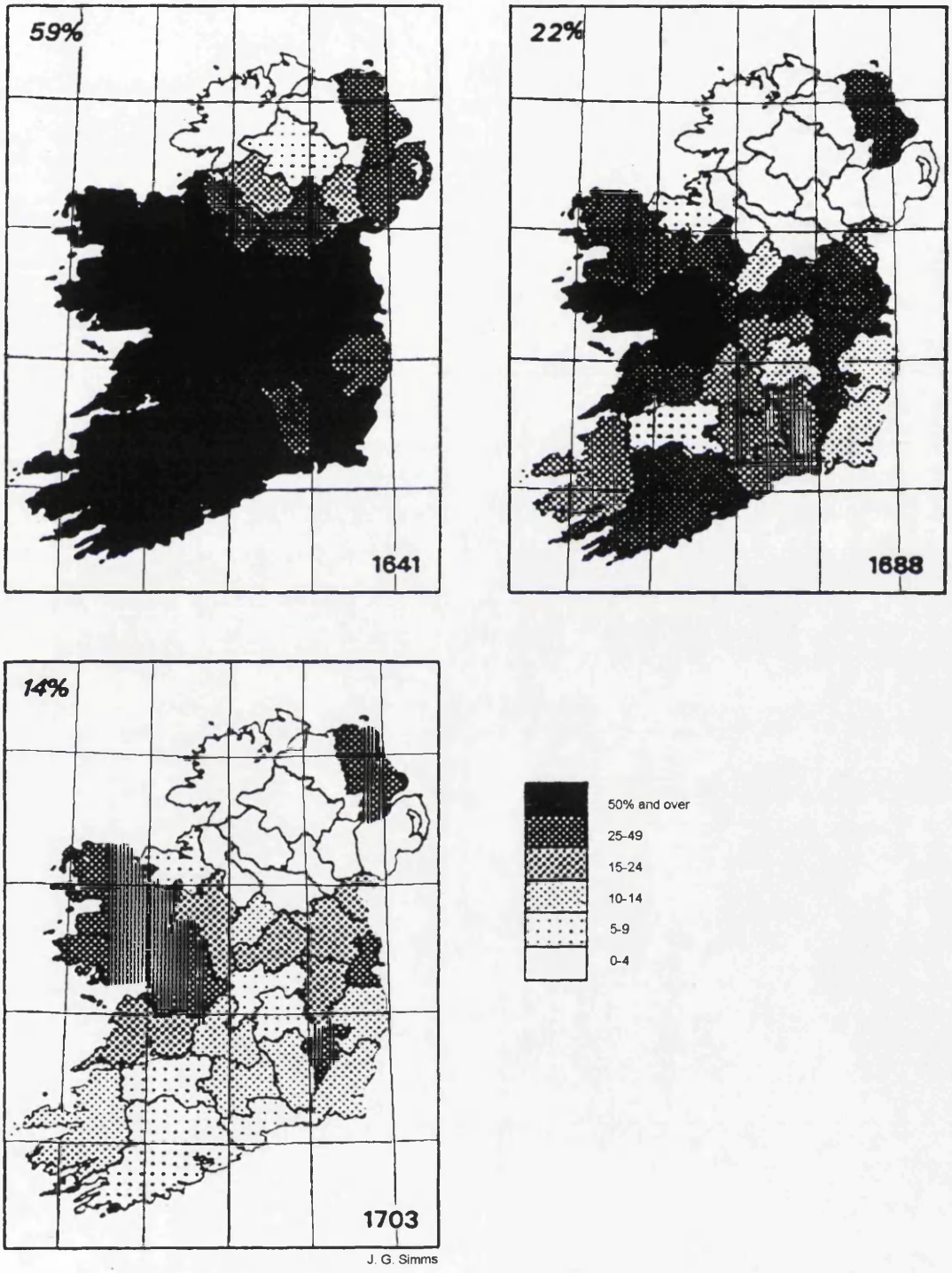
Though the government's victory in the Ulster rebellion in 1603 began the process of large-scale Gaelic dispossession in Ulster, the 'emasculation of the gaelic landed classes' was a gradual process which continued throughout the seventeenth century, with substantial settler gains and consolidations being made in the Cromwellian period, followed by the Williamite confiscations in the 1690s where more Protestant landlords were introduced but the tenant farmers were largely unaffected. (See fig. 3.2, Land owned by Catholics, 1641, 1688, 1703 by counties.) Those prominent Gaelic landlords who remained, like Sir Randal MacDonnell of Antrim, indicated their willingness to accept a conforming role.[83]

III. TERRITORIAL DISPOSSESSION IN ULSTER AND THE WEST OF SCOTLAND: PROBLEMS OF THE DISPLACED AND REDUNDANT POPULATION

A. Small tenant farmers, wood kearn and broken men

The treatment of the native Irish at the time of plantation was largely governed by late sixteenth-century views of the Gaelic race in Antrim and Down. The opinion of Sir Francis Stafford, who provided most information for the government on Ulster in the 1590s, was that they were "perfidious, ungrateful and apt to wind with every innovation."[84] Therefore, when news of the plantation was first divulged in central Ulster by Sir Turlagh McHenry O'Neill of the Fews, the Irish quickly understood their ultimate fate and became discontented. They realised they would 'be woodkerne out of necessity, no other means being left to them ... than to live as long as they can by

Fig. 3.2
LAND OWNED BY CATHOLICS
1641, 1688, 1703 by counties



Reproduced from
T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and
F. J. Byrne (editors),
A New History of Ireland, IX,
(Oxford, 1984), p. 52.

scrambling.'[85] The plantation endorsements of April 1610 stipulated that land was not to be demised to the native Irish nor, indeed, to anyone who refused the oath of Supremacy. Those Irish who did receive land,[86] though their number was greatly reduced, were mainly from the pre-plantation middle class, that is, the local sept leaders, or basically those who did not present a political threat to the English and Scottish undertakers, because they did not command the allegiance due to an overlord. Moreover, as native Irish freeholders holding directly from the Crown, they were no longer obliged to supply men for the hostings of the greater Gaelic lords. In Tyrone, for instance, the Irish received but 12.8% of the land allocated for plantation. However, by 1622, after efforts to remove them had proved unsuccessful, the Irish were legally allowed to comprise 25% of the tenants on an undertaker's proportion.[87]

There was, nonetheless, a marked disincentive to renting land to the native Irish. According to the articles of plantation, undertakers were to pay a rent of £5 6s 8d p. a. for each 1,000 acres of their grant. The rent was the same for servitors if their estates were settled with English and Scottish tenants, but if they were leased to native Irish, then, punitively, the rent was increased to £8 p. a. for each 1,000 acres. Moreover, the willingness of the Irish to pay more in order to retain the land, led to a certain amount of rack-renting. Where they became totally impoverished through this, it simply added to the numbers of wood kearn. Both in Counties Londonderry and Armagh rents had increased substantially by the early 1630s. In their turn, these high rents discouraged further settlement on the plantation lands.[88]

For those of the Irish élite who conformed to the government's view of their future and did not take to the woods, there was a paltry living to be eked out as a small tenant farmer on fairly unproductive pieces of land. Many who were children at the beginning of the plantation in 1610 were, by 1670, old men in freize coats, farming the small scraps of land which had been given to their fathers. Significant numbers of the oldest noble families in Ulster had to rely for their support on the kindness of retainers and friends who were mindful of their former status.[89] In general, however, very little concern was shown for the traditional tenants of the land who were not always permitted to retain their meagre holdings. For instance, in 1616, in an unsigned will, Sir James Hamilton, landowner of much of South Clandeboye, stated that though particular lands were to be allocated to fisherman and sailors, the Irish, in general, "should be elswhere provyded for with favour." On the rest of his lands the Irish could remain during their natural lives, but without security of tenure and no rights of inheritance to their children. Moreover, when they died, they were to be replaced with Scots.[90]

Of those who did not receive land, many took to the woods and lived the lives of robbers or wood kearn (Irish *ceithearn coille*), in spite of Chichester's claim in 1614 that he had sent some 6,000 swordsmen to fight in Sweden.[91] Barnaby Rich denigrated the wood kearn in his *A New*

Description of Ireland, in 1610, as "the very Hags of Hell fit for nothing but the gallows."[92] Yet, it cannot be denied that the Irish had every justification for deeply resenting the intrusion of the English and Lowland Scots on to their land. They had been deprived of their territorial heritage under a foreign law, and the majority assigned for removal to poor-yielding agricultural areas though, in the event, many stayed on as servants and labourers. With only three exceptions of note, every native Irish landlord or tenant in the six counties was dispossessed and displaced. The majority of Irish who were given land ended up concentrated on the poorer lands bordering the uplands and bogs, but many stayed to work on the British estates. Of the three who were not displaced, Sir Turlagh McHenry O'Neill of the Fews and Sir Henry Oge O'Neill in Tiranny and Dungannon, had had grants made to them shortly before the plantation in 1603 and 1605, respectively, yet were still technically dispossessed by the Act known as the 11th of Elizabeth. The third, Conor Roe Maguire, in east Fermanagh, was granted the larger part of the temporal land in the barony of Magheraystephana, the remainder of which went to the Scottish undertaker, Lord Burghley.[93] (See fig. 3.1, The Ulster plantation 1609-13.) Moreover, the Irish were greatly despised, and always under pressure to change their traditions, customs and way of life.

The majority of those who left Ireland in 1607 were above the peasant class. Gaelic society was fundamentally undermined by destroying the power of the great lords and transforming the overlordship of the smaller lords into fixed rents. This involved the commuting of traditional exactions which had provided food for households and animals, armies, built castles and kept them in repair. As in the Highlands of Scotland, the assimilation of the smaller Gaelic lords to an English way of life incurred added expense for them. As well as the payment of crown rents and composition dues, they now had to pay for the all-important letters patent for landholding, to pursue law suits in a variety of courts, and to pay the costs of an English lifestyle. The reduced financial circumstances of many of the smaller Irish lords led to a rise in mortgages and sales of land in the 1620s and 1630s, which further exacerbated the problem of the wood kearn, though some, like Sir Theobald Burke, first Viscount Mayo, were able to profit from the misfortune of others by accruing the land of smaller landowners in difficulties.[94]

Even where natives succeeded in getting small grants, and usually on fairly unproductive land, yet another device existed to deprive them of their attenuated heritage. A number of government servitors, or well-affected military men, were alway placed in the native baronies to keep them in check. The servitors often got grants of the lands of the native Irish in reversion, and were able to take possession on the deaths of the grantee to the detriment of the rightful heirs. Thus, many young men of high rank were left dispossessed and destitute. In the position of outcasts on their own lands, many Irish of rank took refuge in the woods, where they eked out a living levying black-mail on the plantation settlers.[95] The activity of wood kearn has, probably justifiably, been labelled 'lawlessness' rather than 'rebelliousness,' and to a certain extent, their activity was

conducted seasonally.[96] The problem was more particularly severe in Armagh than in any other district of Ulster, perhaps because of the density of the woods in that area (see fig. 12.1, Irish woodlands c. 1600), and the mountainous terrain around Slieve Gullion (see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster), but also because of the larger numbers of the native Irish lords who had been dispossessed there. Equally, the ridge of the Sperrins (see fig. I.3, Physical features of Ulster) and the woods of Loughinsholin comprised a fastness from which wood kearn plundered the colonists in Londonderry and Tyrone. However, wood kearn were not just an Ulster phenomenon, they also troubled the other loyalist plantations in Ireland, for example in Wexford and Leitrim. Though they were mainly limited to Ulster before 1641, after the Cromwellian confiscations in the mid-seventeenth century, wood kearn became a problem throughout Ireland.[97] In 1646, a new label for these raiders came into currency, the word 'Tory,' an anglicisation of the Irish Gaelic meaning 'pursuer, attacker or raider.' Thus, the wood kearn of the early seventeenth century became the tories of the second half century.[98]

The main leader of the wood kearn in Armagh, after the Flight of the Earls, was Oghie Og O'Hanlon, a nephew of the Earl of Tyrone who had joined O'Dogherty's rebellion, and whose robber band lived by exacting black-mail payments from English and Scots settlers. Oghie Oge finally submitted to Chichester in September 1609 and was later dispatched for service in Sweden.[99] Much later in the century, in the 1670s, the O'Hanlons produced another infamous tory, in the person of Redmond O'Hanlon. The O'Hanlons, who had previously been lords in the barony of Orior, (see fig. 1.4, Ulster lordships c. 1534) lost much of their estate at the plantation, and were deprived of much of the remainder during the Cromwellian occupation. Redmond O'Hanlon and his band of tories inhabited the Slieve Gullion district, from where he conducted raids into counties Armagh, Monaghan and Down, as well as exacting tribute from members of the rural settler population whom he protected.[100]

However, in Counties Antrim and Down, outside of Sir Randal MacDonnell's estate, it has been noted that the evidence of Gaelic unrest, though it occurs, appears infrequently.[101] This adds a further dimension to the aspect of Gaelic discontent at the plantation, because it seems to indicate that substantial dispossession broke the back of serious unrest, probably because the power to raise men and exact levies for their sustenance went with it. Yet, where the Gaelic population still had a noteworthy, though reduced, stake in the reallocated land, they appear to have retained sufficient spirit, and to have commanded some men, to fight the injustice. Thus, it is not insignificant that the 1615 conspiracy in Ulster[102] originated from tenants on Sir Randal's land. By the same token, several of those who led the Irish rising in 1641[103] were descendants of the Irish who had received significant land grants under the Ulster plantation, and had gentry status.[104]

The government worked to obviate the problem of the wood kearn by means fair and foul. Forces

were provided to exterminate them under the command of provost-marshals. Sir Moses Hill, of Stranmillis, near Belfast, was a provost-marshal particularly renowned for his brutal treatment of the wood kearn. Native criminals were bribed with promises of pardons to betray and eliminate the wood kearn. When they really became threatening, the main means taken by the government was to imprison their relatives and threaten to execute them in retaliation.[105] This was the policy as late as 26 March 1679 when a proclamation was passed against tories and robbers and "for seizing their nearest relations, that is to say the wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters of such of them as shall be out upon their keeping, that is not amenable to law, and committing them to close prison until such tories shall be killed or taken."[106] Sir Oliver St. John, Viscount Grandison, and successor to Sir Arthur Chichester as Lord Deputy of Ireland, boasted in a letter of 29 September 1619 that in the previous three years he had got rid of some 300 of the idle sons of gentlemen who had no means of living but by plundering the planters. Even at this, he was forced to admit that they could not be quelled. He wrote to the Privy Council in London:

> When one is cut off, others rise in their places, for the countries are so full of the younger sons of gentry who have no means of living and will not work, that when they are sought for to be punished for disorders they commit in their idleness, they go to the woods to maintain themselves by the spoil of the quiet subjects.

Certainly, the Lord Deputy saw no solution to the problem until a sizeable number of them, 10,000 in his estimation, could be removed from Ireland and sent as mercenaries, hopefully to be eliminated in foreign wars. Nonetheless, even he admitted, speaking of some wood kearn then in prison, that he had "not heard any greater hurt they have done than to steal victuals to fill their bellies."[107] In some cases this was perhaps so, though there were cases of more severe harrassment. For example, in March 1611, the Scottish Privy Council complained to the judges of assize in Ulster that a Lowland settler in Down and his wife had been beaten and stripped of all valuables by a band of Irishmen led by Rowland Savage. However, when, in 1612, the main Scottish undertaker in Armagh, Sir James Douglas, complained to the King about the extent of the robberies by Irishmen, the Lord Deputy attributed the blame to the undertakers themselves for continuing to harbour the original Irish inhabitants on their lands. Douglas was sufficiently discouraged to hand responsibility for his lands to his neighbour, Henry Acheson, only a year later.[108] These depredations did little to encourage migration to Ulster.

Wood kearn were still a problem in Ulster after 1641 when the native Irish rose in rebellion,[109] because apart from the garrisons which they held, there were also said to be "scattered rebells that lurke in woods, in fastnesses, in ten and twentyes, and small numbers living upon stealing."[110] In the Cromwellian period, stricter measures were taken to deal with the wood kearn. In February 1650, it was enacted that all the native Irish in a barony where wood kearn committed robbery were

to be held liable for the damage unless the criminals were surrendered. After the Irish armies' surrender in 1652 small bands of tories continued to resist the English. They were classed along with the wolf and the Catholic priest as the "three beasts that lay burthens upon us." However, the enactment of April 1655 which stated that if tories found guilty of depredation were not brought in within 28 days, four local Irishmen were to suffer transportation to America and, more absurdly, that all the native Irish population in the barony were to be transplanted, argues for the policy's ineffectiveness.[111] Almost thirty years later, Sir William Stewart of Newtownstewart, County Tyrone, disparagingly likened pursuit of the tories to a sport. He wrote to James Butler, first Duke of Ormond, and governor of Ireland,[112] on 17 March 1683:

> There was never such a winter for country sports as the last and I have enjoyed them in such perfection. I had very good hawks and hounds but we have not had more success in any sport than Tory hunting. The gentlemen of the country have been so hearty in that chase that of thirteen in the country where I live in November, the last was killed two days before I left home.[113]

Territorial dispossession and lack of mercenary employment encouraged similar bands of outlaws in the Highlands of Scotland at the same time. The *buannadhan* had been part of the clan structure, organised and paid for by the chiefs. In the Outer Hebrides, at least, and probably in most Highland clans, there was a clear distinction between fighting men and those who tilled the soil.[114] Some redundant *buannadhan* were redeployed into farming, which helped to bring lands wasted by feuding back into cultivation. The caterans or "brokin lymmars" of the post-mercenary period, as they are often referred to in official Scottish documents, had mainly left the confines of the clan, and were no longer controlled by their chiefs who, nevertheless, often still had to answer for their behaviour.[115] They existed by robbery, sorning or the forcible exaction of food and lodging, and by exacting blackmail. Sometimes they were outwith the clan because the clan itself, as a territorial entity at least, no longer existed and there was nothing else for them to do. In clans which still had lands, tacksmen might organised cateran activities, but probably did not go out on raids. The problem of broken men became particularly acute in the 1660s, following two decades of war, while the expansion in the Highland cattle trade, at this juncture, further encouraged their activities.[116]

Two broken clans, the MacPhees and the MacMillans, lived by the side of Loch Arkaig in Lochaber in the early seventeenth century. There seems some possibility that the MacPhees began to disperse as a clan from the mid-sixteenth century when the MacDonalds began to intrude into their island of Colonsay, but they are definitely known to have been a broken clan from the time of the Islay rebellion in 1615, after which a number of their leaders were executed.[117] However, it was probably Colla Ciotach's forced possession of the island in February1623, by murdering Malcolm MacPhee in Oronsay, which consigned the MacPhees to the status of a broken clan.[118]

The MacMillans had lost their original lands on the north side of Lochiel, a good deal earlier, in the fifteenth century, after joining with MacKintosh of Clan Chattan and Donald Dubh Cameron, the progenitor of the Camerons of Lochiel, in an attempt to remove themselves from the vassalage of the MacDonalds, Lords of the Isles. Henceforth, they became dependants of the MacKintoshes who granted them Murlaggan, Loch Arkaig, which they held from 1431. They are remembered historically as cattle theives, their general boast being that they could take cattle from any of the Lochaber clans, and were still active during the late seventeenth century.[119] The MacMillans went as far afield as Skye, Argyll and Sutherland to steal sheep and cattle, and the last *creach* (plundering) in Skye was carried out towards the end of the seventeenth century.[120]

Raiders also flourished on the mainland opposite Skye in the woods and caves of Clanranald's Arisaig and Moidart.[121] However, undoubtedly the most notorious caterans in the seventeenth century, were the MacGregors. In 1560, the MacGregor chiefs had lost their lands in Glenorchy for refusing military service to Colin Campbell, sixth of Glenorchy because it was owed to their chief. Deprived of their lands, the MacGregors thus became broken men, and had been forced to dissipate wherever they could lease land, in Glendochart, in Glenlyon, around Loch Tay, in the wilds of Rannoch and further south near the heads of the Forth and the Teith.[122] In early Spring 1564, some of them went to Ireland instead, 'being pursued here by authority,' but by October they had 'returned very poor, and have sued the Queen to be received to mercy.'[123] In the last decade of the century, in the chiefship of Alasdair MacGregor, the clan came under the law when some MacGregor poachers killed the King's Forester in Glenartney. The clan was only saved from destruction through the intervention of Campbell of Cawdor. When MacGregor failed to renew his hostages, the Privy Council handed responsibility for their peaceable behaviour to Archibald Campbell, seventh Earl of Argyll. However, the latter encouraged the MacGregors against his enemy, Colquhoun of Luss, and after the MacGregors had slaughtered around 100 Colquhouns at the battle of Glen Fruin on 7 February 1603, the government decided to act against them.[124] Argyll was their main agent but the King also granted a commission to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, on 12 February 1603, to assist. All those who had fought were outlawed, 34 MacGregors were executed, including Alasdair MacGregor, the name MacGregor was proscribed, and they were not permitted to carry weapons. For his services against them, Argyll, was rewarded with a feu of Kintyre.[125]

The clan was proscribed in 1606. The campaign to discredit them was conducted at all levels, a memorandum surviving which lists a total of sixteen cases of rapes and ravishings committed by MacGregors between November 1604 and October 1606. Outlawed; and landless, the MacGregors nonetheless continued to harry the lands of their former superiors and to generally raid the Lowland borders. The Privy Council commissioned Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Alexander Menzies of Weem, James Campbell of Lawers, Sir Thomas Stewart of Grandtully and Campbell of

Glenlyon to proceed against them on 14 August 1610. In 1611, Argyll was granted a commission plenipotentiary to "ruite oute and extirpat all of that race [MacGregor], thair assistaris and pertakeris."[126] Both the Privy Council, on 29 April,[127] and Argyll, on 17 July of the same year, commissioned the assistance of Robert Campbell, son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, "to pas service, seik, taik and apprehend or persew to the dead all and quhatsumevir persones of the said raice & name of McGrigor his majesties rebells."[128] Thus, by 1613, some degree of success had been achieved in the government's aim, and many of the clan élite had either been killed or had submitted.[129] However, it has generally gone unnoticed that a significant number of MacGregors also fled to Ulster in these years, where they took refuge and still existed as a distinct group in the eighteenth century.[130]

Though dispossessed, the MacGregors had not been removed as a clan and they continued, defiantly, to use their name throughout the century. Indeed, the government was relatively lenient with their resetters, many of whose fines were still unpaid when the final accounts were made in 1624. Some of the remaining MacGregor élite were further able to exact compensations of between £400 and £10,000 from the Campbells of Glenorchy in payment for the peaceable resettlement of the lands they had previous held in Argyll and Perthshire. There was also a general northward movement of MacGregors from the southern to the central Highlands from their initial dispersal in the sixteenth century. That is was felt necessary to ratify the outlawing of the MacGregors by an act of parliament in 1633 is an indication of their continuing cateran activity.[131] It stipulated that in spite of James VI's attempts to reduce them "yett of late they are brokin furth agayne to the havie oppressioun of many of his majesties gude subjectis Quha dwells neir to the pairts quhair they resort and speciallie in the sherefdomes of Perth, Stirling, Clakmannan, Moneith, Lennox, Angus and Mernes."[132] It is also clear that many had retained the name of MacGregor, because "for the better extinguishing and extirpating of the saids wiked and lawles lymars" parliament stated under the same act:

> that na minister nor preicher within the boundis of the heylandis or neichboruing countries thairto, Bamff, Innerness or regalitie of Spynnie or Elgin, Forres sall at any tyme heireftir Baptize and Christen any male chyld with the name of Gregor under the paine of deprivatioun and that na clerk or nottar in ony tyme cuming sall mak or subscryve ony band or uther securitie under the name of Gregor or Mcgregor.[133]

The MacGregors took part in the general marauding by bands of robbers in the Highlands during the early Cromwellian period, when groups of disbanded Royalists took to raiding both after the civil war and after Glencairn's rising in 1654-55.[134] The MacGregor chief was warned in October 1656 to stop his men pillaging in Argyll.[135] In 1661, the clan was restored, only to be proscribed again in 1693.[136]

Essentially though, the banditry of the MacGregors and other caterans of the period, emerged out of a conflict between pastoral, kin-based societies where feuding was endemic, and a modern society where commercialism and contracting of property was the order of the day.[137]

B. Piracy

Like feuding, piracy had also been a longstanding peripheral occupation amongst many of the clans and septs in Scotland and Ireland for some centuries. Though English ships had increasingly traded with most parts of Europe, with Iceland and southern Ireland from the fifteenth century, most of them avoided the north of Ireland because of the risk of capture by pirates. Where the pirates were not MacDonnells, it is unlikely that seizures were made without with their connivance, Rathlin often being used as a base.[138] For the Scots, with so many clans on the western seaboard involved in the mercenary trade and therefore well equipped for sea travel, the line between transportation for legitimate military purposes and piracy must have been crossed on many occasions. However, the incidence of piracy among the Gaels increased in frequency in both countries in the early decades of the seventeenth century, as Gaelic society was attacked and traditional means of employment eroded.

The plantation of Ulster afforded rich pickings for the pirates off the north Irish coast, because ships frequently sailed with goods, supplies and money for the new settlements. In June 1610, Chichester wrote to Salisbury of their plundering of the Londoners' plantation in County Londonderry, informing that:

> the pirates on this coast are so many and are become so bold that now they are come into this channel, and have lately robbed diverse barks, both English and Scotch, and have killed some that have made resistance; they lay for the Londoners' money sent for the works at Coleraine, but missed it; they have bred a great terror to all passengers.

More pertinent, perhaps, was his inclusion of pirates and priests under one tainted banner, as general agents of disaffection, and his desire that he "had a commission for the adjuding, and executing of pirates and priests here, who vex and disturb the kingdom more than can be understood by others but them that feel it."[139] Antrim MacDonnells were involved in their fair shair of such activity. The pirate Sorley MacDonnell and 24 of his men seized, in February 1616, a barque in the service of Sir Thomas Phillips, transporting a cargo of malt, beer, biscuits and other sundries, from Dublin to Derry. The barque's captain, William Power and its crew were pressed into taking the pirates on a 'freebooting expedition' of both the north coast of Ireland and the west coast of Scotland, during which time they plundered five Scottish, one Irish and one French merchant ships. On this occasion, luck was with the pirates, for vessels sent by Phillips to recapture

his ship were arrested by two Dutch men-of-war who were protecting Dutch fishermen in the Orkneys. The pursuers were mistakenly seized and taken to Rotterdam on 17 June 1616, where they were later released on the intervention of the English ambassador to the Hague, while MacDonnell made a getaway.[140]

Predatory raids on the Londoners' plantation, in particular, were clearly regarded as a legitimate occupation, and one which was also engaged in by Colla Ciotach MacDonald when, after his escape from Dunyveg Castle on 2 February 1615, he spent the next four months as a pirate with members of other expropriated clans, including Gille-Chaluim or Malcolm MacLeod, a natural son of Ruairi Og, the last MacLeod of Lewis. The song *Birlinn Cholla Chiotaich* commemorates their activity. Colla sailed first for Ireland and by the end of February was in Portrolock in Antrim. About 3 March he captured the vessel of Henry Robinson of Londonderry. He pressed one of the crew, Robert Williamson, who later gave evidence against him, into his service. They visited Texa, Islay, Colonsay, Mull, and Canna where they were entertained by Clanranald, proceeding to North Uist in the middle of March, where they were persuaded by Donald Gorm Mòr of Sleat to plunder St. Kilda which is an indication of his rivalry with MacLeod of Dunvegan.[141] They returned via St. Kilda Boreray to North Uist, and gave all their booty to the local inhabitants.[142]

Probably finding out that a commission of fire and sword had been issued to eight of the main chiefs of the Isles against him, Colla then fled south in May, calling at Canna and Iona, and sailing via Colonsay and the sound of Islay to the Isle of Rathlin, which he reached on 9 May 1615. He seized the local leaders and kept them tied up to prevent them warning the authorities on the Irish mainland, though the island's inhabitants were still predominantly MacDonalds. On 10 May, Colla Ciotach put ashore at Bonamargy, in Ballycastle Bay, on the Antrim mainland. According to Williamson:

> ...he did oftentymes heare Coll MacGillaspicke saie that he would dispearse his company and live himselfe in the Ilands of Eyleye and Keintier in secrett manner amongest his friends, and that he would have a smale boate that should carrie him away uppon all occasions, if he should by any meanes by discovered, and that this was his full resolucon when he went into the country of Antrymme from Raughlins.[143]

Colla's purpose was to rendezvous with other pirates, and he returned to Rathlin with another seven men, including Alexander MacDonnell who had been involved in the Irish side of the Islay rebellion, and his half-brother Sorley, the above-mentioned pirate, who were both kinsmen of his. They continued to plunder, relieving a Glasgow boat of 12 tons going to Lough Foyle, of its cargo of salt, wine, beer, whisky, fishing tackle and a payroll for the fishermen of Lough Foyle, on 12 May 1615. However, he was clearly just biding his time until he could return to Islay and regain

Dunyveg castle. According to Williamson, he had a crew of 30 men and boys, armed with 24 swords, 17 targets and 14 callivers with just 20 shot of powder each. Everyone, in addition, had a long knife, but the array was hardly impressive, and was not fit for anything other than predatory raids.[144] Nonetheless, the distinct connection between piracy and disaffection among the Gaels emerges in the persons of both Colla Ciotach and Sorley MacDonnell.

On the night of 12 May 1615, Williamson managed to escape his captors in a fishing boat taken while Colla was on the mainland. Colla appears to have brought Alexander and Sorley MacDonnell to safeguard Rathlin for him as a base, while he and Malcolm MacLeod made further attacks on the shipping route between Ireland and Scotland. Ludar MacDonnell, the first Earl of Antrim's natural brother was, at the same time, seeking assistance in Spain from the Irish exiles. This is significant because it shows that the piracy was not simply gratuitous plundering but was regarded as a legitimate aspect of the Gaelic stance against a foreign government. When news came that Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay had escaped, Colla set sail to join him taking Sorley MacDonnell and Sir James' natural son, Donald Gorm. Alexander MacDonnell was arrested at Dunluce and subsequently acquitted, though others involved in the piracy, such as Ruairi Og Ó Cáthain were executed. Colla's action consistently reveals his instinct for personal survival. He joined forces with Sir James MacDonald on Eigg, and the force travelled via Colonsay to Islay where, on 22 or 23 June, the Islay rebellion began.[145] Once again, the thin line between the Gael's general lawlessness and rebellion can readily be seen.

In his attempts to bring the Highlands and Islands under the rule of central government, James VI and I pursued policies which led to the expropriation of four Highland clans in the early sixteenth century. Action was taken against the MacLeods of Lewis from 1597, whom James attempted to civilise through the introduction of Lowland adventurers from Fife between 1598 and 1609.[146] The Lowlanders' plantation was most harrassed by Neill MacLeod, a bastard son of the late Roderick MacLeod of Lewis. Apart from his opposition to the Lowland settlers, MacLeod also indulged in piratical activity, but was not unwilling to hand over fellow pirates in an attempt to secure a pardon for himself. For instance, in 1610, he effected the capture of a band of pirates of mixed English, Welsh and Irish nationalities under the command of one Peter Love, "lowsed af Ireland, in his schip callit the Preame" which had anchored off Kirkibost, in Bernera. The pirates were tried in Edinburgh on 8 December 1610, and condemned to death.[147] As Sir Alexander Hay, Clerk Register of Scotland, commented on 3 September 1610: "The caice is altered when the brokin hielanders are become the persequutowris of pirattis." He also thought that the Clan Gregor might also wish for pirates in Breadalbane, so that they could similarly find pardon! According to Hay, the best method of dealing with Neill MacLeod would be to transport him to Virginia, giving him a small inheritance there, so that the country could be rid of him. As he commented dryly: "There wald be no suche danger there as of his being in Iyireland, for albeit bothe the speiches be

barbarous, yit I hope he sall neid ane interpretour betwix him and the savaiges."[148]

In 1613, Neill MacLeod sailed to Loch Broom where, with 40 men in two boats, he fired on a Perth fishing boat, sparing the owners, two Perth burgesses, but murdering the crew of seven or eight men. He robbed it of its merchandise, wine and clothes, and afterwards burned the vessel. In 1610, fearing his imminent capture, MacLeod had taken refuge in the Isle of Birsay in Loch Roag, in the west of Lewis, which was "mannit and fortifeit with men, munitioun, and all maner of provisioun for your intertenement; and haifing also tua boittis provydit, for yow and your complices passage and repassage fra the land to the said Craig."[149] In March 1613, MacLeod was condemned to death and subsequently executed for his crimes against the Fife Adventurers.[150] Kenneth MacKenzie, Lord Kintail, who had secretly favoured the MacLeods' resistance of the incomers, ultimately bought the Lowlanders' holdings in Lewis, and evicted the surviving clan *fine* in 1611. The MacKenzies came into legal possession of the island in 1616 and were elevated to the Earldom of Seaforth in 1623.[151]

A number of men, including the famous pirate and outlaw Hugh MacGilleasbuig Chlèirich of the MacDonalds of Sleat, were summoned by the Scottish Privy Council, in April 1600, for piracy on the high seas. The others mentioned were probably clansmen of the Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan who were being harried by the Campbells and eventually took to piracy on an extensive scale in their attempts to restore the family fortunes.[152] Like the Clan Donald South, the Clan Iain's expropriation was brought about by external factors but was also assisted by the clan's internal discord. Taking advantage of the internal dissension which began in 1596, the title deeds of the lands of the MacIains of Ardnamurchan had come into the hands of Archibald Campbell, seventh Earl of Argyll, by 1602. In 1611, he appointed Donald Campbell of Barbreck-Lochawe to manage Ardnamurchan during the minority of the young MacIain. There ensued a period of constant friction regarding non-payment of rents and obedience to Argyll, the feudal superior.[153] In 1618, Argyll granted a lease to John MacDonald, younger of Clanranald, because he was in debt and thought it a useful method of raising money via the *grassum.* He may also have been more sympathetic towards Clanranald because of his impending admission of conversion to Catholicism towards the end of this year when on the continent.[154] Though there seems to be little evidence that Catholicism was practised actively in Clanranald territory until it was revived by the first Franciscan mission,[155] Argyll's conversion nonetheless breached Campbell solidarity, Glenorchy and Cawdor being the main cadets of the house of Argyll. MacIain territory was already under lease to Donald Campbell, whose claim, on arbitration in 1619, was found to be best in law but, inasmuch as he was a half-brother of Campbell of Cawdor, Argyll may have been making an overall statement of his change in stance. Barbreck-Lochawe accepted MacDonald of Clanranald, MacLeod of Dunvegan and Harris and MacLean of Coll as sureties for the good behaviour of the MacIains in 1620 but two years later Alexander MacIain led his men in open rebellion against the

Campbells. They rebelled again in 1624 and, at this point, the MacIains seem to have taken to a piratical life, becoming the terror of the western seas.[156] Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that official documents also show considerable activity on behalf of English and Dutch pirates in this period as well. To a large extent this was symptomatic of the establishment of trade routes dependant on plantation and the increased movement of kin groups.

References to the Clan Iain's piracy at this time are given in letters of 1625 from Sir John Campbell, fourth of Cawdor to Thomas Hamilton, Lord Binning, first Earl of Melrose, Scottish Secretary, and to John Erskine, nineteenth Earl of Mar, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. On 14 April 1625, Cawdor wrote to Mar that:

> The Clanean becaus they ar not perseued ar become verie insolent and thair number increaseth daylie, they will be allredie sax score of able men. Thair is no passage for anie marchand shipp whare they may be maister. Latlie ane English shippe escaped tham verie hardlie, and they have tackine ane bark of Glasgow. They have gone towards Ila but I hope they shall not gaine much thair.[157]

This is informative in that it identifies the number of active MacIain pirates at about 120 men. He was clearly attempting to ensure that the MacIain lands in Ardnamurchan were retained for his half-brother, putting forward suggestions of their joining with Gaelic rebels in Ireland. This probably refers to exiled members of the Clan Donald South, who fled to Antrim after the Islay rebellion.

> It is to be fered that the Ilesmen have intention to assist anie rebellion they find ather in Scotland or Irland, but if his Majestie and Counsell pleis the way may be eselie found to mack them unable but the longer his Majestie delay to tack some sattled ordour with them the difficultie will be the greatter for the number of the rebels will daylie incresse and ther favorers willbe the more incouraged. ... Receave ane scroll of the principall mens names that ar joyned with the rebels, they expect ane breck to be in Irland, and wold gladlie join with them.[158]

Two days later, on 16 April 1625, Cawdor informed the Earl of Melrose that the Clan Iain pirates had taken the Dutch ship[159] which they were pursuing in the Sound of Islay. His brother, William, had convened all the men in Islay in case they landed, but was said not to have had "meanes to persew them be sea." Cawdor used the Clan Iain situation to encourage the central government to deal with all the Campbell problems of law and order in the region:

> In my oppinion it wer good thair wer some quick and secret cours takin for repressing of this rebellion before it grow to a hycht. The cours that is to be tackine with the Clanean may in one

> tyme with the same paines and charges secure all the Iles and that with als lyttle truble or hasert as the pacefying of the Clanean onlie.[160]

James Law, archbishop of Glasgow,[161] also wrote to Melrose on 16 April with information from one John Sheills, merchant in Glasgow, who was travelling to Danzig ["Danskyne"] on a Glasgow ship captured by the MacIains on 5 April. He informed "specially of the deadly woundis which many upone her have receaved by these robbers," but notably also of "the keeping of them as prisoners and slaves" which seems to indicate that the pirates put them to task. The archbishop further recommended that help should be requested from the magistrates of the burgh of Ayr whose ships had "sufficient ordinance and munitione ... to search and tak thou barbarous Pirates and Murtheris in haist, before they grow to greater strength and courage," and also that a commission be given to some of the principal men in the Islands "to apprehend and slay so many as could be taken."[162]

Warrant was subsequently given to the archbishop of Glasgow and Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth to go to the burgh of Ayr which was to equip a ship and a pinnace for them to proceed against the Clan Iain. A commission of fire and sword was also received by Lord Lorne, the lairds of Lochnell, Auchinbreck, Cawdor and Ardkinglas, or any three of them, Lord Lorne being always one, to pursue them. The MacIains, however, continued to plunder, sparing neither foreign nor British ships. By 1625, Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne drove them from the southern Isles up to Skye. Sir Ruairi Mòr MacLeod, fifteenth of Dunvegan and Harris, pursued them across the Minch and they landed in Clanranald country, because having been expropriated they looked to Clanranald for protection.[163] By July 1625, the MacIains' insurrection had been suppressed by Lord Lorne, who slew six MacIains, executed a futher ten and brought fourteen to trial in Edinburgh. Those MacIains who remained, approximately 100 men and their families, were assimilated into the MacDonalds of Clanranald[164] who then had to deal with a second pool of fighting men in addition to his own.

C. Mercenary service in Protestant nations on the continent

Under the Gaelic system, the native Irish lords and Scottish chiefs had been able to channel the might of the swordsmen, but after the suppression of the Ulster rebellion in 1603 and especially after the Flight of the Earls in 1607, there was a redundant military force in Ireland, while the reduction of the native Irish also left the Scottish mercenaries without employment. The Irish Lord Deputy, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, (1600-1603), put forward the opinion that three out of four Irishmen never returned from service abroad, and from that time until the outbreak of rebellion in 1641 service abroad was actively encouraged.[165] The Irish Solicitor General, Sir Robert Jacobs, estimated that there were as many as 20,000 swordsmen in Ulster on 15 April 1609, of whom 5,000

were in Tyrone and Coleraine, 4,000 in Armagh, and 6,000 in Tirconnell. The government planned to transport some of them to Connacht and Munster where they could live under the jurisdiction of lords such as the Earls of Clanricarde, Thomond and Ormond, to transport others abroad to fight in continental armies, while some were to be accepted on to the servitors' lands in the Ulster plantation though they were prohibited from settling on English and Scots undertakers' lands. The government's redeployment schemes to other provinces did not come to fruition, but some swordsmen were impressed for service in Sweden which, during the reign of Charles IX, was an aggressive Protestant nation intent on extending its territories in the Baltic. Only 200 were sent to Sweden in l610, but when he was Lord Deputy, Chichester (1605-16) claimed to have sent 6,000 swordsmen to the Swedish armies. Recruiting in Ireland by both Denmark and Sweden was thus actively encouraged, but many more swordsmen took to the woods.[166]

In Scotland, the Statutes of Iona and their revision by the Privy Council in 1616 after the Islay rebellion, sought to reduce the more disruptive aspects of clanship, particularly the excessive militarism of the Highlands and Islands. The Statutes enacted that all clansmen were either to possess land or have a craft, while by 1616 anyone without lawful employment was to be removed from the western seaboard. According to the enactment of 1609 chiefs were permitted a maximum of only eight men in their household, while in 1616 it was added that only one youth was to be maintained for every two clan gentry, which thus reduced the chief's bodyguard and recruitment into his household. Each chief was also limited to one 16 or 18-oar galley each. The measure of a chief's status could thus no longer be measured by the number of military retainers that he could command. [167]

The opportunities for recruitment as mercenaries increased in both Scotland and Ireland during the Thirty Years' War, from 1618 to 1648, more particularly between 1620 and 1640. The projected figure for mercenaries recruited in Scotland from 1620 to 1642 for the countries of Sweden, Denmark, France, United Provinces, Spain, Russia and Poland, based on warrants, is 58,000, that is, one fourteenth of the contemporaneous population. However, this figure may not all have been successfully levied,[168] nor is it possible to identify the number of Highlanders among them. More insidious in this regard, and with greater relevance to the situation of the Gael in both Ireland and Scotland, was the government's use of impressment to rid themselves of the undesirable element in society. Recruiting colonels obviously preferred to take volunteers but if they had totals to reach, they would resort to impressment. For example, on 25 April 1627, Charles I offered a pardon to criminals who volunteered before 15 June. He particularly recommended that 'Highland chiefs and Border landlords move such of their families and kinsmen into service as might be spared or have got into trouble.' The Scottish Privy Council ordained that lists furnishing the name and number of all the idle men in the area, had to be made by J.P.s and ministers. Only one Highland list survives, that for Logierait in Perthshire, which listed 11 men. The appearance of one Ewen MacGregor as a

captain bound for Sweden, in 1629, for whom Lord Tullibardine requested the assistance of his nephew, Sir John Grant of Freuchie, in raising recruits, was probably an example of the same process of removal of social undesirables, though only a total of seven MacGregors have been identified in the Danish and Swedish armies during this 20 year period. On the other hand, Ewen MacLean of Treshnish, in Mull, went into the French service in 1632 because he had a dispute with his chief, and did not return for ten years.[169]

Similar processes designed to rid society of its undesirable elements were at work in Ireland. A letter of 20 June 1631, from Lord Esmond, Commissioner for County Kilkenny, to Lord Dorchester, the Chief Secretary of State, comments on the intention of Sir Piers Crosby, an agent for the escheated lands in Ulster, to raise 3,500 men for Sweden. According to Esmond it was 'an excellent idea; it will give some of the idle young men here something to do. We could spare twice as many.'[170] Moreover, since mercenary regiments seldom went three years without amalgamation with other units or recruiting again, there was a high turnover of men. Both Sir George Hamilton, a Scottish Catholic planter in County Donegal,[171] and Sir Frederick Hamilton, a landowner in County Leitrim, raised troops in Ireland in 1627, for the Earl of Nithsdale's regiment, but on 29 April 1627 the Lord Deputy stated that Sir George had informed him that the northern Catholics 'objected to their idle swordsmen leaving the country or entering the King of Denmark's service.'[172] Their removal had implications not only for their defence but, according to old forms of landholding, for social status, which as in Scotland could no longer be measured by a Gaelic lord's ability to command fighting men. Similarly, in 1637, five of the companies Robert Stewart levied for Col. John Meldrum's regiment in Sweden were mainly Irish. Like the Hamiltons, Stewart had plantation holdings in Ireland, having been granted lands in Leitrim, Cavan and Fermanagh in 1617. It appears that there was more scope for evasion of the pressmen in Ireland, according to the Scottish directive of April 1627 which ordered that gypsies should be enlisted and that measures should be taken to prevent their escape to Ireland. Escape to the Highlands was also a useful means of evading capture. When three 'idle and masterless men' were forcibly enlisted in the north east of Scotland, in 1628 it was noted that one took himself to Flanders and the other two 'betaking themselves to the Hielands, where no knowledge of them can be got.'[173]

It is also apparent that Irish and Scottish Gaels sometimes fought together in the same companies. For instance, the 1630 muster roll of Captain John Innes in Sweden, is distinctive for the numbers of both west Highland and Irish names it includes. There are, for instance, 22 'Mac' names, like MacLeod, MacPherson and MacTaggart, but no Campbells, and also nine 'O' names, including three O'Hagans, an O'Donnelly and an O'Brogan. On the whole, there seems to have been little problem with the principles of religion, with neither Catholic Irish nor Highlanders scrupling to fight on the Protestant side. The question of religious loyalties was touched upon indelicately by Sir Ralph Bingley, an undertaker in Donegal with regard to the Irish Catholics. "If it be alleged that

the Irish will be dangerous to be carried against the Spaniard I answer there will be no cause of fear for bring them where they shall gain and they will fight against their fathers." It was rather the government's gross mistrust of Catholics which presented the larger problem. On 31 December 1629, with reference to Col. Edward Dowda, who had permission to levy 2,000 men for service in Sweden, the Lord Justices and Council of Ireland told Lord Falkland, the Lord Deputy: "We have reason to think that when Colonel Dowda was ordered with a regiment to join the King of Sweden he formed the plan of taking the spoil of Londonderry, and then carrying off his regiment to join the King of Spain."[174]

Mercenaries for the continent were recruited from all over Scotland, but surname evidence shows significant enlistment from the northern Highlands, particularly Sutherland and surrounding districts. Yet, although the Campbells had been major contractors of mercenaries to Ireland in the late sixteenth century, Argyll yielded comparatively few recruits for service in Sweden and Denmark. Individual Campbells appear in the Scottish regiments in foreign pay, but the only Argyll company noted is Captain William Campbell's in Col. Spynie's regiment, which was recruited for service in Denmark in 1628 and possibly earlier in 1627. After Spynie's regiment broke up in 1628, Campbell seems to have found further employment with the Danish government, being granted commissions over the landsfolk (Danes or Germans) in both 1628 and 1629. He later complained, on 4 November1630, of the resetting of 30 deserters from Argyll and Lorn - two MacDougalls, two MacIains, a MacNiven, a MacMichael, a Campbell, brother of the laird of "Purbeck," probably Barbreck-Lochawe, two MacGregors, a MacCook and a Cameron - from his Argyll company. The west Highland names differ distinctly from those in other companies in Spynie's regiment.[175]

It has been pointed out, moreover, that the Campbells would be expected to have rallied to the Protestant cause abroad as in Scotland, but in the context of the early seventeenth century, clan recruitment was used primarily as a means of removing undesirables in society, as well as of gainful employment of those no longer contracted as *buannadhan.* In this sense, MacDonald of Clanranald's appeal to the Pope for support in February 1626[176] could, by extension, also be seen as an attempt to find employment for redundant clansmen. Yet, not only did Argyll act as a repressive agent of the central government in the west Highlands against recalcitrant clans, but events in early seventeenth-century Argyll and nearby Perthshire, show that clans such as the MacDonalds in Kintyre, the Lamonts, MacDougalls, MacGregors and MacNabs, also endured absorption into the Campbell empire. Therefore, there would probably have been ample employment for the Campbell warriors at home.[177] Furthermore, with the seventh Earl's exile in Spain, Lord Lorne only held technical control of his estate, and may have felt constrained to maintain strong defences. Certainly, a force went to fight for the Spanish king when Argyll joined the Spanish Catholic side in 1623,[178] but when he was raising them in 1622, it was said that though

he 'could get regiments of captains, he finds few private soldiers.' Argyll is said to have distinguished himself in the campaign against the Dutch, whereupon his licence to be abroad was revoked and he was ordered to return, on the default of which he was outlawed.[179]

Accepting that there is a general lack of the name Campbell in the levies for Sweden and Denmark, nonetheless, there is not a total lack of Argyll surnames, though in most cases the majority of names in the company were from areas outwith Argyll. For instance, in a company of Highland archers raised by the laird of MacNaghten, in 1627, to be sent to the relief of La Rochelle, there were Kintyre names such as Macsporran, Maclarty, MacMillan, McNeill and MacAllister. The soldiers also included two pipers and a harper, being some evidence of the extent of the traditional element in Gaelic society which it included.[180] Similarly, in 1629, one of the companies in Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick's regimental roll, that of James Hamilton of Parklie, levied for service in Sweden, included two MacAllisters, three MacCormicks, a MacNugitor, a MacVorie [MacMhuirich?], a MacEndris, a MacDougall, a MacLean and a McNeill. Many of these names are also found in Ulster in the early seventeenth century, which makes it more likely that these mercenaries were from families of the old tenants of the Clan Donald South in Kintyre.[181] In comparison, there were only two Campbells in this company. Another company in Hamilton's regiment, Alexander Bruce's, shows similar evidence, where 20% of the company bore the patronymic 'Mac,' there were four O'Neills serving alongside two MacKilpatricks, three MacCorquodales, two MacNachtans, two MacWilkies, three MacNeills, a MacAllister and a MacDonald.[182] The small numbers of Argyll names which do appear are probably best explained in terms of a need to ship out disaffected people from the community.

This was certainly a major element in the raising of Lord Kintyre's regiment in 1642 under licence and commission from Charles I, for 4,500 'Scots Guards' to serve under the French king. Recruiting seems to have taken place as far away as Edinburgh, with considerable evidence of impressment and enlistment of drunks, idlers and vagabonds. The regiment was only 1,500 strong when it left from Leith, and remained in service in France till 1662, but is worthy of particular note in that those men spared after the massacre of Dunaverty in 1647[183] were impressed into its ranks.[184] Thus, there was still active recruitment for a continental army in Scotland at a time when the civil crisis in the three kingdoms might be thought to have restricted such activity. In Ireland, this proved potentially more important, because, as noted by Viscount Montgomery of the Ards, the rising was supported in the first instance by those who had commissions to levy forces for Spain.[185]

IV. COVENANTING PERIOD

At the signing of the national covenant by Charles I's opponents in Scotland in February 1638, the country was in the hands of the Covenanters and the King began to prepare to invade it,to assist the Royalists there. Ironically, the Protestant settlers in Ulster, once the great supporters of the English government in Ireland under his father, were a threat to his son. The Earl of Antrim suggested that Ireland should be used as a base for the King to reduce the Covenanters in Scotland, and letters were sent from his principal agent, Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, to Archibald MacDonald of Sanda and Colla Ciotach MacDonald in June 1638, both members of the old Clan Donald South alliance. The letters revealed that Randal MacDonnell, second Earl of Antrim, had told the King that none of the MacDonalds had signed the Covenant. Indeed, by this time, the only areas of the country where the Covenant had not been widely subscribed, were the western Highlands and Isles to the north of Argyll and in Aberdeen and Banffshire. In one, the MacDonalds led resistance and in the other, the Marquis of Huntly and the Gordons. In return for the MacDonalds not having signed the Covenant, the King promised Antrim that he would stop Lord Lorne acting against them. It was also clear, by this time, that Antrim planned to bring an army to Scotland which the old adherents of the Clan Donald South would join against the Campbells. For though he had not yet declared his allegiance, it seemed likely that Lord Lorne would come out for the Covenanters, and if the King's cause were ultimately successful, Antrim could therefore profit from the rebellion by the house of Argyll against the Crown. It was expected that Antrim's force would be assisted by Highlanders from the north west whom George MacKenzie, Earl of Seaforth had been sent to rouse by James, third Marquis of Hamilton, the King's commissioner. He would also be assisted by a Royalist group of MacDonalds comprising Sleat, Clanranald and Glengarry, and also by the Earl of Tyrone and his Irish regiment in Flanders. Hamilton warned that the Highlanders would be more motivated "becaus of ther splen to Lorne" than affection to the King, for clan attitudes, as exhibited in Gaelic poetry of the period,[186] remained fairly particular to the locality and interests of the clan.[187]

With growth of the Covenanting movement in Scotland, those who refused to join it or cooperate found themselves in a grave situation, and many households were broken up. Colla Ciotach's younger son, Alasdair MacColla (or Alexander) MacDonald, had already fled to the Antrim coast, to his kinsmen, the Stewarts of Ballintoy.[188] MacColla probably came in a company of 300 refugees including Archibald Oge MacDonald, the young chief of Sanda, who all refused to accept the covenant and sought asylum on Antrim coast in about May 1639. The break-up of Colla Ciotach's household provided the added incentive of kinship support to Antrim's plan to invade Kintyre, and he harnessed the MacDonald resentment of the Campbells to his own ambition. Some of the Scottish refugees returned to Scotland but MacColla remained and probably encouraged many of the Highlanders who had come with the *fine* class to enlist in a regiment of eight

companies then being raised by his kinsman, Antrim's agent, Archibald Stewart to resist the native Irish rebels.[189]

When the First Bishops' war broke out in the north-east in March 1639, it was expected that the Earl of Antrim would invade the west coast of Scotland and prevent the Covenanters drawing men from the west Highlands to the borders to defend against invasion from England. In early 1639, Charles planned that Antrim's force would consist of 10,000 or 12,000 men. The Campbells thought that he would land at Lochhead (Campbeltown), the principal harbour in the territory, (see fig. 2.2, The Western Highlands) and be joined by the MacDonalds.[190] Certainly, he was preparing the ground, for the Earl of Argyll apprehended "ane Angus yllache and one McCaulae confident servantes to the Earll of Antrim such were came to Kintyre to be spyes" in the first week of April.[191] Antrim wrote to Wentworth, the Irish Lord Deputy, in the same month: "I must confess I have a natural affection to them [the Scottish MacDonalds] allied to me by both name and blood and their safety I shall seek as much as my own." Any invasion by Antrim would clearly also be an attempt to regain old MacDonald lands but Antrim's impassioned plea that "if your lordship will not send present relief that all of my name will be cut off... For the love of God my lord let us sleep no longer" would appear to show some concern for his kinsmen amid his admittedly greater desire for territorial gain. Wentworth, who held Antrim in contempt, was more concerned with his practical plans, asking amid Antrim's visions of assistance from abroad and uprising in Scotland, what his army would live off. When Antrim replied that they would live off the country itself, he suggested that Argyll would probably lay the land waste. Antrim proposed, in that case, that they would feed the horses with leaves from the trees and themselves with shamrocks.[192] Wentworth retorted that Antrim should postpone his expedition until the trees were well leaved! However, by May, plans of invasion from Ireland during the First Bishops' war had been abandoned because Antrim simply did not have the resources to raise his projected force.[193]

Donald Gorm MacDonald of Sleat visited Antrim in May 1639, at Antrim's own request, and on 11 June, while negotiations were under way for a treaty to end the First Bishops' War, the King appointed Donald Gorm and Antrim his joint-lieutenants and commissioners in the Highlands and Islands. Their reward for action against the Covenanters was to be the title to Kintyre for Antrim and to Ardnamurchan, Sunart, Strathswordsdale in Skye, and Rhum, Muck and Canna for Sleat.[194] On 25 June, a letter from Inveraray to Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy noted the presence of Royalist ships manned by Irish, Scots and English: "There are still some ships upon our coasts, they did take and kill fyftie ky in Jura and went to Islay, where they tuike Mr William Campbell Cadalls brother, and others two gentlemen persones, and keepe them still." Colonsay was savagely raided by Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan on the orders of Argyll, possibly in an attempt to neutralise those who might to assist Antrim's invasion. As Antrim commented on the raping of many of the women - "all this cruelty is for my sake." Sir Donald Campbell returned to Lorn to

keep the ships from landing in Islay. Colla Ciotach was taken to Inveraray but his sons escaped. By 4 July, some two weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Berwick which ended the First Bishops' War, the ships lying about the western coasts had gone and Argyll wrote to the Lord Deputy "anent the gentlemen who were taken prisoners out of Ila." After the treaty, some of the MacDonalds who had fled to Ireland also tried to return to Kintyre, but were forced back by Argyll's troops.[195]

Ultimately, Antrim's invasion plan did little to serve the King's interest. In Scotland, it alienated Lord Lorne, who wrote to Wentworth in July 1638 that some of the MacDonalds in his bounds were plotting rebellion with the native Irish in Ireland and abroad, particularly with the O'Neills and O'Donnells who were said to be planning to invade Ireland to regain their lost patrimony at the same time as Antrim's invasion. On 2 August he arranged for weaponshawings and musters to be held throughout Argyll on 16 August, and "that thair be ane Competent number of men appoyntit to watch the harbereis of kintyre." This fear ultimately caused Lorne to declare for the Covenanters in December 1638, so that "no MacDonnell shall be allowed to enjoy a foot of land in Scotland," though his reluctance to sign the Covenant until April 1639 probably indicates less ideological commitment than a desire to join their military preparations against invasion from Ireland. Similarly, Antrim's Catholicism probably harmed the King in Scotland as a whole, while in Ireland, the prospect of arming Irish Catholics alienated the King's British supporters.[196] Evidence of the seriousness with which the threat of Antrim's invasion was taken can be seen in the garrisoning by the new Earl of Argyll's forces of the Isle of Arran in late March 1639, which belonged to the Royalist Marquis of Hamilton. It can further be seen in Argyll's preparations in Kintyre, the construction of long boats as well as of the Fort of Askamylnemoir, an entrenched camp which was garrisoned by about 400 men under Campbell of Auchinbreck and also fortified with cannon in about April 1639. However, the invasion never materialised, probably due to obstruction by Wentworth. The Covenanter's victory at Newburn-on-Tyne, on 30 August 1640, ended the Second Bishops' war and hence the threat from Antrim, but the fort was still maintained during the Irish rising in 1641. The Marquis of Argyll received further permission from the Privy Council to keep it manned in 1642, because "of the great rebellion in Ireland with whiche the diverse of the Clan Donald, speciallie Coll McGillespick's sonnes and others followers of the Earl of Antrim, have joyned themselves... and because of the known inmitie of the said Earl of Antrim and the Clan Donald aganis the said Marquess of Argile and his friends."[197] The latter is clear evidence, despite the destruction of the Clan Donald South, that they still exhibited sufficient solidarity to intimidate Argyll. Moreover, Argyll's alliance, once again, with a political regime centralised in Edinburgh and dominated by Lowlanders, added a cultural dimension to the fight.[198]

After his appointment as King's lieutenant, in June 1639, Donald Gorm returned to Scotland to arrange a Royalist alliance against the Campbells, getting agreement from Sir James Lamont, Sir

James Stewart, the sheriff of Bute, Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, John MacLeod of Dunvegan and Sir Lachlan MacLean of Duart, to join him in his attack.[199] In the same month, the committee of estates granted Argyll a commission to proceed against the Royalist Earl of Atholl and Lord Ogilvie, in Atholl and the braes of Angus, the Farquharsons in the Braes of Mar, and enemies in Badenoch, Lochaber and Rannoch who "awaittes opportunitie to fall on be thameselffes or to joyne with uthers asweill natives as forraigners and strangers to the overthrow and ruine of this kirk and kingdome." His expedition in June and July was successful and Atholl and others who would not support the Covenant were sent south to imprisonment, but sufficient disturbance remained for him to commission two Campbell lairds' in October 1640, against the MacDonalds in Lochaber and Glengarry and Roberston of Struan, though this was more a reaction to Argyll's assumed superiority in the area.[200] Again, no invasion materialised and the only raiding of Campbell territory came from the Colonsay MacDonalds. Sir George Campbell, tutor of Cawdor, wrote on 16 November 1640 that "The Clanronald are still out. Last week Coill Mcgillespik's two sons came to Islay from Ireland with 80 men to seiz Calder's son George, but he escaped."[201] Indeed, with the absence of Antrim from his estates in the first few months of the Ulster rising, which broke out almost a year later, Alasdair MacColla was one of the most prominent MacDonalds in the north of Ireland. Though he was imprisoned early in the rising by Col. Arthur Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus, on suspicion of the planned seizure a town, Antrim's agent procured his release and made him a captain of a company of Highlanders in a regiment he raised without commission from Dublin. One of the main reasons Stewart gave MacColla his appointment was apparently as a means of maintaining the loyalty of the Antrim Irish to the Crown, by "detaching the surrounding Roman Catholics from the insurrection." There were two companies of Catholics who served under captains Alasdair MacColla and Tirlough Og O'Cahan, son of Gilduffe O'Cahan of Dunseverick. However, when the conflict commenced, MacColla and his Highlanders who, with additional recruits, formed two companies of Stewart's regiment, decided to pursue his own agenda. Part of this seems to have been to neutralise the covenanting allies of the Campbells in Ulster and thus to strengthen his own position if he wanted to attack them in Scotland.[202]

The origin of the 1641 rising in Ulster can be found in many reasons - in the discontent of both the Gaelic gentry and the Old English in Ireland, in closening relations between the Covenanters and the English parliament who had a common hatred of popery, and in a reaction and emulation of the Covenanting challenge to the King. The native Irish had lost too much as a result of the plantation. Most had not adapted to British methods of estate management, a situtation exacerbated by the harvest failures of 1629-32, and were in extreme debt by 1641. The Old English, on the other hand, were perturbed by the strength of the puritans in parliament. By the summer of 1641 their joint discontent had united in the common aim of supporting the King and furthering their own aims. The Old English backed down at the last moment, but their later entry into the rising suggests that it was not seen simply as a rebellion against the Crown.[203] The rising began in Ulster

on 22 October 1641 when the native Irish, led by Sir Phelim O'Neill, attacked Dungannon, in Tyrone, and Charlemont, in Armagh. (See fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) They claimed to rise in defence of their freedom, for security of land tenure and religious toleration but not against the King. The English and Lowland Scottish settlers who had settled on land previously held by Gaels before the plantation of Ulster, were considered a fair target by the Gaelic population during the rising, and as it proceeded, relations between them became increasingly strained.[204] In Dungannon, Sir Phelim issued the statement that the rising was "in no wayes intended against our Soveraine Lord the King, nor the hurt of any of his subjects, eyther of the Inglish or Schotish nation, but onely for the defence and liberty of our selves and the Irish natives of this kindome."[205] The Irish had originally intended to take Dublin, but when their intention was betrayed, they concentrated on Ulster. The fervour spread quickly and within only two days the majority of Ulster, from Newry in Down, to Donegal and Cavan, was in Gaelic hands, with the exception only of County Antrim, north Down and Londonderry - that is, most of the Ulster plantation had been removed.[206]

Only a week after the start of the rising, on 30 October 1641, Sir Phelim wrote to Fr. Patrick Hegarty, the head of the Franciscan mission to the Highlands and Islands, at Bonamargy Friary in Antrim[207] asking him to "Send word to Scotland to Donald Gorm [probably MacDonald of Sleat]. ... And to the people of Rathline. ... And everie place in Scotland where you have freindes, and let them cum hither and we will use them weill." He aimed to use the Highlanders in two ways, first, to reinforce his army and second, to create a diversion in Scotland if the Covenanters crossed to Ulster.[208] Thus, he was effectively seeking to reverse the divisive policies of the King's father in Ulster, but the Highlanders did not join the rebels yet. The rising of the Irish was also a threat to the Covenanters. A parliamentary committee therefore decided, on 2 November 1641, that should the English request help, they would raise 10,000 men in Scotland, a quarter of which would be Highlanders, because they would be "proper to fight with the Irish in their own Kind and Country amongst Hills and Boggs."[209]

Irish Gaelic activity during this period belies the apparent conformist tendency of those members of the Gaelic landowning class who managed to retain some land under the plantation, and indicates that their reaction post-1603 had probably been pragmatic. In County Down, the Gaelic rising was lead by the Magennises. Sir Con Magennis, brother of the second Viscount Iveagh, was prominent, and his brother and father-in-law, Rory and Ever Magennis also took part. Rory McBrian Oge Magennis, head of the Kilwarlin branch, and Art Oge Magennis of Ilanderry were out, as was Patrick McCartan of Loughinisland, a representative of the McCartans who had once held Kinelearty, and the Magennises of Clonconnell. However, Henry O'Neill, heir to the Killelagh estate, did not join them. In the first few weeks, the rising spread north of Newry, the Irish taking the town of Dromore, failing to take Lisburn in November, but capturing the town of Down in

February 1642. However, Irish activity in Down was effectively checked by the 2,500 Scots (part of the 10,000) who arrived in Carrickfergus in April 1642 under Major-General Robert Monro and marched, a month later, to lay waste the Magennis and McCartan lands, and to recapture Newry.[210] The Scottish Privy Council arranged for the levying of the rest of the 10,000, and another 7,500, that is, 11,000 in all, had crossed in batches by November 1642. One of the ten regiments of infantry which ended up in Ireland was commanded by Sir Mungo Campbell, laird of Lawers.[211] (For most locations, see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.)

In County Antrim, trouble was allayed for some time by Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, through his initial ploy of ensuring that both native Irish and settlers manned the local defence force. However, towards the close of 1641 the Gaelic section of this force started a rising in Antrim, by refusing to cross the Bann at Portnaw to assist a settler on the other side. Some of the force crossed with Stewart, but Alasdair MacColla MacDonald and Tirlogh O'Cahan, son of Gilduffe O'Cahan of Dunseverick, who led the Irish section, turned on the non-Gaelic section in the night of 2 January 1642. MacColla was joined by James MacColl MacDonnell who was, unlike himself, a local landowner and a descendant of the eldest son of Somhairle Buidhe.[212] Information from Londonderry to the Irish Lords Justices, on 10 January, indicated that "James McDonnell is out in rebellion, and hath drawne all the Irish in the Earle of Antrim's country with him, and that they had releife from the Raughlin, 1 hundred bow men being come unto them." Similar news from Coleraine, on 14 January, informed that "the natives and redshankes in the Earle of Antrim's country with James McDonnell, tenn dayes since, with all the natives twixt the towne and Carrickfergus went into rebellion."[213] The other Antrim Irish who joined were Henry O'Hagan who held 300 acres from the Earl of Antrim, as well as Brian and Art O'Hagan, and O'Cahans from the west of the Bann, and the Gaelic tenants of the O'Neills of Edenduffcarrick. The Gaelic force then burned Ballymone, but failed to take either the castle in Ballintoy which settlers had made their refuge, or Dunluce Castle which was maintained for the Earl of Antrim. However, they took the castle of Oldstone (or Clough), though they failed to take the town of Antrim, or to besiege Coleraine, where the Highland charge was first said to have been employed by MacColla, in February 1642. As in Down, the Irish held large areas of the county, but were unable to bring down the main centres of settler resistance.[214]

In both Down and Antrim, therefore, it was the Gaelic gentry or middle class rather than the Gaelic Lords like Viscount Iveagh and the Earl of Antrim who lead the rising. The second Earl of Antrim did not take any part. Though he had been prepared to negotiate with Charles I to assist him in Scotland because it suited his own ends, he was probably unsure of the King's attitude to the present rising[215] and showed far less inclination to join in the rising in Ulster in early 1642. He stayed in Dublin through the winter of 1641 and returned to Dunluce Castle on 28 April 1642. His prime motivation was probably his own political self-preservation, though he apparently stated in

March 1642 that he scrupled to join the rising because "the business was already spoiled, especially in Ulster, by bloodshed and robbery." It is clear, nonetheless, that there was an element of divided loyalty in his aloofness. For example, though he tried to persuade MacColla to abandon his siege of Coleraine and allowed food to be sent to the settlers besieged there, he gave no further assistance, and when Monro, a veteran of the Thirty Years' War, arrived at Carrickfergus on 3 April 1642, he simply imprisoned Antrim in Dunluce Castle for suspected compliance with the rebels. He was also held partly responsible for MacColla's desertion. Monro passed all of Antrim's houses into the hands of the Argyll regiment except Dunluce, probably fearing for Antrim's safety at their hands, but after Antrim's transfer to Carrickfergus some weeks later, that too was given to Auchinbreck. (For Carrickfergus Castle, see fig. 1.2, The Glens and the Route of Antrim.) Nevertheless, the differing political objectives of the Campbells and the MacDonnells should not be allowed to obscure their common Gaelicness, which resulted, for instance, in the marriage of Captain Alexander MacAulay who served under Auchinbreck, to the daughter of Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy.[216]

The Gaelic population fuelled the rising, but there was an element of indiscipline and lawlessness which manifested in gratuitous violence, looting and burning at the grassroots level within two weeks of the start of the rising. There were killings on both sides, of native Irish and settlers. After Alasdair MacColla's attack at Portnaw, late in 1641, 'the Irish on both sides of the Bann, then present with their wives and children, fearing the remnant of Mr. Stewart's regiment ... kept together, and marching into the Cross ... killed all the British they could lay their hands on.' James MacConnell of Ballymena also noted that many British were killed after Portnaw 'except a very few who were spared by their acquaintance among the Irish.' The killing there was matched by the massacre of Irish at Island Magee a few days later, and thus the Irish retaliated by killing a group of women and children who had been granted safe passage to Carrickfergus after the surrender of Oldstone Castle. An element of cultural animosity to the settlers was apparent after this surrender, when the Irish issued a proclamation that everyone who spoke English would be hanged. MacColla spoke out against the wisdom of the proclamation. Though this doubtless addressed a very real desire to return to pre-plantation culture, it was but a limited aim of the rising, which generally had greater objectives in sight. Early in the rising, on 25 October 1641, Sir Con Magennis wrote clarifying his particular aims for rising to the English landowners in Down. He stated: "wee are for our lives and liberties, we desyre no blood to be shede, but if you mean to shed our blood, be sure wee wilbe as ready as you for the purpose." Those who rose in Antrim claimed that they feared their massacre by the Protestants, and though this was probably an element in their decision, they were probably more motivated by the progress of the Gaelic cause since 22 October.[217] Writing from the Catholic camp at Oldstone, James MacColl MacDonnell was clearer in a letter of 10 January 1642 to Stewart, Antrim's agent: "As for going againe the Kinge we will dye sooner or my Lord of Antrim either, but their only aime is to have their religion setled, and every one his owne

ancient inheritance."[218] Though the rising had little affect on the regaining of their ancient inheritance, the organization of the Church of Ireland, as well as its ministry, was rendered ineffective by the wars for at least a decade.[219]

It is also significant that, at the beginning of the rising, the Irish seem to have desisted from attacking Scottish settlers in Ulster. There was even talk of collusion between the Covenanters and the Irish, fuelled by rumours that the titular Earl of Tyrone, John O'Neill, an exile on the continent, had asked for the Earl of Argyll's assistance in Ireland, and that he was to marry Argyll's sister or daughter. The predominance of Scottish settlers is thought to have been a major reason for the rising beginning more than two months later in Antrim than in Down and central Ulster. In capturing Cavan in the first few days of the rising, Philip O'Reilly ordered his men "not to meddle with anie of the Scotishe natioun, except they give cause," but by November 1641, the Scots settlers had generally come into conflict with the Irish.[220] On 10 January 1642, James MacColl MacDonald offered, if Coleraine were surrendered, to "send for all the Raglin bates [boats] to Portrush and from thence send all the people away into Scotland, which if it be not done before Sir Phelomie's army comes to the towne ... all my desire of doing them good will be to no purpose."[221] This simply prompted Archibald Stewart, who had taken an active part in Antrim's earlier plots against Argyll, to denounce his MacDonnell kinsmen and appeal to the newly elevated Marquis of Argyll for assistance, pleading that he send a regiment to their assistance.[222]

Alasdair MacColla readily attacked Scottish settlers early in 1642 in an attempt to remove potential support for the Campbells. Around 500 Ulster settlers fled to the Isle of Bute, and more in to the bounds of the presbyteries of Ayr and Irvine. In Scotland, this attack made the Covenanters aware of the necessity of their intervention in Ireland in order to prevent Irish Catholic interference in Scotland, because it was feared that "if the Rebellione of Irland be prevalent" the Highlanders "who speak the same language the Irishe doe" might be assisted by the latter against the Campbells. Argyll decided that attack was the best form of defence and asked the English parliament that he be commissioned to raise a regiment (as part of the 10,000 Scots) to be sent to Coleraine immediately. This being the nearest port to Antrim's estates, it is clear that Argyll intended to neutralise the MacDonnells. This was agreed on 7 February. Parliament was to pay them and Argyll was to be appointed governor of Rathlin. In effect, however, this military intervention resulted in Argyll contracting vast debts on Scotland's behalf for some years, because parliament had too many commitments elsewhere. The Scots army in Ulster was in severe financial straits by mid-1643 and wages were rarely paid. Argyll stated in 1646 that the troops frequently only received 1s each every 10 days. There was some kind of levy - a land tax - on their hosts in Ireland, though few details remain, but the supply ships sent from Scotland were subject to raiding by Irish pirates which continued to harrass shipping off the north coast. Scotland thus became financially involved in the Irish rising at two levels, in supporting the army it sent there, and also in supporting the

destitute refugees, collections for whom were ultimately made at a national level because the numbers fleeing from Ulster could not be supported by the local poor collections.[223]

At the same time as Monro landed at Carrickfergus, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, landed on Rathlin island with the 1500 Highlanders from Argyll. Though the comment that: 'The island had little or no strategic value in this purely land campaign and Argyll's reason for seeking the Governorship can only have been clan and religious hatred' is a somewhat of an overstatement, because Rathlin could still be used as a stepping-stone from the west Highlands to the north-east of Ireland, there is no doubt that Argyll took ample opportunity to score against his enemies, the MacDonnells. Argyll had resigned command of his regiment, on 21 March 1642, to his cousin, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auckinbreck, who was sent to Rathlin to secure the lines of communication for his army, with permission to remove all rebels there. A MacDonnell force of between 200-300 confronted the Campbells in the middle of the island, in a hollow known as *Lag-na-vis-ta-vor*, 'the field of the great battle.' The hill above it, from where the women gazed on, is known to posterity as 'the hill of screaming.' The presbyterian Campbells put almost the entire population to the sword. More women and children were thrown off the cliffs at a gully since known as *Sloak-na-calliagh*,[224] 'the channel of the old women,' at the south end of the island. Oral tradition records the stories of the few who survived by guile. One young woman, in particular, whose husband was killed in the massacre was apparently carried off to Islay by a Campbell for his wife.[225] As a result of this massacre, the Campbells were viewed as empathetically on Rathlin as in Glencoe some fifty years later.

The Catholic Church in Ireland formally approved the Irish rising at the Synod of Kells on 22 March 1642, which was followed by the formation of the Confederation of Catholics of Ireland at Kilkenny in October.[226] Yet, after Monro's arrival in April 1642, the Ulster rising was quickly contained. On 29 April he defeated the Irish in Down at Kilwarlin, then took Newry in May. (See fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) Returning northwards to Carrickfergus, the army burned Irish lands and houses as they went, and carried on to devastate the lands of the MacDonnells of Antrim. In the face of such assault, the Irish, including "Coll Kittaghs sonns, two Scotts Highlanders with many Highlanders more," crossed the Bann to join Sir Phelim O'Neill. MacColla persuaded him to attack the Protestants at Glenmaquin, in the parish of Raphoe, on 16 June, but the Irish were defeated. Here, it is worth stressing that significant numbers of Protestant settlers there seem to have been Argyll Campbells, whom Alasdair would have been keen to eradicate. MacColla and his brother Ranald alone of the forces received special mention from the Ulster Scot, Sir Robert Stuart: "Coll Kittaghs sonnes, cryed up for their valour as invincible champions, with their Highlanders and some others assaulted my brigade fircely in so much that they were not far from comeing to push a pike, but seeing the resolucion and constancy of our men ... at last after a quarter of an hower's stand they turned faces." Having suffered injury, MacColla convalesced in the house of a

Catholic priest, Fr. O'Crilly. This battle brought to an end the first phase of the rising, by which time the Gaelic cause in Ulster had been lost.[227] In the hour of need, in July 1642, Owen Roe O'Neill, nephew of O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, having been in military service in Spanish Flanders for the past year, experience which he used to effect in the Ulster army, was welcomed by James MacColl MacDonnell on his landing at Doe Castle in Donegal.[228] He is said to have commented that war-torn Ulster "not only looks like a desert, but like hell, if there could be a hell upon earth."[229]

In the following month, August 1642, the civil war also began in England and the politics in the three kingdoms took on a greater complexity. At this point, with the Gaelic cause in Ulster subdued, MacColla, with the supreme self-interest which dominates the Gaelic élite of this period, submitted to Alexander Leslie, first Earl of Leven, who had at last arrived on 4 August 1642 to lead the Scots army in Ireland. Reaching agreement on 19 September, MacColla, his brother Ranald, and their followers were to be pardoned and, in their turn, offered to fight against the Irish if the Earl of Argyll, whose regiment now occupied Antrim, released his father, and restored the family's lands in Colonsay. MacColla was required to perform some service against the Irish to indicate his good faith, which he did by bringing in cows for pledges, but appears to have stopped short of fighting them. Though the agreement subsequently failed, probably because of Argyll's unwillingness to cooperate, it is clear that MacColla saw his association with the Irish as a means of furthering his own family in the west of Scotland. It was useful only for as long as the aims of the Irish coincided with his own. A contributory factor is thought to have been his poor relations with Sir Phelim O'Neill whom he thought treated his force as mere mercenaries, which suggests that MacColla may have been inspired by the ideals of the Gaelic cause as well as serving his own interest.[230] Soon after this, on 6 October 1642, Antrim, whose capture had been a major coup in Monro's campaign in Ulster, contrived his escape to England where he joined the Royalists in York. This can have contributed little to MacColla's attempts to reach agreement with Leven.[231]

Campaigning in Ireland during 1643 was indecisive, neither Scots nor Irish gaining the upper hand. In May 1643, the Earl of Antrim was recaptured by Monro and again imprisoned in Carrickfergus. Having returned home to negotiate with the Irish to assist the King in England, letters on his person as well as interrogation showed that he was not only involved in plotting with the Irish but also with Scots Royalists and that his brother, Alexander MacDonnell, was negotiating with the two sons of Colla Ciotach MacDonald, who were probably planning renewed action in Scotland. In short, he aimed to combine the Royalist forces in all three kingdoms. In early October, Antrim escaped for the second time with the assistance of Lieut. John Gordon of Monro's regiment,[232] and sailed from Dublin to join the King at Oxford. As the civil war grew more intense, the Old English came to terms with Charles I and a truce was made on 15 September 1643. (For the breakdown of territorial control, see fig. 3.3, Ireland on the eve of cessation of arms, September 1643.) This

cessation between the King and the Irish papists was instrumental in the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant by the English parliament and the Scots - a religious covenant for the preservation of the reformed religion as well as a civil one for preserving constitutional liberties - its acceptance being the price of military aid by the Scots. In Ireland, it resulted in the Ulster Scots fighting against both the Duke of Ormond, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and his forces, and the confederates. It also created further problems because many of the Royalist infantry in Ulster were Scots. The Irish, on the other hand, particularly the Ulster Irish wanted to continue fighting in order to reclaim their lands, but they had few resources and did little more than engage in skirmishing with Monro.[233]

As they had sent an army to Ireland to prevent invasion of Scotland, so the Covenanters signed a treaty for sending an army to the English parliament in November 1643, which crossed into England on 19 January 1644, to prevent the King's success there. However, their assistance ultimately led to an invasion of Scotland by the Royalist Irish. When Alasdair MacColla came to Scotland in mid-November 1643 with 300 men, at the probable instigation of Antrim's brother, Alexander MacDonnell, on 24 November Argyll was appointed King's lieutenant by the privy council and the committee of estates, to proceed against the rebels in the western Isles. Men were not levied in Argyll, Bute and Dunbarton for the army bound for England because they were to be raised there to oppose MacColla. In December 1643, Argyll commissioned James Campbell of Ardkinglas to pursue the MacDonalds, who chased them through various islands and nearly drove them back to the garrison they had left on Rathlin. Ardkinglas occupied Rathlin in May or June 1644, and killed 115 men. Only 13 escaped, fleeing to the Outer Hebrides. However, Antrim now had even more reason to plan an invasion of Scotland which would help both the King and himself in his claims on former MacDonald lands, and possibly restore him to his Antrim estates and relieve his financial burdens, by causing the withdrawal of Covenanting forces from Ulster.[234]

After his second escape from the Scots, the confederate Irish invited Antrim to join them but he declined, though he managed to elicit from them the title of lieutenant-general of the confederate forces, albeit without any powers. He tried to use this, unsuccessfully, to persuade the King to give him a royal commission to command the Irish. Antrim's proposals to assist the King were, however, accepted with modifications. It was thought better, for instance, that attempts be made to bribe the Scots to stay in Ulster and to offer Monro an earldom and a pension of £2,000 sterling p.a. if he would bring the army to the King's side, so the Covenanters would find it difficult to invade England. On the contrary, according to the King's commission of 20 January 1644, Antrim was to encourage the Irish to send 10,000 men to England to assist the King, and 2,000 under Antrim himself or his brother, to invade Argyll with help from the Earl of Seaforth. On 28 January 1644, Antrim, by this time general of the Isles and Highlands of Scotland, agreed with Montrose, lieutenant-general of the Royalist forces in Scotland, that he would raise forces in Ireland and the

Fig. 3.3
IRELAND ON THE EVE OF THE CESSATION OF ARMS, SEPTEMBER 1643

Reproduced from
Jane H. Ohlmeyer,
Civil War and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms,
(Cambridge, 1993), p. 118.

Isles to invade Argyll's territory by 1 April, while Montrose would organise risings in the Borders and the north-east. Antrim met with the Irish at Kilkenny in late February, and though they refused to send men to England, they agreed to supply the arms, ammunition and food to send 2,000 to Scotland, which they hoped would result in the removal some of the Scots army from Ulster to combat them. Thus, as the Covenanters had feared the establishment of Catholic government in Ireland in 1641 and had sent troops to check the Irish, the confederates retaliated by supporting Antrim's plans for an invasion of Scotland.[235]

When the news came of Huntly's rising in north-east Scotland in late April, both Antrim and Ormond realised that with Argyll engaged there, time would never be better for the Irish expedition. Antrim gave command of the men he raised to Alasdair MacColla who, following his raid on the western Isles in November 1643 appears to have returned to Portumna in County Galway with 800 men in March 1644. After a delay caused by the Irish in fulfilling their agreement, the Irish expedition left Passage, near Waterford, in late June. (For the Passage see fig. 3.3, Ireland on the eve of the cessation of arms, September 1643.) The force comprised just over 2,000 men, mostly native Irish from north Antrim and Londonderry, and some west Highlanders, formed in three regiments under MacColla as major-general and included those who had survived of the original Gaelic section of Stewart's regiment which fought at Portnaw. The three colonels were Manus O'Cahan who was with MacColla at Portnaw, Antrim's brother Alexander MacDonnell and James MacDonnell, a son of the Sorley MacDonnell who had been involved in Colla Ciotach's piratical raid in 1615. A "List of men gone unto the Isles. Sent by the Lord of Antrim to my Lord Ormonde, 15 Nov., 1644" listing company commanders, and their lieutenants, ensigns and sergeants, reveals 56 Irish names out of the 73 given. There were 8 O'Cahans, 5 O'Haras and 5 O'Neills, 2 MacQuillans and an O'Donnell. Of the Highlanders, there were 6 MacDonnells, probably both Irish and Highland, a MacLean, a MacColl and a MacAllister. Other officers were from different parts of Ulster, from Leinster and some were probably Scots who had fled during the Bishops' Wars. Their sailing was fortuitous, occurring after the fall of Liverpool to the Royalists which freed the Irish Sea of parliamentary ships. The expedition reached Mull in early July 1644 but MacLean of Duart refused to join it.[236]

Landing in Morvern and Ardnamurchan, and not as the Campbells might have expected, in Islay or Kintyre, MacColla's force was soon able to capture Kinlochaline and Mingary castles. They took the latter, according to Niall MacMhuirich, author of the *Red Book of Clanranald* "le mór saothair" (after great trouble). (See fig. 2.2, The Western Highlands.) However, support from the Highlands was not generally forthcoming because, following the failure of Huntly's rising and James Grahame, newly created Marquis of Montrose's attempts at invasion from England, neither the Earl of Seaforth nor MacDonald of Sleat was willing to risk his future for a hopeless cause. Like his neighbour, though he had been prepared to join a Royalist invasion in 1639, John MacLeod of

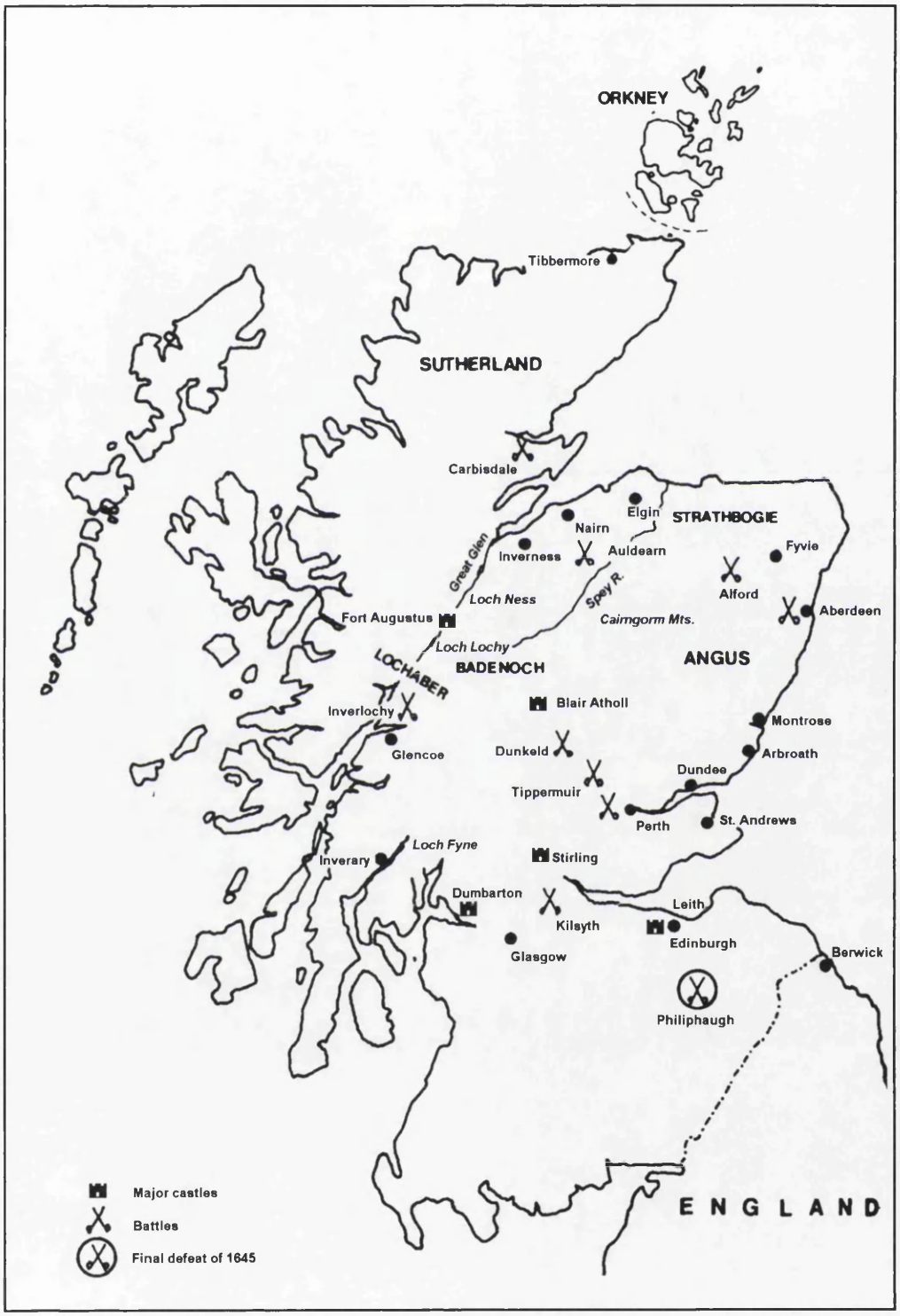
Dunvegan was now a Covenanter. In 1643, he was appointed a commissioner for Inverness-shire for the Scottish army in Ireland and was also on the Argyll committee of war. MacColla apparently considered returning to Ireland, but English parliamentary vessels had destroyed his ships. Rather than await the arrival of Argyll who had again been commissioned by the Scottish parliament to pursue the rebels, MacColla marched through Badenoch, recruiting only a few hundred men, and on to Atholl to join Montrose.[237] For as the Marquess of Argyll informed John Campbell, younger of Glenorchy, on 5 September 1644: "The rebellis thure neides not look for any forces fra Ireland as ye will perceave by the contents that a letter I did this day receave frome Auchnabreck."[238] "... 7 tarrla Iarrla muntróas doibh amblar anaf afalla accruth ceannuidhe cláraige 7 máilín fa na bhrághúid ar ttecht o Sagsan 7 ordughadh an ríogh leis um ginleirecht na harmaraile do bheth aige." (... and the Earl of Montrose met them at Blair Atholl, in the character of a timber merchant, and a little bag hanging from his neck, having come from England with the King's commission of general of the army.)[239]

The move proved beneficial to both, because Montrose had also failed to raise the men he had promised Antrim, and combining with the Irish provided him not only with soldiers experienced from the rising in Ulster, but with the opportunity to conduct 'large scale guerilla warfare.' Those Highlanders who fought with Montrose over the next two years were drawn mainly from the west Highlands and Islands, from the central region of Lochaber, Badenoch and the north-east Highland periphery. They were dominated by MacDonalds - of Sleat (from February 1646), Keppoch, Glengarry, Glencoe, Clanranald, and members of the dispossessed Clan Donald South. (For the common descent of most of these families, see fig. 1.1, Origins of the main branches of the Clan Donald.) They also included MacLeans from Morvern and Mull, the Stewarts of Appin and of Atholl, Camerons, Robertsons, and Macphersons, Mackintoshes and Farquharsons from the Clan Chattan. As Montrose won more victories, smaller clans swallowed by the Campbells came out against them, such as the MacGregors, MacNabs,[240] Lamonts[241] and MacDougalls. (For most clans, see fig. 2.1, Highland clans in the late sixteenth century.) The one thing which unified them more than anything else was their distrust of the Campbells.[242] The MacKenzies of Seaforth swapped and changed from Covenanter to Royalist twice between 1644 and 1646. Montrose won six battles over the course of a year at Tippermuir on the 1st, and at Aberdeen on 13 September 1644, at Inverlochy on 2 February 1645, at Auldearn on 9 May, and at Alford and Kilsyth on 2 July and 15 August 1645 respectively, where in all but the last two Irishmen predominated in the army. However, the conflict of aims between MacColla who basically wanted to conduct a war against the Campbells, and Montrose who wished to take an army to England to help the King ultimately weakened the Royalists, and contributed to Montrose's subsequent defeat at Philiphaugh on 13 September 1645 when the Royalists were forced back into the Highlands. (For battle locations, see fig. 3.4, The Montrose campaigns, 1644-1645.) The disparity in aims in the Royalist forces was also apparent in the absence of any Irish in the signatures to the Kilcumin bond, a bond of unity and

mutual defence which Montrose drew up to be signed by those loyal to the King in January 1645.[243]

It is the opinion of one of the foremost writers on Scoto-Irish politics in this period that 'too much concentration on Montrose and his Highland and other Scottish troops has often led to the contribution of the Irish being played down.'[244] The Irish are prominent not only in Covenanting sources which, for instance, stated in September 1644 that Montrose had "joyned with ane Band of Irish Rebels, and Masse-Priests,[245] who have thir two years by-gane, bathed themselves in the bloud of God's People in Ireland," but also, more understandably, in the Book of Clanranald which, written from a Gaelic perspective, emphasises the role of MacColla. The Covenanters clearly had a vested interest in deriding the Catholic invaders and the atrocities they were reported as having committed on Irish Protestants in 1641, but in truth, both Irish and Covenanters behaved with equal ferocity. Montrose's army burned, plundered and pillaged throughout Argyll and the north-east. MacColla separated from Montrose, with some 2,000 Highlanders and the remnant of the Irish, to raise new recruits in Arisaig, Moidart and Knoydart in September 1644, returning to Atholl in about mid-November. Both the Highlanders and the Irish managed to persuade Montrose to return to Argyll in the winter, to pillage supplies in Argyll to feed the army. The campaign in December and January 1645 was brutal, earning MacColla the name *'fear thollaidh nan taighean'* (the holer of houses), and Argyll fled as the army approached Inveraray. As MacColla had put it to Montrose when the latter argued against him attacking Argyll, the Campbells had "neither braines to forsee the danger, nor judgement to apprehend what was fitting for resistance," and on this occasion, were indeed taken by surprise. When the Royalists left it in January, Argyll was said to be "lyke ane desert." At least 900 Campbells had been killed, and the rebels left "not ane four footed beist in the haill lands." This was the first plundering of Argyll. For their part, the Covenanters resented Montrose and MacColla for forcing the withdrawal of their troops from England and Ireland and reducing their influence there. They "most foully and shamefully" killed Irish women stragglers following the Royalist army after the battle of Alford, and also executed or killed those Irish who surrendered after Philiphaugh, including Col. Manus O'Cahan, and many of their womenfolk.[246] Though Montrose's campaign had resulted, as Charles had planned, in regiments from the Scottish army in England being drafted back to Scotland, its depletion did not prevent the King's defeat in England. Similarly, while the action in Scotland contributed to the lack of decisive action by the Scots army in Ulster in 1645, who sent about 2,400 men across to Scotland, it did not seriously reduce the number of troops there. Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck's regiment was the first to be recalled early in 1645 when MacColla was raiding Argyll, "7 do ghabh mir 7 dásacht é mar fuair se ar na losgadh 7 ar na creachadh a dhuthaidh ar a chionn." (and he was seized with fury and rage on finding his estate burnt and plundered before him.) A captain in this regiment, Ewen MacLean of Treshnish, even deserted to Montrose, fighting with his men against his old regiment at the battle of Inverlochy in February, as did Hector MacLean of Kinlochaline.[247] In May, having gone west

Fig. 3.4
THE MONTROSE CAMPAIGNS, 1644-1645



Modified from
Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt,
A Companion to Scottish History,
(London, 1989), map 7.

again to recruit, MacColla was also able to achieve one of his limited aims, the liberation of his father and two brothers from Argyll's imprisonment. In September 1645, after Montrose had moved to the Lowlands in the hope of recruiting following his victories, and of ultimately being able to re-establish a Royalist government, many Highlanders began to desert as they heard that Argyll was regaining ground in Argyll in their absence. In addition, they had not been paid in cash or allowed to plunder and it was also harvest time. Montrose permitted MacColla and his officers to return temporarily to the west coast, and though he forbade him to take the Irish, 120 joined the force of 2,000 who went with MacColla to Kintyre. They were never to return to Montrose. Most men went to their homes but over 500 Highlanders and a party of Irish headed into southern Argyll with the joint aim of recruiting and plundering.[248]

MacColla was joined in Argyll by Sir James Lamont from Cowal who brought with him some MacLachlans, McNeills and MacDougalls and soon had 2,000 men in arms again. He was also joined by Angus MacDonald of Largie and survivors of the Clan Donald South. The second plundering of Argyll began at the end of September and continued into October, MacColla and the Lamonts attacking from the south and east, and Camerons and MacDonalds of Clanranald, Glencoe and Glengarry, who had left Montrose after Kilsyth attacking from the north and west. MacColla also sent MacLeans to Islay. The two forces met up in Lorne in December, by which time only scattered Campbell garrisons existed in Argyll, and the inhabitants of the shire petitioned parliament both for meal and military assistance. Argyll went to Ulster to try, unsuccessfully, to persuade the Scots army there to send men against MacColla but its priority was to secure the Lowlands. MacColla ignored Montrose's demands to return to the Royalist army and instead, concentrated on maintaining his dominance over old Clan Donald South lands and parts of Argyll, spending most of 1646 in Lorn, Knapdale and Kintyre, attempting to remove the remaining Campbell garrisons. "Do fhuidh na Gaoidheal oile do bhí an leith an riogh antiomchel a bferann féin ga seasamh ar namhuid." (The other Gaels who were on the side of the King went about to their own lands to protect them against the enemy.) The Campbells attempted in April and May 1646 to regain their lands. Argyll's regiment landed in Islay, under Mathew Campbell, captain of Skipness, on its way back to Ireland after the battle of Inverlochy. However, Clanranald went to Islay to repulse them and the regiment was back in Ireland on 31 May. Both sides were looking for reinforcement from Ireland.[249]

The resources which the native Irish so badly needed arrived with Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, papal nuncio, in October 1645 who, in bringing arms supplies, provided further opportunities to Owen Roe and his army. It is worthy of note that he had also been instructed by the Pope to continue to support the army in Scotland because this would greatly assist the Irish in Ulster as well as the King. Though they had refused to send more men to Montrose in the summer of 1645, the general assembly of confederates at Kilkenny decided, with the nuncio's approval, to send further

reinforcements to Scotland, this time to MacColla. As before, Antrim raised 2,000 men but on this occasion, Antrim led them himself, probably happy to escape from his disillusionment with the 'Ormond Peace,' an agreement between the Irish and the King accepted by the confederates in early 1646 which Antrim, like Rinuccini, felt did not go far enough in protecting Catholicism. Antrim landed in Kintyre in late May or early June 1646, and the Fort of Askamylnemoir, built by Argyll at Lochhead in 1639 ironically became his headquarters. The confederates were to pay the expenses for his forces but it is unlikely that the money was paid. These Irishmen joined those west Highland clans who had already come out for MacColla, the MacDougalls of Dunollie, the MacDonalds of Largie, Angus MacEachern of Kilellan, the MacKays of Ugadale, the McNeills of Carskiey and some MacAllisters of Loup. Just prior to this, in May 1646, the King had defected to the Scottish army in England, in the face of impending defeat. Argyll neatly avoided these delicate proceedings by spending April and May in Ulster, trying, unsuccessfully, to persuade the Scots army to send a force to Argyll to help him against the rebels. However, the army had been reduced to but 5,000 men at that point and was later defeated in June by the Irish at Benburb.[250] Alexander MacDonnell, the Earl of Antrim's son fought there with his regiment, which is probably why the Ulstermen are recorded, like the Highland Scots, as "casting of their clothing except their shirts" prior to fighting.[251]

Argyll was forced to deal with them himself, moving first against the Lamonts in May 1646 who had switched allegiance in the previous year and re-taking Cowal. Thirty-six Lamonts were hung and at least the same number killed in captivity. The Covenanters ordered a laying down of arms by the Royalists after Charles's defection. The King wrote to Montrose asking him to "Defer your going beyond seas as long as you may, without breaking your word," in the hope that help might come from Ireland or from Antrim and MacColla in Kintyre, but Montrose headed into exile. The small number of Irish who remained with him headed west to join MacColla or went back to Ireland. Antrim obeyed on the second request from the King brought by Sir James Leslie, and returned to Ireland in September 1646, having been given a verbal undertaking that he would still be given Kintyre on the forfeiture of the Marquess of Argyll. He may also have been encouraged by the overthrow of Ormond's Peace by Rinuccini and Owen Roe O'Neill who led the native Irish (rather than Old English) faction of the Irish confederates. Most of his men stayed with MacColla because they "did mutiny highly to leave the Marquis of Arguiles country, he being then possessed of a great deal of the said Marquiss of Antrims Estate in Ireland." However, the Campbells moved against MacColla and by the end of 1646 had forced him into Kintyre, which he had held for the past year and was to retain control over until he left for Ireland again. Petitions to the Scottish parliament indicated severe devastation in Argyll which resulted in the payment of £15,000 sterling to Argyll and £30,000 sterling to other Argyll heritors for reconstruction work, while the Kirk was ordered to collect for the starving refugees. Then, with the return of the Scottish army in England north of the border, in February 1647, Lieut.-Gen. David Leslie moved against the royalist

garrisons in the north-east in March, usually executing the Irish but sparing the Scots.[252]

After this, Leslie turned to Argyll and MacColla. Argyll had suffered great devastation and the Campbells were keen to avenge themselves. When it was suggested by the French agent in Edinburgh, Jean de Montereul, who probably hoped to recruit them for the French service, that MacColla and his men be allowed to return to Ireland, the Marquess of Argyll intimated that the only thing to be decided was the nature of his demise, 'as to whether they would make him shorter or longer than he was' [i.e. decapitation or the gallows.][253] MacColla garrisoned Dunyveg Castle before he returned to Ireland with most of his men, leaving it to be defended by Captain Daniel O'Neill and his father until contrary orders came from himself or Antrim. On 5 May, he commissioned his father, commander in chief over "the lands of Yla and all other lands unto me belonging within the kingdom of Scotland," which seems to indicate that MacColla understood himself to have a right to Islay and Antrim to Kintyre. After the collapse of the King's attempts at alliance with the Covenanters, the Irish considered sending another 5,000 men to MacColla which they had been contemplating since March 1647. The cost was to be shared as previously by the confederates under Rinuccini and Antrim, and MacColla may have left to join these preparations. However, in spite of the power which he held in the confederate general assembly in early 1647, Antrim experienced difficulty in levying troops, and the Covenanters made the most of his withdrawal.[254]

On 24 May 1647, MacColla's forces in Kintyre were scattered by Leslie and Argyll in a surprise attack at Rhunahaorine (see fig. 2.2, The Western Highlands), some 60 to 80 were killed but most of the MacDonalds and the Irish fled to Gigha, and on to Islay, leaving other west Highlanders in Dunaverty Castle, in Kintyre, under the command of Archibald Mor MacDonald of Sanda. MacColla was said to have left Islay "carrying with him all the best of the gentilmen of this yle, with a number of the ablest of the cuntrie peopl." At some time before 6 June, Leslie slaughtered between 200 to 300 men in the garrison, who had apparently surrendered on condition that their lives would be spared. At least 49 of those slaughtered were prominent MacDougalls, many of the rest probably being their followers, who were clearly being punished for having joined the Lamonts when they attacked the Campbells after the battle of Kilsyth. It is likely that some were also MacDonalds. According to surviving accounts, Leslie was hesitant to permit the massacre but was persuaded to it by Argyll and John Nevoy, a Covenanting chaplain. This was recognised at Argyll's trial for treason in 1661, when the slaughter at Dunaverty was included in the charges against him. Argyll's defence was that Leslie took the men out of Dunaverty "without any capitulation, and disposed of them as the council of war thought fit, which the Defender cannot be charged with." The massacre was, thus, the second instalment of Campbell revenge against the Lamonts and their associates but, in the broader scheme, was a by-product of the Campbell/MacDonald rivalry after the MacDonalds' loss of Islay and Kintyre which had simply

been incorporated into the larger arena of the conflict between Charles I and the Covenanters.[255]

Leslie reached Islay on 24 June 1647. When Colla Ciotach was captured by Leslie on 1 July and the garrison in Dunyveg surrendered, the Irish were spared on this occasion, and though there was no massacre, two of the prominent MacDonalds were executed. The 76-year-old Colla Ciotach was hung from his own galley mast, suspended across a cleft in the rock, an act which has been seen as 'the symbolic end of 800 years of Hebridean sea power.' At the same time, Leslie proceeded to Mull which offered no resistance to the forces. Sir Lachlan MacLean of Duart, who had technically submitted in 1646, handed over "fourteen very prettie Irishmen" under the threat of death of his heir who was imprisoned with Argyll, and the men were promptly hanged. Thus, the three year presence of the Irish in Scotland ended and the Campbells were restored to control of the western Highlands and Islands as far north as Mull. Only Clanranald, further north, failed to submit to Leslie. Therefore, those few Irishmen who remained, such as those causing trouble with the MacDonalds of Clanranald in Skye and the Outer Hebrides in April 1648, as well as other remaining Royalists, gathered round Clanranald.[256] Though generally suspended, Royalist action against Argyll was thus not forgotten. It was said, in September 1648, that the Engagers (those who supported the Engagement of December 1647, an agreement between the King and certain Scottish nobles whereby the King agreed to confirm presbyterian government in England for at least three years) were gathering support against the English and that various clan chiefs had combined, and mirroring native Irish terminology, had "entred into a Confederacy, to invade fall upon and destroy the Lord Marques of Argyles lands."[257]

Once back in Ireland, landing at Dundrum in early June 1647, with 700-800 men MacColla wanted to join Owen Roe O'Neill's Ulster army which supported Rinuccini, but at this point the Irish Confederacy was collapsing and Antrim refused this. MacColla was therefore appointed governor of Clonmel and lieutenant-general of Lord Taaffe's Munster army, while Angus MacDonald of Glengarry and his men joined General Thomas Preston's Leinster army. Neither Highland force fared well. Those in the Leinster army, equipped in the traditional Highland manner, with swords and targes, and referred to by contemporary writers as redshanks, were wiped out with the exception of 100 men, on 8 August 1647, at the battle of Dungan Hill, County Meath, by parliamentary forces under Michael Jones.[258] Rinuccini wrote of the battle to the Pope on 29 August: "It is impossible to think without tears of the courage shown by the infantry, amongst whom a regiment of Scotch Islanders met their death fighting for their religion and their God."[259] On 13 November 1647, MacColla, Archibald Og MacDonald of Sanda, and the majority of his men were killed after a failed Highland charge in the battle of Knocknanuss by forces under Lord Inchiquin. Rinuccini commented that: "This battle is rendered memorable by the ignominious flight of the Catholics and the loss of Macdonnell, who had fought thirty battles in Scotland."[260] As the Covenanters strengthened their hold on the west Highlands, more Highlanders crossed to

Ireland. Donald MacDonald, son of MacDonald of Clanranald, went in 1648 with some of his followers from South Uist, as well as "all those who remained with him of the men of Ireland," to the number of 300. They joined the remnant of Glengarry's force in the Leinster army, young Clanranald serving as lieutenant-colonel, and Angus, a son of Alexander MacDonald of Largie as senior captain, under Antrim's brother, Alexander. However, with the collapse of the Irish confederation due to feuding between the supreme council and Rinuccini, Antrim withdrew his troops and declared for the nuncio at the end of October. After an encounter with forces of Ormond's party at Wexford, who captured their officers and killed about 60 men, most of the Highlanders eventually left Ireland, Angus MacDonald of Glengarry going to the continent where he joined other royalists, Donald MacDonald and others, including Murchadh, son of MacNeill of Barra and John, son of MacDonald of Benbecula, returning to Scotland. This Highland participation in Ireland in 1647-48 has been noted as the last of the Scottish redshank campaigns there.[261]

The relatively indecisive campaigning which occurred in Ireland between 1646 and the execution of Charles I in January 1649, was put to an end by Cromwell's arrival later that summer.[262]

V. CROMWELLIAN PERIOD

Both Scotland and Ireland were potentially threatening to Cromwell's regime, not only in having rejected control from London but in having been self-willed enough to attempt to influence central policy. When Cromwell invaded Ireland in August 1649, the native Irish who had risen in 1641 had allied with the Protestant Royalists led by the Marquess of Ormond because this seemed to offer a better chance to both to resist the parliamentary armies. Cromwell defeated this coalition who, henceforth, had no opportunity of intervening in Scotland. Antrim, on the other hand, sided with the English, in a probable attempt to retain the power which he had latterly enjoyed in the confederacy. The poet Seán Ó Conaill described the Cromwellian conquest, with more than a degree of truthfulness for the Gael, as *'an cogadh do chríochnaigh Éire'* (the war that finished Ireland). After Charles II came to an agreement in April with the Kirk Party, who formally recognised him as his father's heir, Cromwell invaded Scotland in July 1650, and maintained an occupying force there. By December, the English were in control of most of Scotland except certain areas of the Highlands. After subscribing to the Covenant, Charles II was crowned in Scotland in January 1651. Now on the Cromwellian side, Antrim was still threatening to invade the west Highlands in July 1651, on this occasion against the King, but after the routing of Charles' army at the battle of Worcester on 3 September 1651, his plans were abandoned. In October 1651, William Clarke, secretary to the English army of occupation, reported rumours of Royalist risings by the Highlanders but no definite action. Bands who had left the main body of the Royalist forces

were said to be "betaking themselves to the High-wayes to play the Tories and Robbers," the word clearly having been borrowed from Ireland and used for the first time in Scotland. The English called them 'moss-troopers.' Complaints were received from most shires bordering on the Highlands asking for measures to be taken to secure them from raids. A campaign to enforce law and order and the general subjugation of the central and northern clans and the Marquess of Argyll to the Cromwellian regime was conducted in the Highlands in the summer of 1652. Unwilling to engage in further warfare and expense, Argyll advised everyone "to capitulate & every man to doe for himselfe" and finally submitted himself on 27 October 1652. The ban on trade and general contact between Scotland and Ireland which had been imposed in April 1649 was removed in May 1652, and seems to have encouraged the renewal of communication between Ulster and the Highlands.[263] But though the English established a strong presence in the Highlands in 1652 they did not completely subdue lawlessness, which, with the regime's civil exactions, and support from the King's court in exile, combined to reinvigorate the Royalist movement.[264]

However, the Cromwellians' concentration on the activities of the Marquis of Argyll obscured a greater threat from MacDonell of Glengarry, acting general of the Royalist forces in Scotland who, in November 1652, sent a messenger to Charles II in Paris, informing that himself, the Frasers, MacLean of Duart, MacLeod of Dunvegan, MacDonald of Clanranald, and others had agreed to raise men and requesting that Lieut.-Gen. John Middleton and arms be sent to the Highlands. This led to the rebellion known as Glencairn's Rising which threatened the republican regime in Scotland between 1653 and 1655, and had its base entirely in the Highlands. The rising started as a series of violent incidents on the Highland margins in January 1653. In February 1653, there was some contact with Royalists in Ulster in an attempt to get men and supplies for their resistance. This seems to have resulted in Irish Catholics crossing to the western Isles, which led the Council of State to station patrol boats between north-east Ulster and the western Isles. Between May and July a degree of organisation was acquired under the command of William Cunningham, ninth Earl of Glencairn, and a full-blown rising was under way by the end of the year, though there was greater concentration on pillaging supplies and finance, and on raising men, than on direct encounters with the English. It was supported by Angus MacDonell of Glengarry, MacLeod of Dunvegan, the first Earl of Balcarres, the third Earl of Seaforth, the third Marquess of Huntly, and Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne who had succumbed to royalism when abroad between 1647 and 1649. In spite of Lorne's support, Glencairn attempted to unify the Highlanders in late 1653 by focusing on their hatred of the Campbells, urging Charles II to declare Argyll a traitor. Nonetheless, MacDonald of Clanranald ultimately gave his support to the English, as did Sir James MacDonald of Sleat.[265]

In April 1654, continuing with a strategy first utilised by James VI, the Protector drafted in 1,000 foot from Ireland to garrison Inverlochy and to deal with the rebels around Lochaber. General

George Monck, the supreme head of the civil and military government in Scotland in the summer of 1654, asked that he be allowed to retain the Irish for another year, though "they are very unwilling, being they were promis't (as they say) to returne within 3 or 4 monthes." At least 60 of them were killed in June "most of them in cold bloud, by the Clan Camerons." The campaign conducted by General George Monck, led to the submission of many of the leading Royalists and their forces, including Glencairn, by August. By the end of the year, the rebels had largely been dispersed. Seaforth surrendered in January 1655 and Glengarry in May, which technically marks the end of the rising. However, robbers continued to be a problem, and some Highland chiefs were permitted to retain weapons for their defence, while others, such as Duncan Campbell of Auchline, on 30 October 1655, were given roving commissions to apprehend them. Connections with Gaels in Ulster also continued to perturb the English. The espionage network operated by Roger Boyle, Baron Broghill, indicated in January 1656 that fresh conspiracy was being planned in the Highlands, promoted by the close connections between Ireland and Scotland. Appointed president of the Council of State of Scotland in 1656, Broghill was a son of the Earl of Cork, and therefore well placed to monitor both countries. Certainly, priests, who were usually responsible for inciting the populace to resist Protestant government, began to return to Ireland from exile on the continent in 1656 when there was a lessening of the oppression against them. On 9 January 1656, the Council in Scotland ordered that no one go to Ireland without a licence. For passage between Kintyre and Ireland it was particularly requested that the suitability of travellers be vetted by Lord Neill Campbell and not simply by a sheriff, a commissary or two J.P.s.[266]

The major occurrence in Ireland between 1649 and 1666 was the extensive transfer of land from Catholic to Protestant hands. Even in 1652, after the defeat of the Catholic Confederates and the losses of the civil war, most people in Ireland were still Catholic. The population then has been estimated at 850,000 of which only 160,000 were Protestants. In 1641, 59% of the land had been owned by Catholics, both native Irish and Old English, who held most land in all counties, except those in Ulster which had been planted, and in counties Wicklow and Kilkenny. By 1660, many Catholics had been transferred to the marginal lands of Connacht, and some to Clare in an attempt to build an entirely new society in Ireland, free from the taint of bloodshed of 1641, and Catholics now held only 20% of land, mostly in Connacht. (See fig. 3.2, Land owned by Catholics, 1641, 1688, 1703 by counties.) Connacht was chosen as a remote area,[267] sandwiched between the sea and the river Shannon, bordered by a belt of Protestant settlement along the coast, and sufficiently remote from commerce and government in the east of Ireland. However, as in Ulster, the majority of native Irish, remained as an embittered tenantry to Protestant settlers, other than some 34,000 swordsmen, who on their surrender, enlisted in continental armies in the war between France and Spain which continued until 1659. Furthermore, they experienced a serious erosion of their political power. Only one Catholic, for example, was elected to the Irish house of commons in 1661.[268] English legislation of 1652 and 1653 confiscated the lands of the Catholics rebels which

amounted to over half the lands in Ireland. About 11 million acres were confiscated, of which a mere half a million acres had belonged to Protestants. A group of 1,043 English Adventurers received a quarter of the forfeited lands, or c. 2,500,000 acres, and between 33,000 and 35,000 soldiers who had served in Ireland received the rest in payment of the arrears due to them. However, most of the political power accrued not to these new Protestant settlers, but to those Protestants who had settled in Ireland prior to the Cromwellian planters, mainly the English in the plantations of Ulster and Munster. For the Cromwellian administration felt threatened by the Scottish presbyterians as much as they did by the native Irish, because of their numbers. Indeed, they also toyed with breaking up their communities and transplanting them to Tipperaray, Waterford and Kilkenny.[269] Though it was consolidated at the Revolution, the Protestant ascendancy was established in Ireland in the 1650s.[270]

The attack on Protestantism from the Confederation of Catholics had unified the Protestants in the 1640s. Under threat of eradication, they had therefore warmed to Oliver Cromwell when he came to Ireland in 1649 and defeated the Catholics. When some of the Cromwellian settlements failed, the older Protestant interest was able to step in and profit. For the policies of confiscation and transplantation pursued under Cromwell, left two vacuums in Ireland, that previously filled by the Catholic landowners, and the other by the landless labourers who had worked on their estates. Many of the wealthy Adventurers did not settle in Ireland, and Henry Cromwell, the Protector's son, who came to the country in 1655, was obliged to turn mainly to the older generation of Protestant settlers for support, as well as to some former Cromwellian soldiers who did settle. Thus, by 1670, when the new settlers' estates were confirmed, the 36,000 estates of the original plantation scheme had been reduced to 8,000.[271] Under the Protector, the Old Protestants were able, by an act of oblivion of 1654, to remove the threat of confiscation and sequestration of their estates. Henry Cromwell dropped the policy of composition, by which the Old Protestants had to pay composition fines to retain their lands, because he realised that after the expenses of the civil war, they could not afford to pay.[272]

At the Restoration in 1660, some of the major Catholic proprietors such as the Earls of Clanricarde and Antrim, as well as leading Catholic lords of the Pale, who had been expropriated as Royalists, were able to recover all of part of their lands, but the bulk of the Catholics were left unrestored. The Irish small tenant farmers and lesser gentry who had collectively held a substantial amount of land in 1641 had largely disappeared. Some greater lords such as Magennis in Down had lost everything. Most of the population was still Irish and Catholic but the land was held largely by Protestant incomers.[273]

Conclusion

In the late sixteenth century, the most viable contacts between Ireland and Scotland had been those exhibited between Gaels in the forging of mercenary contracts. The campaign which James VI of Scotland had pursued to subdue the Highlands and Islands, particularly in the final decade of the century, and the English victory in the Ulster rebellion, as well as the forfeiture of the Gaelic lords which followed it, effectively destroyed the basis of that contact by removing the need for mercenaries. The highly developed militarism of Gaelic society was thus thrown out of kilter by the plantation of Ulster, resulting in the creation of large numbers of unemployed swordsmen in both countries, some of whom redeployed into small-scale farming, but others of whom became wood kearn, caterans and tories, went to the continent to fight as mercenaries, or took to piracy. The plantation undermined the Gaelic political and social structure and created a great deal of native discontent in Ireland which existed in a subdued but simmering form for a number of decades.

However, links which had existed for so many years could not so readily be erased, and though the expropriation of the Clan Donald South automatically destroyed much of the foundation of Gaelic resistance in Scotland, nonetheless the MacDonalds of Colonsay, who retained a lease of that island until 1639, at least provided a territorial focus for some of the MacDonalds. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that Alasdair MacColla, whose father's house was broken in that year became, with the assistance of the Earl of Antrim, such a figurehead of military activity against the Campbells during the civil war period. Neither were his achievements in the west Highlands insignificant, for latterly, in 1646, MacColla and Antrim had control of Kintyre, and two priests were active there[274] under MacColla's protection. Due to his harrying of the Campbells in Kintyre, the Marquess of Argyll claimed that he was able to collect no rents in his lands between 1644 and 1647. The same was true for Campbell of Cawdor.[275] MacColla also fought for the native Irish in Ireland and was undoubtedly the last great redshank warrior. Thus, the Covenant revived the militarism of the western seaboard again, for a brief period, and also brought Irish and Scottish Gaels into the national political arena[276] but the last raid of the redshanks was technically in 1648, and this period is therefore significant in marking the end of extensive military interaction between Irish and Scottish Gaels.

The Irish attempt to overthrow the Ulster plantation from 1641 adds a further dimension to Gaelic interaction, for it was Argyll's keenness to bolster the British settlement in Ulster in order to protect the frontline of his territories on the western seaboard, that led to the timely arrival of Scots troops there in April 1642. Had the Covenanting army not gone to Ulster, Ireland might easily have been reclaimed for the native Irish. In the event the plantation was saved. The presence of Scottish Gaels in the native Irish armies and in the Scottish army of occupation in Ulster significantly

promoted interaction between the two countries. In Protestant terms, the Scots army brought their presbyterianism with them and did much to further its establishment in Ireland.[277] Those Scottish Gaels who fought with the Irish were probably similarly furthered in their Counter-Reformation Catholic zeal.

Yet, the Gaels failed to undo the plantation in Ulster or to bring about a restoration of the Clan Donald South to its patrimony in Islay, Kintyre and Jura. The political accommodation to Charles I of those west Highland and Island clans whom James VI had so opposed during the mercenary period was simply a peripheral irony. The Campbells underwent an equal and opposite transition. More broadly, the Gaelic cause failed militarily in both countries which, in Ireland, resulted in the majority of land being transferred to Protestant ownership and the Catholics being confined to lands in Connacht and Clare. Thus, the policy of severing connections between the Gaels which had been so actively pursued by James finally came to fruition in the second half of the seventeenth century. 'After the middle of the century the Irish problem and the Highland problem were completely separate; the governments concerned could deal with them in isolation, without the former complication of having to take account of their inter-relationship.'[278] Nonetheless, though military and political links had been largely severed - except for a few Royalist echoes in the 1650s and some limited interaction between Gaels during the 1689 Jacobite rebellion - the religious, social, commercial and cultural links between them continued.

NOTES

1. David Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters,* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 29, 55.
2. *Alasdair MacColla*, pp. 62-64.
3. Gillespie, pp. iii, 16.
4. PRONI D265.
5. SRO GD112.
6. NLS Ms. 3134 ii.
7. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (editors), *A New History of Ireland, III, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691,* (Oxford, 1976), p. lviii.
8. For the text of Niall MacMhuirich's reasons for writing his account, see Chapter 18, section I. Survival of the classical tradition and the social assimilation of the Scottish bardic families.
9. For details of the MacLeans and Campbells mercenary activity, see Chapter 1, section III. Redshank involvement in Ireland, 1560-1603, and for their marriage alliances, see Chapter 11, sections I C. xvi. MacLeans of Duart and I C. xvii. Campbells of Argyll.
10. J. C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923,* (London, 1969), p. 43; Philip Samuel Robinson, 'The Plantation of County Tyrone in the seventeenth century,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1974), pp. 27-28; Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'The Ulster Plantation: Scotland's First Colonial Venture,' *Scottish Colloquium Proceedings,* 2, (Guelph, 1969), p. 1; *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 6, 10, 46-47.
11. Beckett, p. 43.
12. Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster,* (Ulster, 1992), pp. 115-17.
13. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 76, 78-79; *RPCS,* 1607-10, pp. 518-19; *A New History of Ireland, III,* p. 199; Timothy Paul Joseph McCall, 'The Gaelic background to the settlement of Antrim and Down 1580-1641,' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1983), p. 62; Robinson, pp. xv-xvi, 1, 29; M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Ireland and the monarchy in the early Stuart multiple kingdom,' *The Historical Journal,* 34, No. 2, (1991), p. 285.
14. For details of this action against the Clan Donald South, see Chapter 2, section II A. Internal dissension and external assault.
15. For further details of some O'Doghertys who seem to have settled permanently in Islay following this rebellion, see Chapter 14, section II. Settlement during the plantation period.
16. *RPCS*, 1607-10, p. 523.
17. *RPCS*, 1607-10, p. 525; Donald Gregory, *The History of the Western Islands and Isles of Scotland, 1493 to 1625,* 2nd edition, (London and Glasgow, 1881), p. 322; *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 106, 129.
18. McCall, p. 15, quoting *CSPI,* 1601-03, p. 245.
19. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 77, quoting *CSPI*, 1606-08, p. 268.
20. Robinson, pp. 30-31.

21. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 10.
22. Those admitted to the rights of a citizen. (A. M. MacDonald (editor), *Chambers's Etymological English Dictionary,* (Edinburgh and London, 1967), p. 160.
23. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 81, quoting *CSPI,* 1608-10, p. 85, pp. 12-13, 89, 114, 156; I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods: The History of a Clan,* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 192-207; Andrew McKerral, *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century,* (Edinburgh, 1948), p. 19.
24. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 95, 130.
25. For these ministers, refer to Chapter 5, the final page of section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections, and Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster. For a more detailed exposition of this theory, see the general conclusion to this thesis.
26 *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 47, 50; McCall, p. 63; Gillespie, p. 5. For the use of Ulster as a place of refuge, see Chapter 15, sections I. Ecclesiastical evidence, and II. Judicial sanction.
27. Gillespie, pp. 83-84.
28. For further details and Antrim's subsequent legal action to retain ownership of Rathlin, see above, Chapter 2, section III A. Legal battle to decide nationality of Rathlin.
29. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 229, 47-49, quoting *Description of Ireland,* (1606 or 1607), pp. 16-17; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* (Belfast, 1873), p. 196.
30. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 197-98.
31. Rev. Archibald MacDonald, 'A Fragment of an Irish Ms. history of the MacDonalds of Antrim,' *TGSI,* 37, (1934-36), p. 274. The manuscript belonged, at one time, to Aeneas MacDonald of Morar, and was used by the Rev. A. and A. MacDonalds for their three volume history of the Clan Donald. (p. 262.)
32. Edmund Hogan (editor), *The Description of Ireland, and The State thereof as it is at this present In Anno 1598,'* (Dublin, 1878), p. 261.
33. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 229.
34. Lacuna in the manuscript.
35. Not given. It is unclear whether this is a lacuna or illegible.
36. 'A Fragment,' pp. 276-78.
37 *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 63.
38. PRONI, D.265/1, Deeds and family settlements etc. from the Antrim estates from the early seventeenth century; *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 65, 231; Aidan Clarke, 'The Earl of Antrim and the First Bishop's War,' *Irish Sword,* 6, (1963-64), p. 110.
39. When Argyll received his feu of Kintyre in May 1607, MacDonald mounted an expedition to Kintyre, assisted by Donald Gorm MacDonald of Sleat and Caphare Oge O'Donnell from Tirconnell. For further details, see above, Chapter 2, section II A. Internal dissension and external assault.
40. Both Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 64, and Hill, *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 207, have taken this view.
41. McKerral, pp. 25-27.

42. See below, Chapter 14, section II. Settlement during the plantation period, for a more detailed discussion of the identity of these settlers.
43. McKerral, p. 18.
44. Brian Samuel Turner, 'Distributional Aspects of Family Name Study illustrated in the Glens of Antrim,' (unpublished PhD, Queen's University, Belfast, 1974), p. 113. See, for example, the examples of social interaction in Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence, of Highlanders going to Ulster to marry in much the same way as the English used to cross the Scottish border.
45. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 64.
46. Robert J. Hunter, 'The Ulster plantation in the counties of Armagh and Cavan 1608-41,' (unpublished MLitt dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 1968), p. 6.
47. For details, see Chapter 14, section V. Family name evidence.
48. Gillespie, p. 183, quoting BL Harley 2138, fol. 180.
49. Transferred land to. (Chambers, p. 159.)
50. For the role of marriage in the assimilation of Gaelic landowners with the settlers and Old English, see Chapter 11, section I. The inter-relation of the Gaelic *fine,* especially through the touch-stone of marriage.
51. *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, pp. 233-34; Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683,* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 26, 39-40.
52. McCall, pp. 99-101; Turner, p. 55.
53. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 232; McCall, pp. 90-96, with reference to the same Ulster inquisitions.
54. For a more detailed exposition of the origin of Highland family names, see Chapter 14, section V. Family name evidence.
55. PRONI, D265/4, 9, 28, 30, 32.
56. PRONI, D265/5.
57 PRONI, D265/17, 22.
58. PRONI, D265/19, 39, 53, 62, 67, 72.
59. PRONI, D265/20, 64, 65, 78.
60. PRONI, D265/21.
61. PRONI, D265/33, 42, 65.
62. PRONI, D265/35.
63. PRONI, D265/43.
64. PRONI, D265/46.
65. PRONI, D265/49.
66. PRONI, D265/58.
67. PRONI, D265/71.
68. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 38.
69. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 74-75.

70. For details, see Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant Initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.
71. David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* (Belfast, 1981), p. 8; McCall, p. 98.
72. Gillespie, p. 85.
73. McCall, pp. 32-33, quoting *CSPI,* 1625-1632, p. 277.
74. McCall, p. 103, quoting *CSPI,* 1625-1632, p. 499.
75. Gillespie, pp. 48-49, 53-54.
76. GD112/39/778, Breadalbane Muniments, Calendar F - letters.
77. Ohlmeyer, p. 76, quoting SRO GD406/1/653.
78. This was a term given to the estates of undertakers and servitors in the plantation. (Robinson, p. xvi.)
79. Rev. George Hill, *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster,* (Belfast, 1877), pp. 293-94, 505, 511-12; *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 170. By 1662, Humphrey and Robert Galbraith, the former of whom worked as a managerial agent for Bishop Spottiswoode of Clogher, held most of the proportion in fee, having purchased it from Colquhoun. However, it seems likely that the Colquhouns were in financial difficulty, for Colquhoun's son and heir, Sir John Colquhoun, purchased 700 acres of the property back on 1 May 1664. (*An historical account of the plantation in Ulster,* p. 511, footnote 180.)
80. Gillespie, pp. 31-33.
81. For Ulster as a refuge for criminals, see below, Chapter 15, section II. Judicial sanction.
82. 'The Ulster Plantation: Scotland's First Colonial Venture,' p. 15; *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* pp. 285-88.
83. McCall, pp. 38, 115; Gretchen M. MacMillan, *State, Society and Authority in Ireland: The Foundations of the Modern State,* (Dublin, 1993), p. 45.
84. Gillespie, p. 103, quoting *CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 321.
85. Hunter, p. 77.
86. For those Irish who received land, refer to *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 201-02.
87. Robinson, pp. 94-95, 115, 128; Gillespie, p. 106.
88. Robinson, pp. 324-26; 'O'Hanlon,' p. 20.
89. *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster,* p. 349.
90. McCall, p. 64.
91. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 152; Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages,* (Dublin, 1972), p. 86. For discussion of mercenaries abroad, see section III C. Mercenary service in Protestant nations on the continent.
92. Hunter, p. 100.
93. *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster,* p. ii; Robinson, p. 334; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 199; Bardon, p. 126.
94. Mary O'Dowd, 'Gaelic Economy and Society,' in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (editors), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641,* (Suffolk, 1986), pp. 142-43.
95. *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster,* footnote to p. iii.
96. McCall, p. 109.

97. *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster,* p. 350; T. W. Moody, 'Redmond O'Hanlon,' *Belfast Natural History Society Proclamations,* 2nd series, I, (1937), pp. 18, 21.
98. 'O'Hanlon,' pp. 17, 19, 21. For further explanation of this term, see discussion of the poem 'An Cobhernandoir' (The help of the Tories) in Chapter 18, section III. The flourishing of the vernacular tradition in Scottish Gaelic poetry.
99. E. Bourke, 'Irish levies for the army of Sweden (1609-1610), *Irish Monthly,* 46, (1918), p. 397; Hunter, p. 35.
100. 'O'Hanlon,' pp. 23-26.
101. McCall, p. 109.
102. For which, see above, Chapter 2, section II B. Islay rebellion 1614-15.
103. See below, section IV. Covenanting period.
104. 'Ireland and the monarchy,' p. 283.
105. *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster,* footnote to pp. iii-iv.
106. 'Redmond O'Hanlon,' p. 21.
107. *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster,* footnote to p. iii.
108. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 153, quoting *RPCS*, 1610-13, pp. 597-98.
109. See below, section IV. Covenanting period.
110. James Hogan (editor), *Letters and papers relating to the Irish rebellion between 1642-46,* (Dublin, 1936), p. 184.
111 'O'Hanlon,' pp. 21-22; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 375.
112. He was absent from Ireland from 13 April 1682 until August 1684 when the first Earl of Arran was acting as Lord Deputy. (E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (editors), *Handbook of British Chronology,* (London, 1986), p. 173.)
113. 'O'Hanlon,' p. 21.
114. R. A. Dodgshon, ' 'Pretense of Blude' and 'place of thair duelling': the nature of Scottish clans, 1500-1745,' in R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte (editors), *Scottish society 1500-1800,* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 189.
115. Macinnes, p. 42; *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 343.
116. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 282.
117. William Matheson (editor), *An Clarsair Dall,* The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 12, (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 120-21, quoting *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750,* pp. 83-84.
118. *Alisdair MacColla,* pp. 50-51.
119. Somerled MacMillan, *Bygone Lochaber,* (Glasgow, 1971), pp. 57, 110, 60. In 1684, "John McIlveill in Morlaggan in Locharclack" [MacGhillemhaoil, i.e. MacMillan] is cited as one of a group of Lochaber raiders, including Coll MacDonald of Keppoch and "John McPhie in Glendesherrie," who "do daily infest, trouble and molest the peace of the Highlands and particularly the lands and dwellings of the laird of McIntosh, by daily incursions thereon and committing thefts and depredations." (MacMillan, p. 60.)
120. MacMillan, pp. 60-62. Domhnall Bàn Fiadhaich (fierce fair-haired Donald), second son of Ewen Og

MacMillan, seventh of Murlaggan, used frequently to raid in Kintail, Glenelg and Skye and carried out the last raid in Skye. The raiders normally crossed Kyle Rhea, commandeered boats, and after stealing the cattle took some to the ferry to encourage the rest to follow. On this occasion, the people of Skye appointed Ruairi Maclain MacDonald of Camuscross to take counteraction. He had the boats removed to Ardnameacan, at Loch na Dal, and was able to kill MacMillan at the change-house at the ferry. The rest of the party of cattle reivers were taken in an ambush at Bealach Udail as they came to assist him, and either killed or captured.

121. Donald J. MacDonald of Castleton, *Clan Donald,* (Loanhead, 1978), p. 193.

122. W. R. Kermack, *The Scottish Highlands: A short history (c. 300-1746),* (Edinburgh and London, 1967), pp. 76-77.

123. *CSPS,* 1563-1569, p. 88. Seán O'Neill was particularly aggressive towards the MacDonalds at this time, which would account for their return if they had settled with the other Scots in Antrim.

124. Kermack, pp. 77-78; Edward J. Cowan, 'Fishers in drumlie waters: clanship and Campbell expansion in the time of Gilleasbuig Gruamach,' *TGSI,* 54, (1984-86), p. 285.

125. SRO GD112/2/117/4/39, Breadalbane Muniments; 'Fishers in drumlie waters,' p. 287. For Argyll's feu of Kintyre, see Chapter 2, section II A. Internal dissension and external assault.

126. SRO GD112/2/117/2/19; GD112/2/117/4/40; Macinnes, p. 35.

127. SRO GD112/2/117/4/43.

128. SRO GD112/2/117/2/26.

129. Kermack, p. 78.

130. For which, see Chapter 14, section II. Settlement during the plantation period.

131. Macinnes, pp. 35, 51.

132. SRO GD112/2/117/2/2.

133. SRO GD112/2/117/2/2.

134. For Glencairn's rising, see below, section V. Cromwellian period.

135. F. D. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660,* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 225.

136. Dodgshon, p. 184. The MacGregors became troublesome, once more, after the Revolution when the widespread famine in the country led to an increase in cattle-raiding and general robbery. (For further details see below, Chapter 12, section III. General trade with Ulster from the plantation to the Revolution.) The Earl of Breadalbane's lands particularly suffered raids by the Stewarts and the MacGregors, and drovers were murdered for their cash. (Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War,* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 439. A contemporary note about the documents in GD112/2/117/2 of the Breadalbane Muniments indicates that the documents within are "Letters Concerning the McGrigors after the slaughter of Patrick Campbell." This would appear to be at least one prominent Campbell whom they murdered at this time.) A summons issued on 1 October c. 1697 from the Privy Council to John Murray, Marquis of Atholl, to find caution not to assist the MacGregors, indicated that they had "at last treaterouslie brokine the lait assureance grantit to thame quhill merche nixtocum with the knawlege and allowance of us

And hes entrit upone Glenlyoun, slane sundre men, taikin diverss persounis and raisit ane great hearschip and pray of guideis." (SRO GD112/2/117/2/5.) A document of 1697 giving "advyce of the wayes and means for Reduceing that pairtie of broakin men who doe Infeft severall shires be North Forth" suggested a return to the old methods used at the time of James VI, that is, that £10 sterling be payed by the Treasury to anyone who apprehended or discovered them and immunity given to anyone who killed, mutilated or set fire to their houses. (SRO GD112/2/117/2/4.) As well as the payment of rewards, the Privy Council posted detachments of the regular army to assist in Fort William and its nearby garrisons. In June 1697, they had stationed four companies in Rannoch, the braes of Menteith and Strathearn, Glenshee and Braemar and Kilcumin, but the robbery continued. In December 1697, the Privy Council's 'Committie anent the peace off the Highlands' made the point that chiefs should not be allowed to omit robbers from their lists of clansmen and thus abbrogate responsibility for them. (Hopkins, p. 440.)

137. Dodgshon, pp. 196-97.
138. Clark, p. 72.
139. *An Historical Account of the plantation in Ulster,* footnote to p. 441.
140. T. W. Moody, *The Londonderry plantation 1609-41,* (Belfast, 1939), pp. 351-52.
141. They had been involved in a dispute over the lands of Trotternish for decades which had recently been resolved in Sleat's favour. See Chapter 8, section IV. The dynamic secular initiative: phase 1 - 1680-1689, and footnote 178.
142. Ronald Black, 'Colla Ciotach,' *TGSI*, 48, (1972-74), pp. 207-10.
143. Black, pp. 210-11.
144. Black, pp. 211-12.
145. Black, pp. 212-13.
146. Macinnes, pp. 35-38; Kermack, pp. 81-85.
147. Robert Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland,* III, part 1, Maitland Club, (Edinburgh, 1833), pp. 99-101; W. C. MacKenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides,* (London, 1903), pp. 248-52.
148. Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis,* (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 48-49
149. Pitcairn, pp. 244-47; MacKenzie, pp. 219-20, 246.
150. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis,* p. 49.
151. Macinnes, p. 35.
152. *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 413.
153 Macinnes, p. 37.
154. *RPCS,* 1616-1619, pp. 467-68, 507-08.
155. For which see Chapter 6, section III. The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands.
156. *Clan Donald*, (1978), p. 192; Gregory, pp. 408-10.
157. NLS Ms. 3134 ii, 102, Yule collection; *Handbook of British Chronology,* pp. 188, 194.
158. NLS Ms. 3134 ii, 102.
159. The informant was unsure whether the ship was English or Dutch, but the letter from the Bishop of

Glasgow (see below) proved it to be Dutch. (NLS Ms. 3134 ii, 103, 104.)

160. NLS Ms. 3134 ii, 103.
161. *Handbook of British Chronology,* p. 313.
162. NLS Ms. 3134 ii, 104.
163. *Clan Donald,* (1978), p. 193.
164. Macinnes, p. 38.
165. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 593.
166. 'O'Hanlon,' pp. 19-20; Bourke, p. 397; William Edwards, *Notes on European History, II, The Reformation and the Ascendancy of France 1494-1715,* (London, 1965), pp. 322, 327; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 593.
167. Macinnes, pp. 38, 40-41.
168. Edwards, pp. 381-414; James A. Fallon, 'Scottish Mercenaries in the service of Denmark and Sweden 1626-1632,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Glasgow University, 1972), p. 34.
169. Fallon, p. 75, quoting *RPCS*, 1625-1627, p. 200, pp. 78, 51, quoting SRO GD 248/46, Seafield Muniments, pp. 92, 69.
170. *CSPI*, 1625-32, p. 615, noted from Fallon, p. 81.
171. For reference to religious activities on his estates in Strabane, see Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.
172. *CSPI*, 1625-32, p. 227, noted from Fallon, p. 81; Fallon, pp. 36, 131.
173. Fallon, pp. 35, 80, 87, 142, quoting *RPCS,* 1627-1628, p. 229.
174. Fallon, pp. 67, 89-90, 155-56; *CSPI,* 1615-1625, p. 223; *CSPI* 1625-1632, p. 501, noted from Fallon, p. 67.
175. Fallon, pp. 103, 125, 156-57.
176. For details, see below, Chapter 6, section III A. Interaction of the Irish missionaries with the Scottish *fine.*
177. Hopkins, p. 21.
178. Fallon, p. 63. Also refer to the introduction to Chapter 5, for notice of Argyll mercenaries in Holland.
179. Fallon, p. 70, quoting *Calendar of State Papers Domestic,* 1619-23, p. 365; McKerral, p. 30.
180. McKerral, p. 32, quoting J. R. N. MacPhail (editor), *Highland papers, I, 1337-1680,* SHS, 2nd series, 5, (Edinburgh, 1914), p. 114.
181. For the most detailed exposition of family names in this thesis, see Chapter 14, section V. Family name evidence.
182. Fallon, pp. 133, 136-38.
183. For which, see below, section IV. Covenanting period.
184. McKerral, p. 36.
185. McCall, p. 126.
186. For poetry, see Chapter 16, section II. Classical poetry as an historical source, and Chapter 18, section II. The vernacular period in Ireland.
187. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 13, 22-23, 30; *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* pp. 92-93; David Stevenson, '*Select documents xxxv The desertion of the Irish by Coll Keitach's sons, 1642,*'

Irish Historical Studies, 21, (1978-79), pp. 75-76; David Stevenson, 'The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647,' *Scottish Studies,* 19, (1975), p. 28; Clarke, p. 109.

188. His mother was a lady of the house of Dunseverick, and there had been several intermarriages between the O'Cahans and the Stewarts. For further details see Chapter 11, sections I B. iv. MacDonalds of Colonsay, and I C. ix. Stewarts of Ballintoy.
189. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 61-62, footnote to p. 107; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 31.
190. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 23; *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* pp. 138, 141; Gillespie, p. 134.
191. SRO GD112/39/757, Breadalbane Muniments, Calendar F - letters.
192. This apparently refers to 'trifoil,' a shamrock, an Ulster staple which was eaten with bread and butter, and was like a shamrock. (Ohlmeyer, p. 85, footnote 48.)
193. Gillespie, p. 134; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 30; *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* p. 141; Clarke, p. 112.
194. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 31, 33; 'The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647,' p. 28.
195. SRO GD112/39/776, 777; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 34; Ohlmeyer, p. 93; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 72.
196. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 23-27; *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 67; SRO GD112/1/516; *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* pp. 100; 128; Ohlmeyer, p. 82.
197. Ohlmeyer, p. 81; McKerral, p. 38; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 27, 31; *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* pp. 140, 208.
198. 'The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647,' p. 29.
199. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 35, 38. The similarity between these men who agreed to attack Argyll and those who came out in the 1689 rebellion for the Jacobite cause should be noted, and their role against the Campbells compared. See Chapter 4, section I. Irish involvement in the 1689 rebellion.
200. SRO GD112/1/525; *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* p. 197-210; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 72. At a personal level, it also allowed Argyll to secure the superiority of Badenoch and Lochaber which he had recently gained through the financial indisposition of the Marquis of Huntly. (*Alasdair MacColla,* p. 72.)
201. SRO GD112/39/823, Breadalbane Muniments, Calendar F - letters.
202. McCall, pp. 127-28; *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 61-62; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 100; 'The desertion of the Irish, 1642,' p. 76.
203. McCall, pp. 123-24; Ohlmeyer, pp. 100-01; Bardon, p. 135.
204. McCall, pp. 116, 124.
205. Bardon, p. 136.
206. McCall, p. 116; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 98; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 74.
207. For his missionary activities, see Chapter 6, section III. The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands.
208. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 96-97, quoting SRO PA7/23/2/9, Additional

parliamentary papers.

209. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 44-45.

210. McCall, pp. 115, 117-19, 129.

211. *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* p. 245; Hugh Hazlett, 'The recruitment and organisation of the Scottish army in Ulster, 1642-9,' in H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody and D. B. Quinn (editors), *Essays in British and Irish History,* (London, 1949), p. 113. A second regiment was commanded by another Highlander, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, for which, see below.

212. McCall, pp. 116-17.

213. Hogan, p. 8.

214. McCall, pp. 118-19; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 101.

215. Refer to section III B. Antrim's interest in Kintyre.

216. McCall, pp. 120-21; Ohlmeyer, p. 104; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 99, 111, 114, 305; Bardon, p. 139; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 74; 'The desertion of the Irish, 1642,' p. 77.

217. McCall, pp. 121-24, 130; 'The desertion of the Irish, 1642,' p. 77; Bardon, p. 137.

218. Hogan, p. 7.

219. 'Cromwell, Scotland and Ireland,' p. 173.

220. McCall, p. 126; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 90; Bardon, p. 136.

221. Hogan, p. 6.

222. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 80-81.

223. Bardon, p. 139; McCall, p. 127; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 62; *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* p. 243; Dow, p. 91; 'The Scottish army in Ulster, 1642-9,' pp. 117, 121, 124; Hugh Hazlett, 'The Financing of the British Armies in Ireland, 1641-9,' *Irish Historical Studies,* 1, (1938-39), pp. 38-40.

224. The channel between Rathlin island and the mainland is known in Irish as *sloc na mara.* (Rev. Patrick S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus béarla,* (Dublin, 1927), p. 1060.)

225. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 74; Clark, p. 117; Ohlmeyer, p. 110; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 75.

226. Bardon, p. 139; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 297.

227. McCall, p. 131; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 116; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 75; 'The desertion of the Irish, 1642,' pp. 77-78; Hogan, pp 49-50; Lucy Duggan, 'The Irish Brigade with Montrose,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* fifth series, 89, (1958), p. 177.

228. Bardon, p. 139; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 120; Ohlmeyer, p. 117.

229. G. A. Hayes-McCoy, *Irish Battles,* (London, 1969), p. 179.

230. McCall, p. 128; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 121, 125-26; 'The desertion of the Irish, 1642,' p. 79.

231. Bardon, p. 139; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 116-17; 'The desertion of the Irish, 1642,' p. 80.

232. For more details, and for his Highland connections, see Chapter 11, section I C. xviii. Gordon of Sutherland.

233. Bardon, p. 40; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 130, 132-33, 136; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 97; *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* pp. 270, 285-86; M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'The adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant by the Scots in Ulster,' *Scotia,* 2, No. 1, (1973), pp. 3-4; *A New History of Ireland,* III pp. 308-09.

234. *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644,* pp. 293-96; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 165-66; Ohlmeyer, p. 151.

235. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 166-69; David Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland, 1644-1651,* (London, 1977), p. 5; 'The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647,' p. 28.

236. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 171-73; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 107, 109; Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Montrose's Irish regiments,' *Irish Sword,* 4, (1959-60), pp. 62-65.

237. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 173-74; Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae,* II, (Inverness, 1894), pp. 176-77; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 260; *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* p. 19; Edward M. Furgol, 'The northern Highland Covenanter clans, 1639-1651,' *Northern Scotland,* 7, No. 2, (1987), p. 120.

238. SRO GD112/39/855, Breadalbane Muniments.

239. *Reliquiae Celticae,* pp. 178-79.

240. The MacNabs rejected their Campbell overlordship in December 1644 when they assisted Montrose to take the castle on Loch Dochart which had formerly belonged to them and so clear the way into Argyll. The MacGregors also joined Montrose at this time. (*Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 149-50.)

241. The Lamonts had fought against the Royalists at Inverlochy, but after Kilsyth Sir James Lamont was commissioned by the King to proceed against the Campbells. When they surrendered in June 1646 after the King turned to the Covenanters, the Campbells promptly hung 36 of them. (*Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* p. 53.)

242. *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* p. 24; Furgol, p. 120.

243. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 174-75; *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* p. 21; Furgol, p. 121; 'The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647,' p. 29; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 152.

244. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 176.

245. The expedition had sailed with three Irish priests. For details, see below, Chapter 8, section II. The post-Franciscan initiative and the Irish priests with Alasdair MacColla MacDonald.

246. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 176-78; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 140-41, 148; 'The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647,' pp. 28-29; Edward J. Cowan, *Montrose for Covenant and King,* (London, 1977), pp. 174, 176-77, 214, 233; *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* pp. 23, 25.

247. For ministers also accused of deserting to the Royalists, see Chapter 7, section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.

248. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 178-79, 182; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 154, 206-08, 213-

14; *Reliquiae Celticae,* pp. 182-83; *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* pp. 30, 35-36.

249. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 214-17, 221, 223; *Reliquiae Celticae,* pp. 202-03.

250. Bardon, p. 140; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 225; *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* pp. 30-31, 53; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 181-82, 184; *Montrose for Covenant and King,* p. 253.

251. Hayes-McCoy, pp. 184-85.

252. 'The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647,' p. 30; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 226-29; *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* p. 54; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 184-85; Ohlmeyer, p. 182; *Montrose for Covenant and King,* pp. 250-51.

253. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 231; *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* p. 84.

254. *Montrose for Covenant and King,* p. 254, quoting SRO PA7/23/2/49, Additional parliamentary papers; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 230-31; Ohlmeyer, p. 188.

255. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 185-86; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* footnote to p. 107; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 235, 238; 'The Massacre at Dunaverty, 1647,' pp. 27, 30-32, 35; W. Cobbett (editor), *State Trials,* V, (London, 1809), p. 1396.

256. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 186-87; Clark, p. 118; Derick S. Thomson (editor), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,* (Oxford, 1983), p. 157; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 231, 240, 257.

257. *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* pp. 97, 118; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 239.

258. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 245-46; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 187-89.

259. G. Aiazza (editor), *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini,* (Dublin, 1873), p. 310.

260. *Rinuccini,* p. 337; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 252.

261. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 188-89; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 258; Hayes-McCoy, p. 204; *Rinuccini,* pp. 423-24; *Reliquiae Celticae,* pp. 206-07.

262. Bardon, p. 140.

263. For notification of this in the ecclesiastical records, see Chapter 7, section III C. Highland ministers in Ireland from the Cromwellian occupation to the Revolution, 1650-1689.

264. David Stevenson, 'Cromwell, Scotland and Ireland,' in John Morrill (editor), *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution,* (London and New York, 1990), pp. 149, 156, 158-59; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 357, 379; Ohlmeyer, pp. 232-33, 239-40; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 284; Dow, pp. 14, 17-18-19, 21-22, 44, 52-53, 62, 66.

265. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* pp. 286-87; Dow, pp. 69, 71, 74-75, 77, 80-81, 83, 94, 127, 138; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 273.

266. Dow, pp. 115, 118, 126-27, 131-32, 135, 137, 141, 188-89, 190-91, 225, 318; Charles H. Firth (editor), *Scotland and the Protectorate. Letters and papers relating to the military government of Scotland from January 1654 to June 1659,* SHS, 1st series, 31, (Edinburgh, 1899), pp. 144, 149-50; T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (editors), *A New History of Ireland, III, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691,* (Oxford, 1976), p. 384; 'Cromwell, Scotland and Ireland,' pp. 171-72.

267. It was also a marginal area as far as the Church was concerned. See introduction to Chapter 5.

268. T. C. Barnard, 'Planters and Policies in Cromwellian Ireland,' *Past and Present,* No. 61, (1973), pp. 31-32; 'Redmond O'Hanlon,' p. 19; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 362.

269. In the 1620s there were an estimated 12,000 Protestants in Munster, settled in small communities and quite vulnerable to attack from the Catholic population. The Protestant inhabitants of Ulster, on the other hand, were by 1660, estimated at 5000 English and a phenomenally large 80,000 Scots. (Barnard, pp. 34, 53-54.) For more detail of the projected transplantations, see the introduction to Chapter 7.

270. Barnard, pp. 32-34, 39; 'Cromwell, Scotland and Ireland,' pp. 166-68; 'Redmond O'Hanlon,' p. 19.

271. Barnard, pp. 33-35, 42.

272. Barnard, pp. 36-38.

273. 'O'Hanlon,' p. 19.

274. For more details, see Chapter 8, section II. The post-Franciscan initiative and the Irish priests with Alasdair MacColla MacDonald.

275. *Montrose for Covenant and King,* p. 253; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 229.

276. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 267.

277. 'The Scottish army in Ulster, 1642-9,' p. 131. For further details of the advancement of presbyterianism by Scottish Gaels in Ulster, see below, Chapter 7, section III B. Presbyterian ministers during the Irish campaign, 1642-1648.

278. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 293.

CHAPTER 4
JACOBITE LINKS BETWEEN GAELS, 1689-1760

Introduction

In Scotland there was no Niall MacMhuirich in the Jacobite period to redress the balance of Lowland reporting, as he had done for the civil war, and it is debatable whether they regarded the Gael as more than mere cannon fodder. A Scottish Jacobite report of the 1689 campaign survives in Latin for posterity, but by the Lowlander James Philip of Almericlose in Arbroath. However, some of the intercommuning between Irish Jacobites and Scottish Highland Jacobites can be gleaned from it. Philip, who was a second cousin of John Graham, Viscount Dundee, wrote his account, entitled *The Grameid,* two years after the campaign in 1691.[1] Similarly, in Ireland, John T. Gilbert published the almost contemporary account *A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland 1688-1691,* a title which he gave to the part publication of a longer manuscript by an Irish Catholic Jacobite, albeit Old English in stance, entitled 'A light to the blind.' It was so called because he regretted the blindness of the English people to the merits of James VII and II and hoped that the light of reason would restore their sight. Though unstated, the author is thought to have been Nicholas Plunket of Dunsoghly (1629-1718), a member of a collateral branch of the Fingall family of County Dublin, who also wrote a history of the 1640s civil war.[2] The account supports the Irish Catholic Lord Deputy, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, and is critical of his opponents.[3] A second Irish Jacobite account also survives, written by a Gaelic Irishman, Colonel Charles O'Kelly from County Galway who was an officer in the Jacobite army. The account, first published like 'A light to the blind' in the nineteenth century, was compiled from four English manuscripts and a Latin one. Personal names were disguised using classical forms. O'Kelly's account was as subjective as 'A light to the blind' but was as vehemently critical of the Old English Tyrconnell, as the former was supportive, accusing him of betraying the Irish interest in favour of England's.[4]

So too, in the multitude of secondary histories of Jacobitism, though historians could hardly fail to mention the Highlanders since they were the foundation of all the Jacobite armies, they have not, with the possible exception of Paul Hopkins,[5] always given full weight to Scottish/Irish Gaelic connections within that subject. The importance of England as the heart of the Stewart State to which all the Pretender's ultimately aspired, is not in question,[6] but the consequences of the Highlanders' action in the Gaelic context is seldom discussed. For instance, neither is it insignificant that Donald MacDonald, younger of Sleat (later fourth Baronet)[7] and Kenneth MacKenzie, fourth Earl of Seaforth were across in Ireland in 1689, an event which had important ramifications for the mobilisation of both clans in Scotland.[8]

I. IRISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE 1689 REBELLION

As soon as he arrived at St. Germain in December 1688, James VII and II started making plans to regain his throne from his son-in-law, William of Orange,[9] Stadhouder in the republic of the United Provinces, who had invaded England in the previous month. In the three kingdoms the Revolution had been mainly, though not entirely, engineered by the Whigs who objected to the King both for his Catholic religion and his absolutism. The Whigs were determined that his new born son, James (the future Old Pretender, James VIII and III) should not succeed him. Neither did it seem that James VII was over-optimistic, for John Graham, first Viscount Dundee, and some of the cavalry of King James which he commanded, refused to submit to the Convention Parliament, called at the collapse of James's authority in Scotland, and raised rebellion in April 1689. By the end of the month Dundee had mobilised significant support in the Highlands while, in Ireland, the majority of the Irish refused to recognise the Revolution. The Jacobite cause attracted support from a variety of clans in the Highlands. Of the more predatory clans, the MacDonalds of Keppoch, the MacDonalds of Glencoe, the dispossessed Argyll MacGregors under MacGregor of Roro and MacGregor of Glengyle came out, and shortly after the battle of Killiecrankie in July 1689, were joined by the Robertsons of Struan. The Camerons of Lochiel, the MacDonalds of Sleat, the MacDonalds of Clanranald under Donald MacDonald of Benbecula, Tutor of Clanranald, the MacLeans of Duart, the Stewarts of Appin, the MacNeills of Barra, and the MacLeods of Raasay, off Skye, also joined the Jacobite banner. (For the common descent and marital interconnection of many of these clans, see fig. 1.1, Origins of the main branches of the Clan Donald.) James Philip poetically listed the levies as follows:

> Skye, in its might, Badenoch, savage with her vast woods; Islay and Ilanterim, and Iona, Knapdale, Jura, Knoydart, and Rachlin, and Raasay, Moydart, Mull, and Barra, gather their bands for war, and link with their neighbouring clans.

Significantly, however, no great peers of the realm came to Dundee.[10]

With such obvious support, the French government felt obliged to give some assistance, but more with the aim of thwarting the power of William of Orange and his allies in Flanders than of restoring James at home. Louis XIV thus agreed to send a contingent of French troops for the invasion of Ireland, but on the condition that a similar number of Irish recruits were enlisted for service in France. Moreover, Louis provided James with large stores of arms for the Irish, and a substantial amount of money and equipment. Thus, the indispensable combination of internal rebellion and external aid was established, an aspect which was important in all the Jacobite rebellions. The other important ingredient, the use of social and economic discontent, particularly within Scotland, was not introduced in the eighteenth century.[11] Large scale Irish support, both

Old English and native Irish, played a more prominent part in the 1689 campaign than in any of the subsequent ones. The Irish naturally empathised with a Roman Catholic King and conditions had generally improved for the native Irish under the Restoration government in comparison with Cromwell's protectorate. The Jacobites were in control of the best part of Ireland at the time - Leinster, Munster and Connacht, in their entirety, (though the French felt that Dublin was indefensible) with only Londonderry and Enniskillen holding out in Ulster - and Jacobites in Scotland, particularly, looked to the possibility of reinforcements from Ireland. The Jacobite aim was to subdue Ireland before William of Orange arrived and then to send a force to Scotland to help Dundee gain control there.[12]

As in the 1640s, it was believed that Argyll and the west coast of Scotland would be invaded by Irish Catholics from Carrickfergus. Therefore, not only did the Scottish Convention of Estates, which convened itself in March 1689, take great interest in the Ulster Protestant stand against James VII and II and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, his Lord-Lieutenant, but they also took defensive action at sea and on land.[13] Owing to a general fear of the "Irishes and other papists" the Estates called up the Bute Militia on 30 March 1689. The muster was apparently well-armed and set sail, under the command of Bannatyne of Kames, the elder, and Mr. John Stewart of Ascog, for Dumbarton. In Bute, the Sheriff and his deputes were ordered to prepare beacons for burning, which were to be lit if the Irish appeared. Cognisant of other Irish proclivities, it was also ordered that all horses and cattle were to be moved ten miles inland to prevent their upliftment.[14] On 2 April 1689, Dugald Campbell, the bailie of Kintyre, paid £36 for the price of a boat and six men to go with Hector McGibbon in Nether Cowal, from Campbeltown to Londonderry to gather intelligence, the "said boat being fyve weeks tossed betuixt the coast of Irland the Isles of Gigha and Isla and the Irish Armie being spread thorow the coast syde."[15] 600 men were to be raised in Argyll in April and May 1689 for the tenth Earl of Argyll's regiment by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, the Lieutenant-Colonel, though he appeared to fear provoking the mid-Argyll clans to rebellion and remained largely inactive. On 29 April, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor had been authorised to raise another 600 men in Islay and Jura.[16]

The Estates ordered further, on 16 April, that "an imbargo be put upon all manner of Boats in the Western parts and Harbours of this Kingdom, which might be made use of in case of an Invasion from Ireland." On 18 April the Estates received a report "that a Vessel going from Ireland to the Highlands with 6000 Stand of Arms, was forced by stress of Weather on our Western Coast at a place called Salt-Coats near Irvin." However, the rumour was unconfirmed and there is no indication of its veracity from other sources. On 27 April the President of the Convention was ordered to "write to the Commanders of the two Frigats in the Estates Service, to Cruise about the Isles on the Coast of Argyleshire; and to destroy the Boats in the Isle of Racklay [Rathlin], or other places that might serve the Enemy in case of an Invasion from Ireland." It seems, therefore, that

Rathlin was suspected of Jacobite proclivity. At the same meeting Lieut.-Col. William Cleland whose regiment, the Cameronians, was to march into Kintyre and Lorn from the south-west, was granted warrants "to Press Boats for their transport, as it may be necessair." He was to station 400 men in Kintyre.[17]

Though the Convention seem to have been well aware of the strategic importance of Kintyre, secondary commentators have, until recently,[18] largely ignored the significance of Jacobite activity there and throughout Knapdale, mid-Argyll and Cowal, which was fuelled by dislike of the Campbells. The restoration of the house of Argyll under William of Orange aligned those who stood to lose from such a restoration with the Royalist side. Donald McNeill of Gallochelly in South Knapdale who had been granted a charter of the barony of Gigha in 1686 from James VII, which formerly held of Argyll, stood to become Argyll's vassal again. Alexander MacLean, Commissary of Argyll and son of the bishop of Argyll, stood to lose the confiscated Campbell estate of Otter which he held. The MacLeans of Duart had been saved from the confiscation of their chief's lands by the ninth Earl of Argyll's fall and now faced ruin again. Hence, when William of Orange threatened invasion of England, as early as 6 November 1688 potential sufferers at the hands of Argyll, who were in arms to defend the shire, signed a loyal address to James VII. It was signed by MacLeans of mid-Argyll,[19] by Alexander MacAllister of Tarbert-Loup in Kintyre, Tarbert's brother, by McNeill of Gallochelly and by the Catholic Archibald MacDonald of Loup, who was still a teenager. Alexander MacLean of Otter was sent to Ireland to seek help for the Duart clan from the Lord Deputy Tyrconnell. There, unknown to the clans, he found the King, as well as his own chief, Sir John MacLean, who had arrived recently from France. Sir Donald MacDonald, younger of Sleat, was also in attendance on the King, having just returned from fighting the Turk in Hungary. Alexander MacLean stated that the west Highland clans were preparing to rise for the King and requested the assistance of Irish regular troops. He himself gained a knighthood and a commission to command a 900 man regiment to be raised from the small Argyll clans from Kintyre to Appin. Clearly James realised the importance of holding Kintyre, in order to relay reinforcements to the Highlands.[20]

It is apparent that as soon as he arrived in Kinsale in Ireland on 12 March, James had begun to send letters to the gentry and lairds in Scotland to gauge the level of their support. The Estates recorded the capture on 9 April of "One Breyde, the Earl of Murray's Servant, who pass'd through Scotland eight days before the meeting of this Convention to Ireland; is come back from Dublin, and is taken at Greenock near Glasgow, with many private Letters, and other Writings, from King James to several persons." It has been suggested that this was Francis Brady, servant of the Sheriff of Bute.[21] On 18 April, Brady's letters were produced before the Convention. They consisted of a letter from James and one from John Drummond, first Earl of Melfort and Secretary of State for Ireland, to Dundee and Colin Lindsay, third Earl of Balcarres. The letters stated that James had

40,000 men with him in Ireland and that he would soon be in a position to give the Scots aid. In the meantime, they were to send an exact report of the state of the country.[22]

In the event, the regiments intended for the Highlands were retained in Ireland to maintain the siege of Derry though some of the Highlanders in attendance on James returned to Scotland in early May 1689.[23] On 7 May a letter from John Campbell, resident of Campbeltown, to the bailie of Kintyre was read in the Estates. It stated that "young Macdonal was landed from Ireland, in the Isle of Cara, with 8 Men. And that fired Beacons made Light the Second and Third Instant over Night, both on the Mull of Cara, and Mull of Kintire, and that some Boats, and a Ship were seen Sailing to that Island from the Irish Coast." The Estates ordered eight companies into the area for its defence, perhaps fearing that they were part of a vanguard. On 10 May the Duke of Hamilton, in his capacity as superior of the Isle of Arran, informed that he had ordered the securing of "a Boat and Prisoners seized in the West by Lieutenant-Collonel Clecland." The precise location of the seizure is not given, but a letter from Cleland indicated "That the Boat belonged to Slait [Sir Donald MacDonald], and that one of the Prisoners was a Servant of Commissair Mackeans, and another Servant of the Sheriff of Boot's, whom he suspected of corresponding with the Irish." This was probably one of the boats mentioned earlier as docking at Cara. Certainly, the Estates received a declaration subscribed by James McNeill, merchant in Greenock, "bearing, That he had heard Donald Macdonald, son to Slait, in the Isle of Cara, the fifth Currant, say, That the late King had 60000 Men in Arms in Ireland, and that the said Donald had Twelve Men, with a Conformist Minister, who came over with him from Ireland."[24] Sir John MacLean of Duart and Sir Alexander MacLean landed in Cara four days after Sir Donald, on 6 May, with two Irish companies which Sir Alexander had raised for his regiment. MacAllister of Loup, MacAllister of Tarbert, the McNeills of Gallochelly, the young MacDonald of Largie, his uncle and Tutor rose to join them, while a messenger was sent to try for the support of Sir James Stewart, Sheriff of Bute. MacLean of Duart aimed to reach Mull as quickly as possible so that he could raise his clan. Sir Alexander and the Irish companies went with Duart, McNeill of Gallochelly having been appointed lieutenant-colonel to command in Kintyre in Sir Alexander's absence.[25]

Meanwhile, the Convention consoled itself that Dundee had little success in his attempts to rally the clans, and that his position would force him and his men to "hasten to Ireland for self preservation," though the Scots clansmen began to come in more rapidly at Lochaber where Dundee had appointed a gathering of the clans for 18 May.[26] Dundee was to take no decisive action until reinforced from Ireland. Consequently, he contented himself with exercising the strength of the men who had already arrived by making raids on Aberdeen, Inverness and Perth.[27] Sir John Lanier at Perth clearly did not consider the situation serious, writing on 29 May to the Secretary at War, William Blathwayt, that:

> All the Highlands are in armes and I believe it is more out of hopes of coming downe into the Lowlands in hope of plunder than for any reason, but I thinke wee shall put an end to this in a little while for this is a country noebody covetts to stay in longer then needs musst.[28]

Taking the offensive on the western seaboard, Gallochelly, Loup, Tarbert and Largie headed east and seized Skipness Castle. Since the Royalists were well outnumbered by Campbells and Lowlanders, having only about 400 men in arms, its seizure was psychologically important. At this juncture, the MacAllister lairds of Balinakill and Kinloch joined them, as well as the son of McIlvernock of Oib, though not the more southerly MacDonalds of Sanda. Their main area of control was in north Kintyre which did much to improve Jacobite communications with Ireland and the court there. James VII, aware of the need to send reinforcements to the Highlands, planned, in May, to send 1200 men over in small boats, in two stages, in all probability to Kintyre. Less fortunately, since the messenger returning from the Sheriff of Bute was intercepted at Greenock, and the Sheriff was imprisoned, the Stewarts of Bute did not rise. The Royalist force in Kintyre was thus dependent on reinforcement from Ireland or Mull. Fortunately for the Jacobites, there were problems in raising the Cameronian regiment and Cleland had not yet arrived in Kintyre. Instead, eight mixed companies from the Earl of Glencairn's, Lord Bargany's and Lord Blantyre's regiments, the former two consisting mainly of Irish Protestant refugees were ordered to Tarbert under Captain William Young. They landed there, unexpected by the Jacobites, on 15 May. Avoiding the east coast of Kintyre where the Jacobites held Skipness, Young marched to Clachan of Kilcalmonel. However, the Jacobites boarded nine small barks, sailed down Loch Tarbet and intercepted them at Loup Hill. The Jacobite force of some 200 men was completely routed. Some escaped across the Loch to Knapdale and others inland.[29]

Having regrouped two companies of the Jacobites, Gallochelly retreated to Gigha with about 120 men. Loup offered to surrender on terms but then fled to Ireland with Tarbert, where James was persuaded to make them, and other chiefs, colonels. Largie fled Skipness Castle, anticipating a siege, and went with the garrison to Arran. In Mull, Sir Alexander MacLean heard that Young's force was set to attack Gigha, and in his intent to assist the men on Gigha missed Dundee's rendezvous on 18 May. On 21 May he headed to Gigha with a force of MacLeans and his Irish companies. Making contact with Largie in Arran, he shipped Largie's men to Gigha on the 26th so that he had 400 men.[30] On 30 May the MacLeans were reported to be pinned down "in the Isle of Giger [Gigha] near Kintyre, and are surrounded by some English Men of War, and the Scots Frigats." The Estates' frigates, in their general patrolling, had "taken and destroyed many Vessels and Boats that were gathering together upon the Late King James's Command; and hath put a great many Protestants aboard such Vessels as he took, and brought them to Kintyre safe." They were assisted by English ships under the command of Captain George Rooke. Nonetheless, disguising his intentions with clever boat manoeuvres, Sir Alexander managed to land his men as well as those

he had rescued, in mainland Argyll where he dispersed some fencible men, and then headed to Mull on 31 May. His successful expedition earned him lasting fame in Dundee's army and MacLean tradition. Unfortunately, 50 MacDonalds and MacAllisters who set sail for Ireland were captured by the Scots frigates, while on 6 June a letter from the West Country stated "that an English Frigat that cruises on these Seas, hath taken a Ship with 1800 stand of Arms, as they were coming to this Kingdom from Ireland." The loss of Kintyre by the Jacobites was of major importance to their campaign. Reinforcements from Ireland could no longer be transported by the shortest and easiest route to Scotland. Troops would, henceforth, have to be shipped by a far longer route to Mull or Loch Linnhe, which required larger ships and protective escorts. With the Jacobite threat from the south removed, the Campbells overpowered the mid-Argyll clans. Young was rewarded by the Privy Council for his service and remained in charge of his detachment for two months, after which he seems to disappear from the record.[31]

Following the rendezvous of the clans in May, Dundee was at the head of at least 2000 men, though he did not feel sufficiently secure in his position to invade the Lowlands without Irish help. The Jacobite Duke of Gordon was forced to surrender Edinburgh Castle which he had held with about 90 men, on 13 June, after a three month seige which further underlined Dundee's lack of success. Dundee had used one of his cavalry officers, "Dennis M'Swyne," (who if not a Highland MacSween was probably a mercenary from one of the Irish septs of MacSweeney *gallóglaigh*) to carry information to the King in Ireland in April. Writing from Moy in Lochaber, on 27 June 1689, Dundee mentioned to Melfort the despatches sent with MacSween, stating that 'M'Swyne has now been away near two months,' by which time the tardiness of his return was beginning to annoy Dundee.[32] By the summer of 1689, no Irish recruits had yet been sent to Scotland, though Dundee was trying to alarm the government and Major-General Hugh Mackay (a Highlander and younger son of Mackay of Scourie), who had been appointed by the Convention of the Estates to command the opposition troops, into sending the army to the west to avert an invasion from Ireland. MacDonald of Auchteraw and Major Farquharson arrived from Ireland about 28 June but generally the clans, waiting in Lochaber, became demoralised. MacDonald of Keppoch was said to have considered going over to the Earl of Argyll.[33]

In early July therefore, in the absence of any communication, Dundee decided to send the majority of his Highland levies back home. Exhibiting typical Jacobite untimeliness, Brigadier-General Alexander Cannon subsequently arrived from Ireland with 300 recruits.[34] James sent a letter to Dundee from Dublin Castle, dated 7 July 1689, indicating that:

> Wee doubt not of the continuance of your zeal, and we have sent you one regiment to your assistance, and all the Scotts officers, excepting Buchan and Walcob [Wauchope], whom we could not dispence till the siege of Derry was over, which is now near done, and so soon as that is over, we

> shall send them to you with all speed; and shall with all care send, from time to time, to your assistance, tho ther is great difficulty in the passage.[35]

Further assistance from Ireland was, however, not to prove forthcoming during the campaign, nor were those who had been sent of the standard or quantity anticipated. Dundee had been expecting 5,000-6,000 troops and got 300 ill-clad, insufficiently armed and indisciplined men. With the Jacobite army still besieging Londonderry and with an English army on a nearby island in early July, James Purcell's regiment of foot was the only regiment that James could spare. They were new recruits and appeared deficient both in their appearance and training.[36] As James had indicated, they had indeed encountered difficulty in their passage. According to an eye witness, the Scots officers and Cannon embarked at Carrickfergus on 10 July, with a regiment of about 700-800 soldiers, of which 140 were officers. They boarded three French Men of War under the command of Monsieur de Quesne, which were accompanied by seven or eight flyboats, though significantly, it was said "that the Officers had no small difficulty to get the Soldiers to Embarque for Scotland, showing all imaginable averseness to it, which made them use some force to get them on Board."[37] They were unfortunate enough to fall foul of two Scots privateers known as the Glasgow frigates but after fighting for some time de Quesne took the frigates, sent them to Dublin, and went on to land in Kintyre.[38]

A detachment of the Argyll Militia also engaged the Irish at sea. Letters from Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck to the Estates state that he "manned out a large boat with many soldiers well armed and engaged a vessel which had been seen at sea and which was suspected to come from Carrickfergus with men to land somewhere in Kintyre." By 19 July, a week after the landing, an account from Campbell of Auchinbreck, stated that he had taken "three Boats with Horse and Men [i.e. flyboats] belonging to the Irish that Shipt at Carrick-fergus: The Men are brought Prisoners hither from Argyleshire: and that the number of the Irish that are landed is about 500." Most of the core of a dragoon regiment which Cannon was also shipping to be completed in Scotland was captured by Auchinbreck. The diminished Irish force landed at Mull. The Estates recorded, on 22 July, that "We have an account from the Highlands, That the Irish are Landed in the Isle of Mull where the Mackleans live; and that they exceed not 400 men."[39] While eye-witness accounts fix the number of Irish who reached Mull between 300-500, modern scholarship favours the smaller number.[40] Here they were given hospitality by the people of Duart whose men had already left to join Dundee. Among the officers who came from Ireland were the Earl of Buchan, Viscount Frendraught, Sir William Wallace of Craigie, Sir Archibald Kennedy of Culzean, Lieut.-Col. Douglas, Lieutenant Murray and Col. Purcell.[41] The provision ships followed on behind, and being delayed were captured by English frigates.[42] Thus, the flotilla was attacked by no fewer than three forces.

As soon as it was heard that the Irish had landed, a resolution was passed in the Estates to fortify Inverlochy and to put a strong garrison in it because it was believed that the Irish were heading there. It was regarded as one of the best ways of subduing the Lochaber clans. In July, 2000 workmen were drafted in from Moray, Nairn and Ross to improve the old Cromwellian fortifications.[43] When, on 17 July, Rooke's squadron was sighted off Mull, the Irish were ferried to Morvern on the mainland, and as soon as Rooke retired from Scottish waters the Irish crossed Loch Linnhe.[44] James Philip, author of *The Grameid,* identified the bulk of the Irish as Rathlin men. This Rathlin contingent is a gauge of the extent of continuing relations between the west coast MacDonalds and the territory of the MacDonnells of Antrim.[45]

At the end of July, two weeks after the Irish had crossed to the mainland, Mackay marched on Blair Atholl, recognising that it was necessary for the domination of the North. Having just his own dragoons and the recently arrived Irish, Dundee was forced to raise troops again. Lochiel gathered a force of some 2,000 Highlanders, mostly Camerons and MacDonalds, which Dundee took to face Mackay who had double that number of men. The opposing sides fought at the battle of Killiecrankie on 27 July 1689, the Irish regiment standing on the right of centre, next to the MacLeans. Although the battle was technically a victory for the Highlanders, it was also a great tragedy for the future of Jacobitism because Dundee was killed.[46] The factionalism of the clans was legendary and Dundee was one of the few military commanders able to produce a semblance of unity. Brigadier-General Cannon, the Galloway Protestant who had been sent with the Irish, assumed command of the Highland forces.

The Jacobite side was assisted materially by Mackay's abandonment of his stores at Perth. However, there was further containment of the clans in the year that followed. In early August 1689 Cannon moved into the north-east, quartering on Forbes's lands and raiding other Whig estates. On 12 August the Privy Council ordered Angus's regiment from Doune to Dunkeld to stop raiding from Atholl on the Perthshire Lowlands and to provide a base for advancing on Blair Atholl, while Cleland was to report to Sir John Lanier at Forfar and Colonel George Ramsay at Perth. The Cameronians under Cleland reached Dunkeld on 17 August. Cannon, seeking decisive action before the remaining clansmen went home for the harvest began a march, on the same day, south from Strathbogie. In addition to the clans present at Killiecrankie, Cannon was joined by a group of MacGregors under Donald MacGregor of Glengyle, the Atholl men, Robertson of Struan, the Stewarts of Appin and the men of Glencoe. The Earl of Seaforth's uncle, Colin Mackenzie, came to Cannon, but expecting Seaforth from Ireland at any time to raise the clan, he came by himself.[47]

On 21 August 1689, the Jacobites stormed Dunkeld and were defeated. Cleland was killed during the battle and command was assumed by Munro, the senior captain. The clans were additionally

demoralised by the relief of Londonderry and the arrival of Marshal Schomberg in Ulster with a sizeable English army. With the clansmen making ready to disperse for the harvest, a bond was drawn up on 24 August by which the chiefs agreed to muster again in September.[48] The proceedings of the Estates on 27 August indicate that some of the Irish attempted to return to Ireland:

> We are also told That Collonel Cannon, despairing of doing any thing considerable against His Majesty's Forces, after the great Battle and Defeat he received by one single Regiment of the Earl of Angus's at Dunkell, is resolved to abandon Blair-Castle, and to march towards Argyleshire, or Kintyre and from thence to embarque for Ireland, to try if a more successful Fortune will attend him there. Many of the Irish that came over with him have deserted; and in making their Escape for Ireland, have been intercepted at Glasgow.[49]

The Jacobite cause was undeniably weakened and, as well as Lowland gentry, some Highland lairds appeared in Edinburgh to take the indemnity which expired on 10 September. The Earl of Breadalbane also submitted though he continued to operate as a crypto-Jacobite, offering to reconcile the Earl of Argyll to King James. Cannon did not embark for Ireland but retired to Lochaber to winter, at which stage the rebels were said to be not above 1,000. Supplies were extremely short throughout the Highlands so that what remained of the Jacobite army was largely sustained by raiding which extended as far as Kintyre. The Isle of Mull was particularly hard hit, where the MacLeans had not only to feed the prisoners but also the Irish regiment which were quartered there. Morale was raised, though, by the revival of the Jacobite campaign in Ireland and the collapse of the English army through inattention and disease. Therefore, James confidently hoped to send Seaforth to Scotland to raise his clan and the Duke of Berwick, his natural son, with a substantial Irish force. Cannon was simply to keep the clans together. However, the clans failed to muster again in September for Cannon's planned campaign in the north. Seaforth's uncle, Colin Mackenzie, tried to raise Kintail but failed. Seaforth, himself, set sail from Galway in early January 1689 but was driven back by the weather and returned to Dublin, and showed little enthusiasm for setting out again.[50]

Though the Lochaber clans had failed to rise, the north-east had come over to the Jacobites. About twenty crypto-Jacobite lairds - Grants, Gordons, Farquharsons and Forbeses - signed a bond on 15 January 1690, drawn up by Farquharson of Inverey and Lord Frendraught. Major-General Thomas Buchan of Auchmacoy, an Aberdeenshire Catholic and professional soldier, was sent from Ireland in January 1690, with several professional officers, to reinvigorate the Scottish Jacobite army. Cannon was made Major-General and Purcell returned to Ireland, but the clans were again disappointed that a large force had not been sent under Berwick. The lack of readily available food continued to hamper the regrouping of the Jacobites in March 1690, though Buchan raised an

infantry regiment. His force grew to between 1400 and 1500 men comprising MacLeans, MacDonalds, Camerons, MacPhersons, MacNachtans, Grants of Glenmoriston and Irish, and was reported to be heading to Moray. At a council of war held at Culnakyle, in Grant's country, on 29 April the Jacobite force decided to march to Glenlochy. Buchan overruled the decision, ordering the force to encamp at Cromdale on the river plain opposite the Williamite Grant's home of Ballachastell, in a gesture of defiance. Sir Thomas, Viscount Livingston, set out from Inverness on 27 April and Buchan was routed at the Haughs of Cromdale, by the Spey, on 1 May 1690. Cannon fled up the Spey where he was harboured by MacPherson of Cluny and ultimately MacDonell of Glengarry, while Buchan retreated to Glenlivet. Many of the Jacobite soldiers were imprisoned at Inverness while the Irish were supported on the charity of Jacobite sympathisers and encouraged to enlist for the continent.[51]

If the Jacobites were to have capitalised on Killiecrankie, substantial reinforcement would have been needed from either Ireland or France. Yet, support for the Jacobites was not a military priority in France, while in Ireland William's forces were gaining the upper hand. Moreover, in Scotland the clans were contained at Dunkeld and Cromdale. James eventually sent Seaforth, now Marquess and Major-General, to Scotland with a company of Irish grenadiers, corn and ammunition, in a bid to relieve pressure on the Lochaber clans. He landed at Eilean Donan on 20 May and Major John Bernardi, the senior professional officer, was sent to confer with Buchan. Yet, after the Jacobite campaign of the previous winter, even his own clan were unprepared to rise for Seaforth, and possibly the final opportunity which the Jacobites had to fortify the rising failed. At about the same time the government set about subduing Kintyre and the southern Isles with a seaborn expedition under Major James Ferguson. Gigha was raided on 17 May, Cara on 18 May, Colonsay and an area of Jura on 19 May, where corn and cattle were destroyed, precipitating the flight of the MacAllisters of Loup and Kinloch and MacDonald of Largie to Edinburgh to take loyal oaths. Soon afterwards, Mull was burned near Lochbuie and Aros, Rhum at the beginning of June, Eigg on 2 June, and Canna on the 6th and Skye on the 8th, where the young Sir Donald MacDonald decided to submit. The expedition returned to make an example of the Catholic island of Eigg about 12 June, murdering and raping, as well as raiding the lochs opposite Skye and Cairnburgh.[52]

In late June, old Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat returned from Ireland whence he had gone to ask assistance from James, to Eilean Donan with commissions and £1000 to distribute to the clans. Jacobite attention was largely focused on Ireland in the summer of 1690 with the defeat at the Boyne on 1 July. Nonetheless, in the west the Irish army drove back William at Limerick and extended the war by another year, though James fled to France. Significantly, James and his ministers at St. Germain seemed more interested in urging French aid for Scotland rather than any apparent interest in the more consequential war in Ireland, but to little avail. Mackay was intent on

building a garrison at Inverlochy to contain Lochaber and his plan was carried through in July 1690. In the meantime, Buchan went east with seventy cavalrymen to try and raise Aberdeenshire while Cannon went with thirty horsemen to Perthshire. Some of remainder of the Irish regiment were at Invergarry in case Mackay besieged it, but most were in Mull with Sir John MacLean. The Jacobite cause was discouraged when James Hamilton, fourth Earl of Arran, defected to William and neither did Cluny rise to join Cannon in July. Buchan was routed in Aberdeenshire, though Cannon managed to raise 300 foot, largely MacGregors. In late July Buchan joined Cannon. In Braemar and Cromar 800 men were raised for them, the majority of whom marched on the garrison of Kildrummy on the upper Don which, on the flight of the Master of Forbes to Aberdeen, they burned.[53]

Recruits started coming in for Buchan, in the north-east, who had gathered a force of about 1800 as he marched into the Mearns. Mackay came north with a sizeable force, reaching Brechin on 17 August. Buchan had finally raised substantial Lowland support in the north east, which the Jacobites had sought to do since April 1689, but it was too late. In relieving Abergeldie in late August 1690 Mackay reputedly burned 1200-1400 homes in Strathdee. Buchan rode for Inverness, his force reduced to 500, hoping to find reinforcements, with Mackay in pursuit. Moray's son, Lord Doune and young Mackintosh of Borlum joined Buchan, as briefly did Lord Duffus and Ross of Kilravock. However, to mount a victorious campaign at this stage the Jacobites were dependent on Seaforth's support. The Privy Council received notice from Mackay

> that the rebells under the comand of Cannon and Buchan were only about thrie hundred horss, good and badd, when they marched southward and that they have not nor cannot expect any foot to joyn them unles some open robers for their oun privat advantage gather togither and give them assistance quhich is not expected."

Seaforth did raise the fencible men of Kintail, Lochcarron and Lochalsh before Buchan arrived, but news of the Boyne led to his disbanding, on 2 September, and submitting the next day to Mackay. On 18 September Seaforth was said to be coming to Edinburgh under strong guard to give security. Lochiel and Keppoch refused to join Buchan in Lochaber, and the Jacobites ultimately surrendered.[54]

Argyll still had to land on Mull on 16 October to reduce Sir John MacLean, and by early November most of the MacLeans had surrendered though Sir John camped in the mountains with 170 Irish and other clansmen. When he realised that he could not make a stand against Argyll they retreated to the island of Cairnburgh.[55] At the end of October, Cannon, the Earl of Dunfermline and 60 Protestant officers were with Sir Donald MacDonald in Skye, while Buchan and the Catholics were in Invergarry, where they remained until January 1691. The situation was largely in stalemate - the

Jacobites neither campaigning nor submitting. Only the MacLeans engaged in any action at all, capturing two provision ships in January bound for William's army in Ireland and Fort William respectively. They also engaged the Aros garrison on Mull in the February. The Highlanders continued to hold out for French support to Ireland, in the belief that James would ultimately reinforce them. In June 1691 John Campbell, first Earl of Breadalbane called Buchan and the Jacobite chiefs to negotiate, excluding the eastern Jacobites and, surprisingly, Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat. On 24 June, with the promise of £11,800 in war expenses to the Jacobites, the chiefs took bonds for a cessation until 1 October 1691. After the ending of the Irish war by the Treaty of Limerick, on 3 October 1691, the government attempted to press the chiefs' submission in Scotland.[56]

It was early 1692 before the Jacobite rising officially came to an end in Scotland, when the majority of Jacobite chiefs were received into King William's peace, other than Iain MacIain of Glencoe, the massacre of whose clan received a good deal of mileage in Jacobite propaganda. Buchan and Cannon and some followers left for France from Leith. Yet, apart from the forfeiture of the estates of the late Viscount Dundee, there was little effective Jacobite forfeiture in Scotland, and certainly nothing comparable to the almost wholescale evacuation of the Irish Gaelic and Old English élites in Ireland.[57] In terms of sustained forfeitures, the rebellion finally rendered the lands of MacLean of Duart into the hands of the Campbells. Sir John MacLean was given safe conduct to go to the court of William of Orange in Flanders, in June 1693, provided he surrendered Castle Duart to the Earl of Argyll and acknowledged the new government. He was well received by William and Mary but his desertion from William's army in Flanders to the French forces and ultimately to the court of James VII, cost them their lands in settlement of their long-standing arrears with Argyll.[58] Though only 300 Irish had been sent to assist the '89 campaign in Scotland, and their contribution can therefore be seen as fairly minor, after Dundee's death, it was the incapacity of the commanders who came with them to manage the clans, which ultimately weakened the entire rebellion.[59] As in all the Jacobite rebellions, the '89 was marred by ineffective support and communication between the Jacobite leadership in Europe and commanders in the Scottish field. Had James had the foresight to reinforce Dundee before he began his campaign in Ireland, William would have been obliged to contain the situation in Scotland first and could not have crossed to Ireland.[60]

II. JACOBITE CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND AND THE FAILURE TO CONSOLIDATE FORCES IN SCOTLAND

A. The campaign

In Ireland, the Jacobite war is known as the *Cogadh an dá rí* or 'war of the two Kings' - James and

William. The Catholics had a very good chance of establishing their ascendancy, being in support of the legitimate King, having control of the army and administration, and the support of France, the strongest European State. However, what started out as an immensely powerful stance on James's arrival in Ireland, backed up by a victory in Scotland, dwindled to sheer insignificance through ineptitude and failure to take offensive action when necessary, which ultimately decided the balance of power in Ireland for two centuries.[61]

James's flight to France not only created a crisis in Ireland but brought it into a European dimension. Louis XIV of France had declared war on the Dutch in November 1688, and his support for the Jacobites in Ireland was a means of weakening William of Orange. In Ireland, the Protestants, who were strongest in Dublin and in the north, supported the Revolution. Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell, Lord Deputy of Ireland since 1687 now represented a fallen King and moreover, much of the Irish army had been sent to England in 1688. The walled city of Derry soon became a point of resistance to the Jacobite government, Tyrconnell having unwisely garrisoned it with Lord Mountjoy's largely Protestant regiment. Ordering its replacement by a regiment to be raised by the Catholic Earl of Antrim led to the closing of the city gates against Antrim on 7 December 1688. Tyrconnell compromised and Mountjoy's regiment returned to Derry. He also issued commissions for raising 20,000 men. All of the levies were Catholic and were billeted on the country. By the end of February 1689, Tyrconnell was in a position of authority, having disarmed the Protestants in Dublin and the south.[62]

On James's arrival in Kinsale, County Cork, on 12 March 1689, an inner cabinet was formed consisting of John Drummond, the Scottish Earl of Melfort (who was appointed Secretary of State for Ireland and was James's closest adviser, but highly unpopular with everybody else), the Duke of Tyrconnell and Jean-Antoine de Mesmes, comte d'Avaux, the French ambassador. Melfort and Tyrconnell did not share the same opinions nor did d'Avaux agree with Melfort, the latter of whom urged James to oppose the demands of the Irish Catholics and was in favour of an early landing in Scotland. James agreed with Melfort's proposition. Since there was significant Protestant opposition only in Ulster, his intention was to take Ireland and then to quickly send a sizeable army to Scotland to assist Dundee to take Scotland. Soon after James landed, Tyrconnell was asked to write to some of the sympathetic nobility. He wrote to the Duke of Hamilton, on 15 March, praising the Irish situation and hoping to see him soon in Scotland. James, himself, also sent agents to the Highlands with a proclamation promising freedom of conscience and the maintenance of Protestantism.[63] Yet, the usual exhibition of factionalism, particularly potent in Ireland as well as Scotland, soon created difficulties. James's own intention was to use Irish and Scottish support as a way of getting back into power in England, and those Englishmen who came with him from France agreed. Yet, it was the native Irish, the Gaels, who constituted the main force of the Jacobite army in 1689, and they unequivocally held out for an independent Ireland, which they hoped James would

help them obtain. They, therefore, had no vested interest in the invasion of England. The Anglo-Irish or Old English, Catholic Irish of Anglo-Saxon descent, were sympathetic to England and what it stood for, but would really have preferred to govern their own country. Lastly, the French contingent, whose view was represented by d'Avaux, were simply interested in diverting William's attention from the Netherlands to Ireland, so that France might reap the immediate benefits there.

After the King's entry into Dublin on 24 March where he issued a few proclamations and called a parliament for 7 May, the Protestants soon made their resistance apparent.[64] Most of the pertinent historical arguments concerning the prospective success or failure of the '89 campaign look to the events of Derry. At the time, the submission of both Derry and Enniskillen were expected to be soon accomplished. The Jacobite rear guard was also under threat from Enniskillen besides which Williamite adherents swarming in Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone and Cavan threatened Jacobite communications. It may have been far better as suggested by the Old English Jacobite Nicholas Plunket,[65] to have done what was possible in Ireland, leaving Derry, and have gone on to Scotland.[66] The Jacobites won a victory in Scotland, on 27 July, but Dundee was killed, and in Ireland, on 31 July 1689, the Williamites from Enniskillen had a success over Justin MacCarthy at Newtonbutler. The situation no longer looked promising. Derry and Enniskillen ensured Ulster as a bridgehead for William into Ireland to attempt the reconquest of Leinster, Munster and Connacht which were all under Jacobite control by July 1689. Moreover, the struggle between the Irish was taking on a religious dimension which augured little good for the Stewart cause.[67]

After the Relief of Derry Daniel MacDonnell, the illegitimate son of the third Earl of Antrim, earned himself some distinction by raising and commanding some 800 men which held the Glens of Antrim against William for a while. In the end they were defeated by one Captain Stewart, who took off a significant number of livestock from the Glens as a deterrent against further resistance.[68] In general, following the loss of Ulster, the Jacobites failed to take the initiative in any major way. In October 1689, Louis replaced the Jacobite commander-in-chief, Von Rosen, whom James disliked, with the Duc de Lauzun. He brought with him 7,000 French regular soldiers and money, but Louis insisted on some good Irish regiments in return, and in this way, the Jacobite army was deprived of some of its best men.[69] In his classically disguised *Destruction of Cyprus*, which gives the contemporary Jacobite view of a Gaelic gentleman, Charles O'Kelly chastised the Jacobite leaders for wasting time over that winter:

> And now the winter Season, which should be employed in serious Consultations, and makeing up the necessary Preparations for the ensueing Campaigne, was idlely spent in Revells, and Gameing, and other Debauches, unfitt for a *Delphian* [Roman Catholic] Court.[70]

In March 1690, thousands of reinforcements for both parties flowed into Ireland as they prepared

for conflict. In May, Charlemont, the last Jacobite stronghold in Ulster surrendered, and two months later, on 12 July 1690, the renowned battle of the Boyne, was fought. On James's orders, Tyrconnell had been purging the Irish army of Protestants and replacing them with Catholics, who were in many cases raw recruits who simply had the advantage of being Catholic. Only the French infantry and the Irish cavalry were of a good standard. The Earl of Antrim's regiment was at the Boyne being one of two regiments of foot left at the ford of Oldbridge, but did little of distinction and were said to have run like hares.[71] So too, James' flight from Kinsale to France, on 4 July, damaged his credibility with the Gaels:

"It is the coming of King James that took Ireland from us,
With his one shoe English and his one shoe Irish,
He would neither strike a blow nor would he come to terms,
And that has left, so long as they shall exist, misfortune upon the Gaels."[72]

Less charitably, he was smitten for posterity by the name *'Séamus an chaca,'* which, in its most gracious translation, has been rendered 'James of the excrement!'[73]

William's victory gave him Dublin and the best part of eastern Ireland. Protestants who had stayed under the Jacobite regime in Dublin were now especially open to attack, and there was a possibility that the Church of Ireland might lose territory to the presbyterians who strongly supported the Revolution and who now constituted the established church in Scotland. After the defeat at the Boyne, Tyrconnell and the French wanted to make terms with William, but were opposed by a group led by Patrick Sarsfield, who became the most prominent Gaelic leader. Sarsfield's father was from an Old English family while his mother was a daughter of Rory O'More, and he was to become the Jacobite hero of the war. The native Irish viewpoint of Sarsfield's group was amply embodied by Charles O'Kelly who wrote that "the Generality of the *Cyprish* [Irish] Nation were of an other Sentiment; not expecting the Performance of any Treaty with the *Cicilians* [English], who infringed soe often the publick Faith."[74] The Jacobite army was not annihilated or broken up and the war lasted another year, which indicates the zeal and tenacity of the Irish for their own goals after James' flight.

After the Boyne, William stayed on the east coast of Ireland unsure whether to return and protect England from invasion or stay in Ireland. Sarsfield's group were encouraged by news that the French had won a naval battle off Beachy Head. The Irish were thus able to rally at Limerick and held the divide of the Shannon there and further north at Athlone. William reached Limerick in the second week of August but Sarsfield destroyed some of the heavy guns in convoy from Dublin. This coup added to Sarsfield's distinction, and according to O'Kelly "gave such an Encouragement to the *Cyprians* [Irish], that they laid aside all Thoughts of capitulating," though Tyrconnell and

Lauzun were said to be "crest-fallen uppon the Newes" because it was likely to keep the French in Ireland longer. Ultimately, William raised the siege and went back to England at the end of August. The French army also left Ireland with Tyrconnell, leaving James' natural son, the Duke of Berwick, in charge of a Jacobite army divided by discord. Irish Catholic opinion was displeased with Tyrconnell for leaving at this juncture and O'Kelly blamed him for advising James "to that shamefull Retreat he made out of *Cyprus* [Ireland], in Hope it might induce the Nation (who, indeed, were much discouraged at the King's Flight), to a more speedy Complyance with the Design." The Earl of Marlborough arrived at Cork shortly afterwards and retook both seaports of Cork and Kinsale in an attempt to sever links with France. For the rest of the war the Dutch general, Godard van Reede, baron von Ginkel, commanded the Williamite army.[75]

Ginkel attempted to settle the Irish situation quickly and began negotiating with an Irish peace party using land and religion as levers. However, his attempts were hampered by William's unwillingness to grant a general pardon and by Sarsfield's suppression of the peace party. Sarsfield maintained Irish resistance by a series of raids across the Shannon into enemy quarters but, at the end of 1690, the Jacobite situation was not encouraging. They only retained Connacht and western Munster and the two ports of Limerick and Galway. Tyrconnell returned to Ireland, in January 1691, hoping to placate the Jacobites with an earldom for Sarsfield. The Williamites began their 1691 campaign by attacking Athlone, on 30 June, and breaking the defensive line of the Shannon. St. Ruth, the French general who had arrived in May, sought to redeem the situation by preparing for battle. The battle of Aughrim, fought on 12 July 1691, was really the final showdown and main battle of the war.[76] Both armies were numerically matched at about 20,000 a piece. An Irish victory seemed likely when St. Ruth, was killed. The second-in-command, de Tessé, was wounded and left without nominating a successor, while Sarsfield was out on a limb following orders. In total disarray the Jacobite army fell apart, ran, and was pursued by enemy cavalry. Sarsfield attempted to cover the retreat, but an estimated 7000 were killed, including members of most of the main Catholic families. Sorley MacDonnell, the younger son of Sir James MacDonnell of Kilconway Bart., fell at Aughrim, the closest of the Earl of Antrim's relatives to die in this Jacobite war. This battle was more or less to mark the end of the war. Galway and Limerick surrendered soon afterwards.[77]

B. Irish Jacobite views of the war

Whatever their leaders' failure to take full advantage of favourable situations, it must be noted that the 1689 was largely the domain, in active terms, of the Irish and Scots. English energies mainly expended themselves in conspiracy rather than armed rebellion. When there is such a discrepancy in turn-out it must surely point to differences in attitudes for support of James. One of the most objective commentators on Jacobitism postulates that in Scotland and Ireland it derived its strength from grievances weighing on the nation, believed to be a consequence of the Revolution, rather than

from adherence to the Stewarts. The Irish feared that William's accession would mean a return to the Protectorate while the Highland chiefs were apprehensive of tighter control being exercised over them. In England, however, the influence of the Catholics and Non-Jurors, the main groups inconvenienced by the Revolution, was not as extensive as in Scottish Jacobite ranks, and hence there was not widespread support for this rebellion in England.[78]

Throughout the whole campaign there had been no attempt to pool the various military resources. The rising in Scotland had come to fruition only to die down again in the absence of any back-up from Ireland. As for the rising in Ireland, there were many inter-related reasons for its downfall. Interesting opinions on the rising, from the Old English point of view, are postulated in Nicholas Plunket's contemporary narrative.[79] Among the reasons the author states for the failure of the campaign are the shortcomings of the King himself, the want of wisdom of his counsellors, and the ignorance or treachery of some great commanders.

Plunket gives great scope to the failure to coordinate Irish and Scottish resources as a reason for not regaining England:

> that his majesty, soon after his arrival at Dublin, did not transport an army into Scotland without heeding the reduction of Londonderry, which might have been done by the middle of May, 1689, and before the prince of Orange could send a fleet from England to stop their trajection; because (besides the reason of the thing being done so early in the season) the passage from the north of Ireland into Scotland is but the sailing of few hours.

Plunket pointed out that there was an army of 60,000 horse, foot and dragoons in Ireland at that time, of which 20,000 foot and 5000 cavalry and dragoons could have been spared, with provisions for three weeks. They would then make their way through Scotland, would secure command of the stores of the country, and "would allure abundance of loyal subjects out of the highlands to join them." This force would have penetrated into the north of England by mid-June, where he expected numbers to be augmented by the Catholics and some Protestants from Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire. They were unlikely to have been met by the forces of William of Orange until they came to York, by which time the Jacobite army would probably have grown to 50,000 men.[80]

However, Plunket's viewpoint raises two questions. The first is whether or not the Irish and Scots Gaels actually wished to fight to regain England, which was James's aim. The King had chosen Ireland, for his own part because, given the loyalty to him there, he felt it would be easier to establish a Privy Council and to create Jacobite officers of State.[81] However, the native Irish appear to have been more interested in using James to assist them to gain an independent Ireland. In this

context, it is a valid point that if Dundee had been reinforced before James began his campaign in Ireland, when the Scottish war was at its height, that William would not have been able to go to Ireland. It was the Old English, and the English, who tended to regard Ireland more as a stepping-stone to England. Moreover, the French were probably more interested in using Ireland as a base for expeditions against Williamite England and its European allies.[82] The second question concerns the anticipated size of the army. It has been estimated that perhaps only half of the 60,000 strong Irish army existed in reality, as opposed to on paper. For though a French list of 1689 reckoned the Jacobite strength at eight regiments of horse, eight of dragoons and 44 regiments of foot, or about 35,000 men, Tyrconnell estimated the infantry at a maximum of 26 battalions before the battle of the Boyne.[83] Similarly, in light of the numbers who came out with Dundee in Scotland - that is, 6000 at Blair Atholl and only 2000 at Killiecrankie, which included some Irish and Dundee's own dragoons - it can be questioned whether Plunket's final figure of 50,000 is not grossly exaggerated. Nonetheless, the author shows a good understanding of the general state of affairs at the time. That more did not rise can be attributed, in part, to the fact that James himself did not come across to Scotland at the head of an Irish force. His personal pulling power would have been tremendous, especially since as Duke of York, in 1682, he had introduced a respite in the policies of repression which the government had been pursuing against the clans since the Restoration. Moreover, the advent of William of Orange meant the return of the tenth Earl of Argyll, to the manifold disadvantages of clans such as the MacLeans, the Camerons and branches of the Clan Donald whom Argyll had held in a subservient status through debt.[84] William of Orange had, after all, only been on the English throne for a matter of months. It is easy in the midst of all the retrospective accounts of Pretenders to forget that, at this point, James was very much the rightful monarch and still had considerable support in all three countries. He might have been at the head of a considerable army, if he had but left Derry, been prepared to take a chance and cross to Scotland.

Certainly, Plunket blamed the tardiness of dealing with Derry as one of the most significant downfalls of the entire campaign:

> In the interim, what do you think Londonderry would do? It is agreeable to reason that the inhabitants thereof, would soon submit to the royal government of Ireland. ... So did many Protestants of Ireland at that time rise in arms against the king upon the same expectation. But if they had seen no prospect of succours, they would not have dared oppose what loyal forces were then in the kingdom. From whence you must conclude, that the best means to keep Londonderry in obedience, and likewise to retrieve England, was to send an army into Scotland, as soon as the king arrive in Ireland. On the other side, if Londonderry should prove so mad as to continue in rebellion, notwithstanding all hopes of rescue being taken away, there remained in Ireland more than strength enough to reduce the place by famishment or by formal siege, even after sending for Scotland the above-mentioned.[85]

Nevertheless, Plunket's basic argument stands firm. It was surely vitally important to make the quickest moves possible to raise a force that could invade England, and the best means of doing that was by evacuating the majority of the forces from Ireland before William had the opportunity to cross the Irish sea. It was necessary to do this via the Highlands of Scotland in order to harness clan support because English support for Jacobitism was not sufficient to raise a large army.

> All this is so clear that it is to be admired why the king would stay at all in Ireland ... since he had the country in his possession, except those two little towns, which could in that his absence give no molestation to the government. But the end of his journey to recover England by the helps of Ireland, which he would have compassed in all probability if he had gone into Scotland with an army a little after coming to Dublin, as we showed above, by reason that the rebels of England could not make up in so short a time sufficient strength to overcome his majesty on English ground, he being so fortified with the reinforcements of Scotland and England, as aforesaid.[86]

Though it may have been a possibility that a substantial number of troops could have been made available to go into Scotland, what is more seriously in doubt is their level of training, both in Scotland and in Ireland. As in Ireland, some of the best Scottish troops had been deployed to England. Towards the end of 1688, when James was still in the country, he had ordered between 3000-4000 Scottish regulars to march south. In the final analysis, it is hard not to agree with Plunket that the overall reason for failure was lackadaisical indecision:

> It is certain that celerity in resolving and in executing is the best medium to conquer an enemy. These last agers have been very defective in that virtue, which proved often the cause that weak beginnings in rebellion, in heresy, and even in lawful wars, became by delay masters of greater powers, which might by celerity have easily crushed them.[87]

The end of the Jacobite war in Ireland was marked by the Treaty of Limerick signed on 3 October 1691. This not only heralded the era of the penal laws in Ireland but also resulted in the flight of the 'Wild Geese' in which 11,000 Irishmen, both Old English and Gaels, who had been under Jacobite arms followed Sarsfield into exile in France.[88] Nonetheless, Sarsfield's willingness to capitulate when he saw that the situation was irretrievable still surprised the native Irish:

> But that which raised the Admiration of all People, and begat an Astonishment which seemed universall over all Cyprus [Ireland], was the sudden, unexpected, prodigious Change of Lysander [Sarsfield], who appeared now the most active of all the Commanders to forward the Treaty, and took most Pains to perswade the Tribunes and Centurions to a Complyance... The Authority of Lysander [Sarsfield], and the Opinion which all the World conceived of his untainted Loyalty and

> Zeal for his Country, expressed uppon severall Occasions, made them approve what he expressed or proposed.[89]

William's Secretary at War, George Clark, put it down to his wishing to carve out a military career for himself in France by bringing across a large number of troops.[90]

The Treaty comprised two documents, first the military articles which legislated for the treatment of the Irish army and its removal to France and second, the civil articles relating to those who wished to remain in Ireland as subjects of the William and Mary. Most controversy has surrounded the civil articles, especially the first article which promised that "The Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom shall enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion as are consistent with the Laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King Charles the II." The Irish Parliament were also to be induced to make such provision for Catholics that would preserve them from disturbance on account of their religion. The second article promised pardon and restoration of forfeited property to certain categories of Irish prepared to submit to William and Mary, while the ninth article stipulated that only the Oath of Allegiance was required for the submission of Catholics to the Crown. A Protestant Parliament of 1697 passed a Bill confirming the Articles of Limerick but failed to ratify the first article guaranteeing Catholics the stated privileges in the exercise of their religion. Moreover, the laws of Ireland had not guaranteed any religious privileges to Catholics in the reign of Charles II. Interestingly, it was the subtle implementation of the penal laws, where the authorities often chose to ignore their infringement in return for the Catholics' good behaviour, which has been suggested as one reason for the Ireland's quiescence in the later Jacobite rebellions. Under any circumstances Jacobitism in Ireland, as in Scotland, was wracked by disunity and an inability on behalf of the Irish to mount a sustained resistance. From this point, Jacobitism in Ireland was dependent on aid from France and its need to support the Jacobite regime there was less important than William's need to secure the country.[91]

III. JACOBITISM 1691-1760 - NATIVE IRISH SCHEMING AND NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE CAUSE OF THE GAEL

Following the involvement of the Rathlin men in the first Jacobite rebellion there is no documented evidence of organised native Irish participation in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745. There was always a significant number of Irishmen in the Jacobite court in France but James believed that the Irish experiences of 1689-91 indicated that Ireland could not be held without control over England. Therefore all subsequent rebellions targeted England, using Scotland as a base. Though there was an Irish presence at the '45 in the Franco-Irish regiment of Piquets that was sent to Scotland, they not only in this regiment but also the few listed in other regiments, appear mainly to have been non-

Gaelic in origin.[92] After this, any Jacobitism expressed by the Irish was strictly at the level of poetic appeal to the Stewarts, an appeal which has little apparent relation to the overtly propagandist Jacobite poetry in Gaelic Scotland.[93] The Scots had a particular reason for inciting unrest, because after the Union of 1707 the restoration of the Stewarts became a rallying point for those who wished to end the Union. Thus, the abortive 1708 Jacobite expedition, hatched immediately after the Union by Col. Nathaniel Hooke, one of the Old Pretender's agents who liaised between the French government and Scottish Jacobites, and the discredited Simon Fraser of Beaufort, self-styled Lord Lovat, had an economic basis. Hooke argued that if James could win Scotland, he could then occupy the Tyne-Tees coalfields in the north-east of England, blocking the coal supply to London, so that the government there would be forced to negotiate a peace with France with whom they were at war. Given the anger in Scotland over the Union the 1708 rising could have been a 'walkover,' but it was the Jacobites' 'most ignominious failure.'[94] Indeed, after the Revolution, the most vital of the links between Irish and Scottish Gaels was probably the economic one,[95] with religious links, both of Irish Catholic priests in Scotland and Highland Protestant ministers in Ulster, also evident for at least two decades after the Revolution.[96] Though Jacobite links are, therefore, of limited relevance to a discussion of Gaelic military links after 1689, they hold some significance in terms of cultural and ethnic aspirations. For, ironically in terms of how earlier reigning Stewarts had attempted to curtail their independence, both the Irish and Scottish Gaels held up the Stewarts as the saviours of the Gaelic race.

Contact between Irish and Scottish Jacobites was mainly at the emigré level in continental exile, particularly in the military services but also in the wine trade which the Catholics dominated in Ireland.[97] Following the Revolution, native Irish recruits to continental armies, especially the French and Spanish, markedly increased. It has been estimated that no fewer than 480,000 Irishmen entered the French service between 1691 and 1791. In many instances these soldiers were accompanied to the continent by their relatives. Indeed, 'the Flight of the Wild Geese' was a migration comparable with that which occurred to the United States in the next century. An Irish Jacobite army, distinct from the French Irish brigade, was maintained on French soil until 1697 when it was disbanded after the Treaty of Ryswick. The same armies also attracted English and Scotsmen, especially following the '15 and '45 rebellions.[98] As such, links between Irish and Scottish Gaels largely existed at a personal level rather than in terms of military organisation in Scotland or Ireland. There was a good deal of Jacobite plotting and scheming involving both countries but nothing which translated into effective action.[99]

France continued to use the Jacobite cause to its own end. Though Louis XIV was forced to expel the Jacobite court from France by the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, which ended the war of the Spanish Succession, the court was simply moved to the independent Duchy of Lorraine. However, when Louis died in the following year and Philip, Duke of Orléans, took power during the minority

of Louis XV, he sought closer relations with the Hanoverians. In Britain there had been a Tory government, and therefore more inclined towards Jacobitism, since the autumn of 1710. It hoped to repeal the 1701 Act of Settlement which, in default of legitimate heirs to William or Anne, stated that the Crown should pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover, the great-granddaughter of James VI and I, and her Protestant descendants. This claim was now embodied in George, Elector of Hanover who, because of his hopes of succession and his resentment at the Treaty of Utrecht, backed the Whigs. James Stewart, the Old Pretender, refused Anne's overtures to renounce his Catholicism and the Tories were in disarray. Thus the Whigs were able to seize the initiative when Anne died, on 1 August 1714, and the Elector was declared King unopposed. The country was unenthusiastic about a German King and, in England, there was extensive rioting in the summer of 1715.[100]

In Scotland, lack of enthusiasm was further fuelled by a sense of nationalism. Though he had been involved in engineering the Act of Union of 1707, John Erskine, twenty-second and last Earl of Mar, leader of the '15 rebellion in Scotland, regarded it expedient to betray his principles and to use dislike of the Act to fuel Jacobite discontent. Following the Union, when the Scottish economy failed to expand in the manner outlined by the English and there was discrimination against Scots peers who were not permitted to sit in the House of Lords on the strength of their British titles, discontent, particularly against the Scottish nobility, grew. This was compounded by the imposition of English treason laws on Scotland, at the Union, which were very unpopular, and in 1712 by the toleration of episcopalian clergy in Scotland, who were generally Jacobite in inclination. Jacobitism was a banner tailor-made for this growing nationalist sentiment. Indeed, Mar pledged to repeal the Act if the Stewarts were restored which largely explains the extent of magnate support throughout the country in the '15 in comparison with its absence during the 1689 rebellion. In the Highlands, William MacKenzie, fifth Earl of Seaforth, chief of the MacKenzies, one of the 'great imperialist clans of the seventeenth century' joined the rebellion, as did William Murray, Marquess of Tullibardine, the second but eldest surviving son of John, second Marquess and first Duke of Atholl who was duly attainted, causing the transfer of the Atholl succession to the third son. The Camerons of Lochiel came out not under the old chief, Sir Ewan Cameron, seventeenth of Lochiel, but John his son. Though the second Duke of Argyll was a predominant Whig and the main Hanoverian force in the Highlands, some of the Campbells of Breadalbane also joined the Jacobites though John Campbell, first Earl of Breadalbane, did not involve himself. However, Mar was not an effective commander, and generally mis-managed both the campaign and the military talent of Brigadier William Mackintosh of Borlum, his ablest soldier. After the battle of Sheriffmuir on 13 November and the retreat of Mar's forces, the Jacobite campaign waned with the loss of Inverness in the north and, in November, after the battle of Preston in England. The rebellion which began most optimistically failed. James had not sufficiently utilised the Scottish opposition to the Act of Union, particularly the Protestant opposition, and had relied overly upon

the mental crutch of French aid.[101]

In Ireland, Alexander MacDonnell, the third Earl of Antrim, possibly the one Gael in terms of historical lineage who held the potential to link Gaelic interests across the North Channel, had been the only major Catholic landowner not to follow James into exile, on the continent, after the first Jacobite rebellion.[102] These interests were, of course, MacDonald ones but in terms of earlier Royalism and current Jacobitism, MacDonald interests were of particular importance. It was, above all, the poetry of the MacDonald poets, for instance, which constantly stressed the unity of descent and cultural solidarity of the Irish and Scottish Gaels.[103] Nonetheless, in reality, the two MacDonald groups were probably too far removed from each other in aim to have had any common purpose. While adhering steadfastly to their Catholic heritage, the MacDonnells of Antrim had largely compromised their credibility as Gaels by their early seventeenth-century assimilation as planters.[104] The Clan Donald South, with whom the MacDonnells had the strongest blood ties, no longer existed as a territorial clan, their lands having been swallowed by the Campbells, though the third and fourth Earls of Antrim maintained particular links with the Scottish MacDonalds, both the thirteenth and fourteenth chiefs of Clanranald and to a lesser extent with the ninth and tenth chiefs of Sleat.[105] The third Earl of Antrim professed both Catholicism and Jacobitism and was forfeited for his adherence to James VII and II, but rather than living in exile, he chose to stay on his own lands in an attempt to retain them. He was then chosen as the agent in London working for the rights of the remaining Catholic families.[106] He particularly fought, in 1695, against bills which threatened to cancel some of the Articles of Limerick, hoping by the articles to get his outlawry in England reversed, a reversal only achieved posthumously. The third Earl died in 1696 having spent his final years seeking amelioration of the Irish Catholic situation.[107]

A. The attitude of the fourth Earl of Antrim to the 1715 rebellion

Nonetheless, the promulgation of the penal laws against Catholics cannot be blamed for Irish non-involvement in the '15 or '45,[108] because penal laws were also in operation in Scotland. Their non-involvement possibly has far more to do with the lack of effective leadership after the exile of Sarsfield in 1691, who coordinated Irish Jacobite resistance from 1689-91. Less fortunately, little in the way of official documentation of Irish attitudes to the '15 has survived mainly due to the destruction of the relevant Letter Books in the burning of the Public Record Office in Dublin in 1922. Private records, for instance, those of the Antrim MacDonnells who lost valuable papers in fires at Ballymargy House in 1747 and later at Dunluce Castle, have not been more fortunate.[109] There are rumours that Sarfield's son, the second Earl of Lucan, visited Connacht during the '15, (he was definitely in Ireland in 1719). The idea of a rising in Ireland in 1715 was certainly

entertained but, as with so many other Jacobite plans, did not come to fruition. There seem to have been two basic ideas regarding the seizure of a bridgehead in Ireland. The first, that attention should be focused on Galway, which should be seized to open a route for aid from the continent. The second, that an army should be sent from Scotland to capture strategic positions in Ulster.[110] However, there was by this time a changed emphasis in Jacobite activity away from Ireland, which had been the main theatre for war in 1689-91, to Scotland thereafter.

Randal MacDonnell, the fourth Earl of Antrim, was as dedicated a Jacobite as his father and mother. His mother Helena MacDonnell, daughter of Sir John Bourke of Derrymaclachtney in Galway, was spoken of in one contemporary document as "the wicked Lady Antrim," a probable reference to her Jacobite inclinations. Her son is said to have been self-indulgent and spoilt, having been born when his father was 65 years of age, and coming into his inheritance at the young age of twenty.[111] In spite of his Jacobitism, Randal married Rachel Skeffington, third daughter of Clotworthy, second Viscount Masserene (of the second creation) from a staunch Protestant family and one known for its stance against native Irish traditions, though the family had always been swayed more by social and economic aggrandisement than by differences of religious affiliation.[112] Neither did Antrim's Jacobitism prevent him from a devious attempt at disinheriting his nearest cousins, the Catholic and 'Ultra-Jacobite' MacDonnell baronets of Kilconway, who were heirs apparent to the Antrim estate. He attempted to gain possession of all existing copies of his father's and uncle's entail documents or succession settlements in order to destroy them, because the entail gave him only a life interest in the estate. He was not to sell any part of it or to grant long leases. The estate was always to pass to male heirs and in the event of failure of heirs male to the Antrims, it was to pass to the MacDonnells of Kilconway and then to the MacDonalds of Sleat who had provided surety in financial deals for the Antrims in the late seventeenth century.[113] On destruction of the copies, Antrim denied that the entail existed.[114] The whole transaction hardly implies strict operation of the penal laws by which Catholics were not permitted to inherit estates.

If his other dealings appear to have shown a decided inconsistency, the fourth Earl's Jacobitism was unwavering. Though Antrim was not necessarily innocent of intent to join the rebellion, the following extract from a letter of H. Lynn, on 27 December 1715, to Secretary Stanhope may exaggerate his Jacobitism:

> The Earl of Antrim, the most considerable papist in the nation, lives on the northernmost part of the county within a mile of the sea where he is most active and successful in making proselytes for the Pretender and he is shrewdly suspected of holding frequent correspondence with the rebels in North Britain, which he has good opportunities of by his situation and the many small vessels which those of his party do daily employ, it has likewise been noticed that they sit up great parts of the night writing letters which they dispatch by post or messengers of their own.[115]

The Earl and his retainers were also accused of stockpiling food to feed the rebel army when it rose. They had bought, and continued to buy, quantities of corn, beef, butter and cheese, believed to be for the use of the rebels. They were able to do this with relative impunity because there were only three justices of the peace in that area, two of whom were clergymen and members of the Tory party "whence it is that all papists and other disaffected persons are provided with horses as aforetime, nor hath their arms been either demanded or delivered up." Neither was there an army presence from Carrickfergus to Londonderry, other than one company which had recently come to Coleraine, "and the militia of this part are not yet armed and those of the greatest eminency in this country are either tories or papists, all having a dependence on that Lord."[116]

Antrim's personal connection with Allan MacDonald, fourteenth of Clanranald, was also specifically mentioned:

> It is certain that the Rebel Clan Ranald was at the Lord's house a great part of the year 1714 and received a considerable sum of money from the said Lord, part whereof he employed while at that house in buying officers' tickings etc. and it is much talked of and generally believed that the said Clan Ranald has been there again ever since the action at Dumblain, and the rather because there was a good highland boat in the night time run into a creek near Lord Antrim's house and nobody owning her and it therefore fell to him as the lord of the soil; all the prints mentioned that rebel to be killed, yet the chief domestics of that lord did in some companies with great joy and assurance affirm that he was neither killed nor wounded. That party notwithstanding their late defeats seems nothing mortified, not scrupling to say that there will be a rupture with France and that they will have supplies from them.[117]

Besides his relationship with Sir James MacDonald, second baronet of Sleat, Antrim had had close connection with Clanranald's father, Donald MacDonald, thirteenth of Clanranald, in the 1670s and 80s and at one stage had even suggested that Allan be fostered with him in Antrim.[118] Clanranald may also have been in Ireland in the following year, 1715, as is further evidenced in Clanranald's acknowledgement, on 25 March 1715, of a bond to Randal, Earl of Antrim, for £2000 sterling, containing the condition that if £1000 were paid on or before 1 November 1715 that the bond would be void.[119]

Though none of this constitutes any evidence of overt Jacobite activity by Antrim, his general sympathy for Jacobitism, and his willingness to finance the Jacobite activity of his Scottish relations, appears to have been used against him, by tenants on his estate, in an attempt to appropriate some of his lands were he forfeited. In 1715, the Hollow Blade Company (manufacturers of swords) entered into litigation against Antrim concerning disputed lands in the

barony of Glenarm. In 1703, this company had bought the estate of the third Earl's natural son, Daniel, leased to him by his father in 1687 for 500 years, after Daniel had been forfeited at the Revolution. Antrim alleged that the lease given to Daniel, who accompanied King James to the continent and did not return, was forged, thus disallowing the sale to the company. No fewer than 48 major freeholders on the Antrim estate led by his own agent, Alexander Donaldson, formed a coalition against the fourth Earl and sent a message to George II, in London, that he and his clan were loyal to the Old Pretender. Being forewarned of the action by Aeneas MacDonnell of Legg, near Cushendall, Antrim pre-empted the action and arrived in London two days before the intelligence came from Ireland. However, Antrim subsequently lost the so-called Hollowblade lands in 1720.[120]

On receipt of further information from the Lords Justices, Galway and Grafton (second illegitimate son of Charles II), on 22 January 1716, Antrim was considered such a threat, that along with a few other prominent Irishmen likely to intrigue in rebellion, he was, imprisoned in Dublin.[121] Mr. Charles Delafaye, writing from Dublin Castle on 24 January 1716, stated that:

> The Lords Justices have secured the Earl of Antrim whose estate lying for 23 miles long along the sea coast on the north of Ireland over against Scotland and having many vessels it made him the more dangerous. Their Excellencies' Councils have issued warrants for seizing many more of the chief of the popish party.[122]

This was judged:

> to be for the public security to seize a person of so considerable interest whose neighbourhood to Scotland gave him opportunities of corresponding with and assisting the rebels to whom we had reason to believe him much disposed by some intimations of the same tenour with those you sent us.[123]

The government feared that Antrim would raise a force which he would dispatch to aid the Pretender in Scotland or would maintain should he land on the northern coast of Ireland. Indeed, on 30 January 1716, the Irish Lord Justices wrote to Edward Clements, high sheriff of County Antrim, saying that they had received a dispatch from one of the Secretaries of State who believed that Ireland would shortly be invaded. The militia were thus to be trained to fighting standard.[124] However, if the MacDonnells had been really eager to join the Pretender, why had they not crossed to Scotland in the previous three and a half months? From 22 October to 10 November particularly, Mar had been encamped at Perth while recruits came in. The other part of the Jacobite army which included the Lowland Jacobites, under the militarily inexperienced Thomas Forster, Tory M.P. for Northumberland, headed for and fought in England.[125] In general, like the Scots, the

Irish appeared reluctant to leave their own country.

Aside from general intrigue, Antrim avoided direct participation in the '15. If any individuals among his clansmen participated in the '15, as men from the Isle of Rathlin, for instance, had done in the '89, this has yet to be proved. On 16 March 1716, nearly two weeks after the end of the rebellion, the Lords Justices were still chary of releasing Antrim unless they had royal permission because, as they wrote to Stanhope, "there have been some informations given here against him which in some measure confirm the advices you sent us, but the facts are not strong enough to amount to legal proof." Antrim was released soon after, on 22 March 1716, and allowed to live on bail with Lady Antrim within three or four miles of the city of Dublin. As late as October 1716, a Captain MacDonnell and Mr. George Stewart of the Glens were put under arrest at Glenarm and taken for trial in Dublin for their part in the conspiracy.[126] With this, any serious connection between the MacDonnells of Antrim and Jacobitism seems to have ended. Yet, while this was so for the ruling family, it is likely that the ideological commitment of the populace continued faithful to the Jacobite cause, as is evident in the sentimentality of the poetry.[127]

B. Irish presence in the '45

For some years after the '19 escapade in which the Irish Gaels played no part and clan presence was limited, Jacobitism seemed fairly dormant in the Highlands. It was largely the activities of John Gordon of Glenbucket, which were to revive it. Glenbucket was arguably a member of the Gaelic-speaking Gordons on Deeside, and all his daughters married into the Highland élite - to Forbes of Skellater, MacDonell of Glengarry and MacDonell of Lochgarry. Indeed, it has been suggested that when he went to Rome to deliver a message from Scotland, that he may have been representing his son-in-law, MacDonell of Glengarry, and General Alexander Gordon. He proposed an invasion to Cardinal Fleury, the French prime minister, in which men of the Irish regiments in the French service, stationed near the coast, would be transported secretly to Scotland. This was the first mention of the soldiers of the Irish brigade who were eventually to come across in the '45. It was not believed that Scotland could sustain a rising without outside aid.[128]

When, on 27 June 1743, the battle of Dettingen violated the peace between Britain and France, in retaliation, Louis XV ordered preparations for an expeditionary force to invade England. Charles Edward was brought to Paris from Rome at the end of January 1744, but on the night of 6 March 1744 the French expedition was dispersed and many of its ships sunk. Charles's confidants and his confessor in France were Irish, and though all the offers of aid which came in for him were from Scotland, when the prince finally decided to proceed to Scotland without French aid, he gave undue prominence to his Irish advisers during the '45. The seven men of Moidart who came with him comprised two Scots, an Englishman and no fewer than four Irishmen. Sir Thomas Sheridan was

his former tutor and George Kelly, the former secretary of Atterbury, the English Jacobite.[129] Colonel John William O'Sullivan from County Kerry had served in the French army and was Quartermaster General to the Jacobite army in the '45. So too, the Irish MacDonnells were represented by a close relative of the Antrims, the last MacDonnell baronet of Kilconway, Sir John MacDonnell. He, too, had spent some years in the foreign service, in the Spanish cavalry, though he drank too much. He was an old man, like Sir Thomas Sheridan, and did little of significance during the rebellion. The faithful Tullibardine, veteran of the '15 and the '19 was also nearly sixty.[130] Tullibardine had long been in connection with the Irish, even prior to his attainting for his services to the Stewarts and his permanent exile in France.[131] Aeneas MacDonald, who dealt with the finances, was the other Highland Scot amongst the Seven Men, and Francis Strickland, the sole Englishman.[132]

Such military support as the prince was able to gather immediately in Scotland was Highland in nature - the MacDonalds of Morar, Glengarry, Keppoch, the Camerons of Lochiel, MacGregors under Robert MacGregor of Glencarnaig and the Robertsons of Struan - though the House of Argyll and the Whig clans remained loyal to the Hanoverians, and many others who had come out in the '15 stood on the fence. Fearful of forfeiture Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat and Kenneth MacKenzie, Earl of Seaforth did not join the rebellion, nor the Dukes of Atholl and Gordon though some of their clansmen came out, while Chisolm of Strathglass, Stewart of Appin, the MacDonalds of Clanranald and Glengarry sent out representatives but remained at home themselves.[133] In Ireland, the Lord Deputy, Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield was wary of a possible Jacobite incursion from Scotland. He sent a spy from Dublin to infiltrate the MacDonalds who had come out for the prince and to send back information on his movements.[134]

There was a distinctive Franco-Irish dynamic behind the launch of the '45, which was a mixture of traditional Jacobitism and commercialism. Some like Thomas Lally Tollendal, a regimental commander in the Irish Brigade, simply wanted a Stewart restoration, while Irish exiles like Lord Clancarty hoped to regain their attainted or expropriated estates from the Stewarts. Yet others, like Piere André O'Heguerty, a Franco-Irish privateer, was only interested in an Irish republic. He and fellow privateers Antoine Walsh, a French ex-naval officer, and Walter Ruttledge, banker and Dunkirk shipowner, supported the '45 because the rising would mean the withdrawal of Royal Navy ships from patrol duties in the Channel in order to blockade Scotland, which would be wholly in their interest. It was largely these privateer entrepreneurs from the northern French ports who, besides the French government, provided the financial backing and the political and maritime experience necessary for the rebellion.[135]

Since the Jacobites in France were mainly Irishmen, the Irish dimension of Jacobitism was particularly prominent in the '45 rebellion and resulted in a good deal of rivalry in the army

between the Irish and Scots in attendance on the prince. This was particularly so during the foray into England in November and December 1745 and prior to the dispatch of the Franco-Irish troops to Scotland. Lords Elcho, Ogilvy and George Murray felt that Charles favoured the Irishmen grouped around O'Sullivan, while the Scots who provided the overwhelming manpower in the expedition wished to claim more of a voice on the Council of War.[136] In the context of the retreat from Derby in December 1745,[137] (see fig. 4.1, The 1745 campaign), David, Lord Elcho, eldest son of the fourth Earl of Weymyss, and a member of the Council, explained the rivalry in his account, as follows:

> Lord George [Murray] concluded by Saying that the Scots army had done their part, that they Came into England at the Princes request, to join his English friends, and to give them Courage by their appearance to take arms and declare for him publickly as they had done, or to join the French if they had Landed; but as none of these things had happened, that certainly 4500 Scots had never thought of putting a King upon the English Throne by themselves. So he Said his Opinion was they Should go back and join their friends in Scotland, and live and die with them....[138]

All the other Scots agreed except the Duke of Perth and Sir William Gordon who, when the retreat from Derby commenced, wanted to go on to Wales to see if that country would rise. Some thought that the mainly Highland army aimed to go to Ireland from Wales, which might be more easily won than London, having gathered support from Sir Watkin Williams Wynn and other Jacobite sympathisers in North Wales.[139]

> The Prince heard all these arguments with the greatest impatience, fell into a passion and gave most of the Gentlemen that had Spoke very Abusive Language, and said that they had a mind to betray him. The Case was he knew nothing about the country nor had not the Smallest Idea of the force that was against him, nor where they were Situated. His Irish favourites to pay court to him had always represented the whole nation as his friends... He Continued all that day positive he would march to London; the Irish in the Army were always for what he was for... The Scots were all against it.

The prince consented to go back to Scotland, but it was said that "he never after advised with any body but the Irish Officers, Mr.s Murray and Hay."[140]

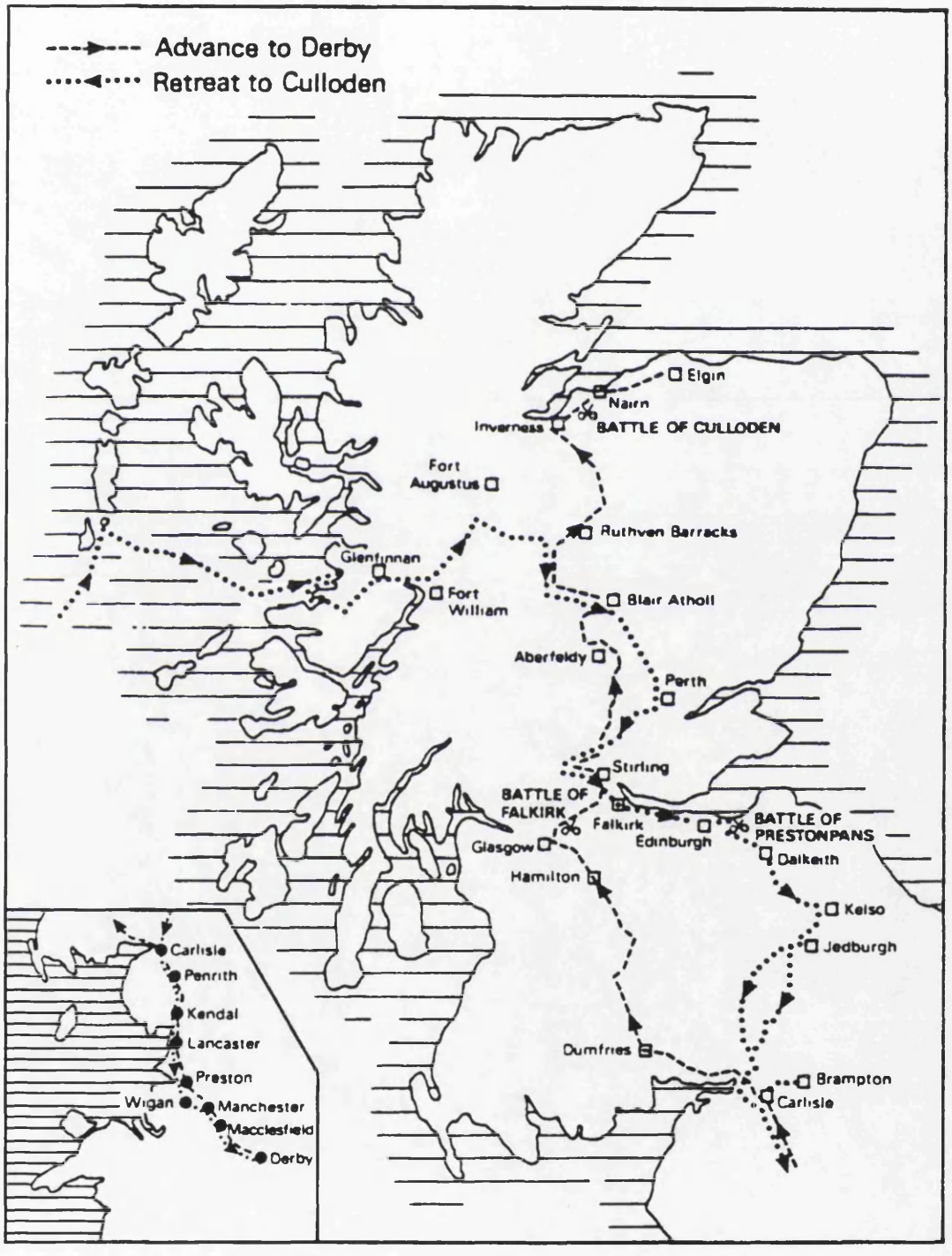
The invasion of England had greatly increased consternation that the Highlanders might cross to Ireland, either by themselves or with the French. Certainly, Adrien Maurice de Noailles, marshal of France and Louis XV's principal adviser, advocated French aid in the form of an expedition to Ireland because it entailed less risk, but mindful of the 1689, Louis rejected this. In October 1745, when the Jacobite army was in Edinburgh, alarm was raised among those on the coastline between

Belfast and Killough by a report that a group of Highlanders had separated from the army and were planning to cross to County Down. Thus, on 27 October, 15,000 militia were deployed to the area, where they stayed for a few days until it proved false. Chesterfield also placed what proved to be a short-term embargo on the export of foodstuffs from Ireland to any destination, in an attempt to deprive the Jacobite army of corn, meat and flour. There were, however, no fears for the loyalty of Alexander MacDonnell, fifth Earl of Antrim, whose political stance in the '45 was fundamentally different from that of his Jacobite father in the '15. Confident that the clansmen no longer posed a threat to the east coast of Ulster, Antrim gave a furlough to the garrison commander at Belfast in early November. Similar fears of an invasion of Ireland abounded when the Jacobite army marched on Carlisle in November, which were only allayed when the Jacobite army crossed back into Scotland on 21 December 1745.[141] (See fig. 4.1, The 1745 campaign.)

It was not until 24 October 1745, two months after Charles landed in Scotland, that an alliance treaty was signed at Fontainbleau between the French and the Old Pretender, James VIII and III, by which the French pledged to help Charles Edward "as far as is practicable." For the campaign to have succeeded, aid more extensive than that provided by means of the French treaty was necessary. However, what was accomplished by the treaty was the immobilisation of the Dutch at Newcastle and the dispatch to Scotland of a Franco-Irish force under Lord John Drummond who came to be known as the Irish Piquets.[142] Some 700-800 soldiers, mainly if not all Irishmen serving in France at the time, were despatched to come to the aid of Charles Edward. The men were drawn from six Irish infantry regiments and the cavalry regiment of FitzJames (a natural son of James III.) Drummond had, at that time, a Scottish regiment in the French service which the young Glengarry had joined early in 1745.[143] Louis ordered Drummond to land the troops, which included gunners, on the east coast of Scotland. Some of the ships carrying the Irish were intercepted by Hanoverian ships but the force of about 800 men landed at Montrose on 25 November 1745.[144] These were the only new factors introduced in favour of the Stewart cause, but they were not large enough to significantly effect the outcome of the campaign.[145]

Since Drummond had his own regiment of Royal Scots, command of the Piquets was given to Col. Walter Stapleton. After debarkation they marched to Perth, where they spent some weeks recruiting, before joining Charles Edward at Bannockburn House in January 1746. The Piquets fought well at the battle of Falkirk, (see fig. 4.1, The 1745 campaign), on 17 January 1746, supported by the Hussars and others of the cavalry units. The army reached Crieff on its trek north, and the Royal Scots marched by the coast road to Aberdeen with Lord Murray. Stapleton and the Piquets, together with the MacDonalds of Keppoch and the Camerons of Lochiel, besieged Fort Augustus until it surrendered on 5 March. Further reinforcements had attempted to land from France at the end of February 1746. Two ships came to Aberdeen on 22 February where a squadron of FitzJames' horse disembarked. One vessel carried on to Peterhead with money, arms

Fig. 4.1
THE 1745 CAMPAIGN



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Michael Lynch,
Scotland: A New History,
(London, 1992), p. 333.

and cannon. On 24 February, two of the accompanying transport ships, 'The Bourbon' and 'The Charité' were taken by Commodore Knowles, with the capture of the majority of the Irish Piquets they carried and another three squadrons of FitzJames' horse, amounting to about 359 men in all. Since the English also captured the horses, those from Kilmarnock's Troop were given to FitzJames's and the former expediently redeployed as infantrymen. This provides further evidence that the French mercenaries were trained to a greater degree of skill. They went to Lord John Drummond, who with the duty of patrolling the Spey and gathering intelligence, commanded all the horse.[146] However, with little food available in the Highlands, the future of the Jacobite army was uncertain. Though it was clear, by this time, that Ireland would never be involved in the '45, Chesterfield still felt it necessary, at this juncture, to guard against the possibility of the Jacobite leaders crossing to Ireland en route to France. Thus, in late March 1746, he and his council offered a reward of £1,000 for the capture of the most eminent among them.[147]

At the battle of Culloden, on 16 April 1746, (see fig. 4.1, The 1745 campaign), the Irish Piquets stood in the second line with the Royal Scots, and about seventy of FitzJames's horse on the right wing of this line.[148] The second line was commanded by Stapleton. The inadequacies and the poor physical state of the Jacobite force on this day have been well chronicled elsewhere. Nonetheless, one of the last effective Jacobite actions in the battle was the incautious advance of some of the English cavalry who were stopped by the fire of the Irish. When nothing further could be done to save the day, the Piquets went to Inverness where they surrendered the following day. Some of FitzJames's horse escorted Charles Edward to the Bridge of Faillie, over the Water of Nairn, (see fig. 4.1, The 1745 campaign), where he then dismissed them and began his own adventure. As he had come with mainly Irish companions - and it was certainly these whom he trusted the most - so he also left with mainly Irish companions. On reaching South Uist, Charles was with O'Sullivan, Donald MacLeod and Captain Felix O'Neill, an Irish officer in the French service. As the search grew in intensity, the group split, O'Sullivan reaching France and MacLeod falling into captivity.[149]

The FitzJames escort returned to Inverness after leaving the prince, where they too surrendered. Although there were many Irish among them, as French citizens, the survivors were treated as prisoners of war and not as rebels. They were finally discharged or pardoned, and returned to France but suffered perpetual banishment from the kingdom. The prisoners included about 222 French and foreign troops. The French prisoners were said to have been treated with much greater respect than the Highlanders.[150] Whether this was because they were French citizens, whether the Duke of Cumberland respected them for the thrashing they had given him at Fontenoy in May 1745, or whether the Highlanders were simply regarded as uncivilised, it is interesting to conjecture.[151] Certainly those Scottish Gaels fortunate enough to survive Culloden were treated with far more inhumanity than the French-protected Irish.

The names of the Franco-Irish and other Jacobite troops which survive, though not exclusively native Irish, nonetheless identify a sizeable proportion of the small number of Irish named in the regiments as Irish Gaelic in origin. In FitzJames' Horse the names Brenan, Molloy, several Nugents, Shea and Jackson appear, as Irish by surname implication or by direct attribution. O'Brennan, O'Molloy and Shea were certainly of native Irish derivation However, the Nugents were Norman in origin and the Jacksons seventeenth-century English settlers in Ulster.[152] In the Hussars (cavalry) raised in Edinburgh and commanded by a Franco-Irish officer, Col. Baggot, a Nowland of native Irish extraction appears alongside a MacGregor from Perthshire. In the Duke of Perth's regiment of miscellaneous recruits of native Irish origin, there was a Bradley, Irish weaver, usually a synonym of O'Brallaghan, Connolly (hanged), a deserter from the Scots Fusiliers, a McGee or Mag Aoidh, acknowledged by various sources to be related to the MacKays of Kintyre, and Connor, a stone-cutter from County Galway and a servant of Strickland, an English name. There was a fair sprinkling of Highland names in this regiment - MacGregors, a few MacDonalds, a MacLean from Skye, MacIntoshes, MacKenzies and a Ross. Arguably the most interesting member of this regiment is the native Irish William McGuire because he is listed as 'alias McLean.' He was discharged, indicating that he was probably a French citizen and, therefore, in reality a McGuire, but aliases in that particular period usually denote another equally valid nomenclature. McGuire was the leading sept in Fermanagh, indicating that he was perhaps a descendant of the MacLeans who settled in the adjacent County Tyrone in the late sixteenth century.[153]

Of the Irish in Gordon of Glenbucket's regiment, there was Mason (hanged), yet another weaver, though this is an English occupational name. In Grante's artillery, there was John Maitland, a gardener from Armagh. This is a Lowland Scottish name common around Kelso, and thus Maitland was probably from a settler family. Surprisingly, there are no Irishmen listed in MacDonald of Clanranald's regiment, though the lists are by no means complete. In the Manchester regiment, those indicated as Irish are Bartlett, which is usually an English settler name but can be the anglicisation of Mac Pharthaláin, and the native Irish Cullinan (now Cullen), Flanagan, Brady, Longing, which probably represents the Irish Ó Longáin, but may be the Anglo Norman de Long or English Long, M'Cormack which might be either native Irish or a Highland settler name, the Anglo-Norman name Joy (a weaver), the English Matthews (another weaver), and the Scottish settler name Williamson. The regiment also recruited two 'McNeals' though they are listed as being from Lancashire. The name MacNeal is Scottish, so possibly these were settlers who had come via Ulster. In Lally's regiment Capt. Robert Crosbie is listed as Irish. Though English, the name had been adopted by the MacCrossans of Leix when they migrated to Kerry in the seventeenth century, but the forename seems to exhibit a Scottish connection. In Roy Stewart's regiment, raised in Edinburgh, there was a Thompson, which is an English settler name, from Dublin.[154]

In Drummond's Royal Scots, Irish names are given as Morgan (sailor), which either denotes a Welsh settler or the anglicised forms of the Irish names Merrigan or Morahan, Closs (deserter from Bragg's regiment), a variation of Close which can either be an English name or the anglicising of the Gaelic Ó Clusaigh, Kendrie, a form of MacHenry, or might also be a Scottish settler name from the Highland border region, the English names Purdon and Smith (deserter Price's), Stevens, of either Anglo-Norman, Irish or English origin, the native Irish Sullivan, and once again, a Patrick MacLean, sailor from Ireland. The Irish Piquet's list naturally indicates far more Irish names, which will not be given here, but the most significant ones are the native Irish Callaghan, McDermot and McDonagh (Dillon's) among the officers. The Piquet's also has a sprinkling of Scottish Gaelic names such as John MacDonald of Crowlin, second son to MacDonald of Scotus, Donald MacLean (surgeon), James McRae (Spanish Service), Alexander Campbell, Inverness, and John MacDonald, Argyll.[155]

Although the greater proportion of the Irish names indicated in the Jacobite regiments are native Irish, nonetheless their number - between 20 and 30 excluding the names of the Piquet officers - is hardly indicative of a continuing Scoto-Irish Gaelic connection. When this is further added to the evidence of non-agreement between the Scots and Irish advisers and commanders throughout the campaign, little argument can be made for a unified Gaelic province, political or otherwise.

IV. THE DECLINE OF JACOBITISM

After the débâcle at Culloden, the possibility of bringing about a successful restoration of the Stewarts was slim, mainly due to various economic and social changes in Britain which had weakened the Jacobite cause.[156] Nonetheless, Jacobitism continued in less glorious terms, coloured by the continuingly fickle attitude of the French. The French would consider funding a Jacobite force after the '45, but only in support of Scottish separation as an irritant to England. Charles Edward actually visited London in 1750 with the deluded idea, fostered by his advisers on the continent, that England was ripe for another attempt at the throne. It is, however, significant that he was not betrayed to the authorities.[157] Yet, it was London rather than Scotland which featured in this retrospectively named Elibank Plot, as the main ground for intrigue, indicating a movement from dependence on Scottish Highland support. In order to help his case, Charles Edward renounced the Catholic faith in 1750 and became a member of the Church of England. The Elibank Plot, named after the probable originator, Mr. Alexander Murray, brother of the fifth Lord Elibank, was a series of intrigues over a four year period from 1749 to 1753, and is notable as the last definite scheme to restore the Stewarts using support within Britain. After this, those things which had fuelled Jacobitism for so long - protest against a foreign King, anti-Toryism, and gross intolerance of Catholics - were all to some extent alleviated.[158]

Jacobite intrigue took a decided upward turn when the Earl Marischal, famous Jacobite exile and conspirator from past rebellions, was appointed as Prussian minister to the French Court in 1751. This made foreign assistance more likely in Jacobite eyes. Frederick II of Prussia, however, like the French, was interested in supporting Jacobite schemes only in as far as they needled his uncle in Britain. Moreover, it is unclear just how far the Earl himself was prepared to go in support of the Stewarts. Although he had been out in the '15, the '19 and worked to get French support for the '45, he did not seem to enjoy working with Charles. Like most Jacobites, he was undoubtedly dominated by his own self-interest. It was Pickle the Spy, reputedly Alasdair Ruadh MacDonell, eldest son of John MacDonell, twelfth of Glengarry, who deflated this last serious conspiracy against King George and his government. In a letter to Henry Pelham, on 4 November 1751, Pickle stated that Frederick the Great of Prussia was aware of the general Jacobite scheme and had persuaded the French government to agree to it, and such details as he had, indicated that the first attack was to be in London, after which it was expected that Scotland would rise. In December, after he had actually seen Charles, he wrote that the plan had been postponed, but confirmed that the first attempt was to be in London. The Earl Marischal's brother, Marshal Keith, was to lead a Scottish rising by landing with a Swedish force. Lochgarry and Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother of 'gentle Lochiel' of the '45, had gone to Scotland to prepare for this, and to meet all Jacobite sympathisers. No definite reason is given for the plot being postponed but it appears that the Jacobites expected too much from Frederick and the promises of the Earl Marischal for aid which did not prove forthcoming.[159]

Preparations appear to have gone ahead, however, and Murray visited England in November 1752. The plan was still to strike London, with the Highland rising following later. The main reason for the termination of the plot seems to have been the capture of Cameron in March 1753. He revealed nothing of the plot in his captivity and therefore was condemned on his attainder for taking part in the '45, the government perhaps wishing to preserve Pickle's cover and not expose the full details of the current plot. Cameron was the last Jacobite martyr. In the circumstances, with the authorities aware of Jacobite activities in the Highlands and the possibility of spies amongst them in France, as well as Charles Edward's realisation that Frederick was simply toying with them, the plot was abandoned. Moreover, when Lochgarry returned from the Highlands at the end of April or beginning of May 1753 he did so with stringent conditions, from those consulted, with regard to the necessity of foreign assistance.[160]

Details of the Irish side of the Elibank Plot are given in the documented examination of the Jacobite turned government spy and possible double agent, James Mòr Drummond, son of Rob Roy, of the Clan Gregor.[161] Drummond was taken prisoner in Scotland in November 1751, and as he put it himself, "by the speat [spite] that a certain Faction in Dundas, Scotland, had at me, was trayd by the

Justiciary Court at Edinburgh." Fearing banishment, he escaped from Edinburgh Castle a year later, in November 1752, and fled to France in May 1753 via the Isle of Man and Ireland.[162] According to his examination, in the Isle of Man he met "one Mr Patrick Savage, to whom I was recommended by a Friend in Scotland," who told him that preparations were apace for a restoration.[163] Drummond stated that Mr. Savage was the chief of a substantial body of MacGregors whose ancestors had migrated to Ireland when their clan was proscribed at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[164] From France, Drummond wrote to Lord Abermarle, English ambassador in Paris, on 12 October 1753, trying to assure the government of his loyalty throughout. He wished to be reconciled to government service and offered, as an incentive, to deliver Allan Breac Stewart, the alleged murderer of Colin Campbell of Glenure, into the hands of the military in Dover. Drummond was sent to England and underwent subsequent examination by the government on 6 November 1753. Having always posed as a Jacobite but having been in contact with officers of the Crown, in Scotland, as early as 1745, Drummond was by this time totally discredited on all sides. His revelations of Jacobite plots indicate, nonetheless, that he was certainly close enough to be privy to their scheming.[165]

According to Drummond, Charles arrived in Paris in the middle of September 1753. He had come to speak with MacGregor of Balhaldie, chief of the MacGregors, where he lived at Bièvre, to see if Balhaldie would rise for him. Balhaldie was none too interested, saying that he was prepared to deal with the Earl Marischal, but could not trust any others. Neither was he prepared to rise for Charles Edward until the prince settled the quarrel with his father. He explained to Drummond that: "He was so much afraid of the Pretender's Son being so ill to manage, and also that the Irish would break thro' secret, that He could heartily wish not to be concerned, could He but fall on a Method to get clear of it." However, he was prepared to cooperate with the Earl Marischal, using the proposals from Ireland, "if Matters were carried on by People of Sense, that knew how to manage; for that all this Affair depended on keeping the Government ignorant of what was doing."[166]

A meeting was held near Bièvre which the Prince and some major Jacobites attended where it was decided to accept the Irish proposals. People were appointed to go to Scotland and Ireland, Drummond being one of those to transact for Ireland. Drummond stated that the Irish proposed to raise 14,000 men and to transport them in wherries to North Wales or Scotland, provided there was an escort of two war ships, as well as arms, ammunition and money. The Earl Mareschal and Balhaldie also proposed:

> that 11,000 should land in North Wales, and 3000 in Campbelltoun of Kentyre in Argyleshire. For that those in Argyleshire, that were well affected to their Cause, would have a good opportunity to rise, by landing 3000 Irish. That McDonald of Largye has proposed, that there will rise, from that

> Earl of Argyleshire, 2500 Men, including the Duke of Hamilton's Men from Arran: To wit, the McDonalds of Largye, the McNeils, McAlesters, Lamonds, and McLawchlans, with what Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck can rise: and those, from Campbeltoun to march to the Head of Argyleshire, and to Perthshire, where they were to be joined by the North Country Clans, which, with the Irish, and those from Argyleshire, was computed to be near 14,000 Men: and to be commanded by the Earl of Mareschal.[167]

James Mòr's sham plot of 1753, designed to exact pardon and probably finance from the English government, appears to have parallels with Sir Alexander MacLean of Otter's plans in 1689 for a Jacobite mobilisation in Kintyre with assistance from Ireland. Moreover, it has been suggested that the lack of a corresponding Jacobite movement in Ireland, in the eighteenth century, which could have sent support to the Jacobites in Scotland, was one of the main reasons why the Kintyre clans did not rise in the 1715 and 1745. Two of the mid-Argyll clans rose, the MacDougalls in the 1715, and the MacLachlans in the 1745, but not those in Kintyre.[168]

As far back as the '15, however, it had been a noted ploy to grossly overestimate numbers, in the hope of precipitating a rising on the rebels side, and to justify repression on the government side.[169] Moreover, according to Pickle, the Earl Marischal had little intention of resigning his Embassy. The inherent interest of the Elibank plot is not in the numbers it was suggested would rise but as an indicator of the residual pockets of Jacobitism in the Highlands and in Ireland. Moreover, Drummond's statement alleges that 9000 stands of arms were still hidden in Clanranald's country, kept by Ronald MacDonald, brother of the late Kinlochmoidart, by MacDonald of Glenaladale and by the baillie of Eigg. Little has arisen to corroborate this information and certainly, Pickle appears to have known nothing of the arms.[170] However, Savage also assured Drummond that "there was a good number of Arms, belonging to the Duke of Atholl, in the Isle of Man," which may have been so since the Duke held the rights to the island until he sold them to the British in 1765.[171]

After Drummond went to Ireland, he met George Savage, Patrick Savage's son in Rush, 12 miles north of Dublin. On visiting some of his friends in the vicinity, they all agreed that providing the Young Pretender sent arms, ammunition and money "that they, from that Quarter, which is called Fingal," would raise 5000 Men, which they would land in Scotland within 24 Hours, or in North Wales within six hours. Fingall was a district north of Dublin, and south of Rush.[172] Clearly familiar with Jacobite intrigue, Savage refused to tell Drummond any more about the plot, or of the two lords who were backing it, until it had the Young Pretender's approval. According to Drummond, the other proposals concerning Ireland had been made by a Mr. McDiarmid who had been incognito in Paris since May 1753. "McDiarmid is from Connaght, and is said to be worth £1500 sterling per annum, and is said, that, as He is Chief of the McDiarmids in Ireland, that He

can raise a great number of Men."[173] There were, of course, also McDiarmids in Scotland, mainly in Perthshire but also in Islay and Galloway.[174]

What is further apparent from the planning of this proposal, is that the Ulster interest in Jacobitism and, to all intents and purposes, any strong military connections between the Antrim and west Highland coast were more or less defunct by this time. Indeed, the whole plot was to be treated with the utmost secrecy, with Charles Edward's interest entirely hidden until the invasion from Ireland were to happen, for as Balhaldie had told Drummond - "if This plot is any ways discovered, that It will not only ruin the poor Family of Stewart, but also the Irish; That they will be kept under Bondage forever, and also Slavery."[175] This is, once again, indicative of the eighteenth century native Irish view of the Stewarts as their apocryphal redeemers.[176]

That the Irish proposals were undoubtedly linked to the Elibank Plot is also shown by a second document, headed 'short paper,' by an unidentified government official. The paper refers to a government spy, probably Pickle, and the blanks within it are perhaps a deliberate attempt to protect his identity. It is clear that this document was drawn up in answer to the previous one, indicating that the government were aware of an Irish dimension of which they were not entirely dismissive. The counter-action proposed was that two war ships begin patrolling the coast of Ireland near Dublin. The Highland regiment commanded by Lord John Murray was to divide and quarter itself at Rush and Drogheda, obviously to patrol the other ports, and "a Regiment should lay in Connaght, where a throng of the Romans, and well affected to the Pretender lives." It also proposed "that spies should be employed among them; to learn the least disturbance, That could happen." That the document itself deals with both Highland and Irish matters indicates the extent to which the government still regarded its peoples as one of a kind as far as Jacobitism was concerned. It provided for the raising of two Independent Companies of well-affected Highlanders, of 60 men each, having charges north and south of Perthshire respectively, while in the next breath it dealt, once again, with Ireland.[177]

It is interesting to speculate from the following excerpt, which gives details of the sending of a government agent into Ireland, whether the person referred to was Pickle the Spy.

> That, if it's thought proper that Mr. ---------- should be sent to Ireland forthwith, to know the whole of those concerned in the Irish Plot, of the People of Fingal; That He could have a Trusty in Company, sent from the Secretary, who would undergo any borrowed Name, and was to be Companion in the affair to Mr ----------. That particularly, those Lords should be known, as also such of the People of Connaght, as could be discovered. That Mr. ---------- is willing to undertake whatever in His power layes, to shew the zeal, wherewith He is inclined to serve the Government; But that He will not chuse to go to Ireland, unless a Court Trusty is sent with him, and who will be

> Eye Witness to His Transactions with the Irish; As M ---------- will tell that He is a Trusty sent by the Pretender's Son.[178]

Certainly, Pickle was sent later, in similar circumstances, into Scotland, but the likelihood of the Irish side of the Elibank plot coming to fruition was always small.[179]

Just a few years afterwards, events brought about by the Seven Years' War provided the last possible opportunity for the Stewarts to regain their throne. The French considered that an invasion of England would promote their cause and equipped an expedition, though there was no particular expectation that it would be supported by a Jacobite rising. Charles drew up a proclamation re-iterating his abdurance of the Catholic faith in preparation for a possible journey with the expedition, but an English victory at Quiberon Bay put paid to his hopes there. He subsequently returned to the Catholic Church, a sure indication that he felt his chances of gaining the English throne were now over.[180] There was, however, one notable privateering Jacobite death throe which exhibited a west Highland connection.

The final Jacobite attempt of 1759-60

The scheming which surrounded the Jacobite attempt of 1760 was largely viewed by the French as a means of thwarting the English. A plan to simultaneously attack England and the colonies of India and the West Indies, had been mooted as early as June 1755 by the Comte de Lally Tolendal, an exiled Irish Jacobite of a County Galway family, who had led the Irish brigade at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, during the war of the Austrian succession. Lally's plan was vetoed by Louis XV's Council.[181] The early setbacks experienced by the Anglo-Hanoverian forces in the Seven Years' War (1757-1763) led to some small revival in Jacobite hopes. The French continued to use Jacobitism as a tool to exacerbate the conflict against the English. The next decisive Jacobite plan presented to the King's Council was by the Hebridean Catholic and protégé of the Prince de Conti,[182] Sir Alexander Peter MacKenzie Douglas of Kildun, on 1 January 1759. He recommended an attack on England that winter since there were only 10,000 troops at home, with the main force of 30,000 men landing at Bristol, and a diversionary force landing near Glasgow. On the French side, a significant part was played in the negotiations by the nobleman, the Duc de Choiseul and by the Duc de Belle-Isle, who was appointed minister for war early in 1758. In January 1759, he was planning for a joint Franco-Swedish-Russian naval assault on Great Britain to force it and its ally, Frederick II of Prussia, to treat for peace though these negotiations ultimately came to nothing. The Scottish Jacobite representative in France William Stuart, Lord Blantyre, or 'Leslie,' stressed, in his turn, the need to gain a foothold in the west of Scotland, but that this would require the provision of arms and clothing. The Scottish Privy Council, Parliament and civil government would then be re-established. On the Irish side, Dominique O'Héguerty, comte de

Magnières, suggested to the French court in early 1759 that Charles Edward should content himself with the Irish throne alone. However, as in the Elibank Plot, Charles Edward aimed for London, apparently refusing to act through Scotland or Ireland.[183]

That the plot was mainly a French plan to thwart the English can be seen by the way in which Choiseul kept Charles Edward almost totally uninformed of important developments. Significantly, with regard to Scoto-Irish relationships, the Irish regiments in the French service were not to be integrated, in any way, with Scottish Highlanders. This was probably a lesson learnt from the '45. The basis of the plan for invasions of England and Scotland was retained and naval preparations went on apace at Le Havre, Brest, Rochefort and Toulon, while soldiers gathered in Ostend, Dunkirk, St.-Omer, Lille and Vannes. By the summer of 1759, the planned landing in England was to be of 20,000 men on the east coast at Maldon in Essex, near the Blackwater estuary. However, the fleet of twelve ships which left the port of Toulon on 5 August 1759 under La Clue, was dispersed and largely sunk near Lagos in Portugal, and the invasion of England was no longer thought to be possible. When Sir Edward Hawke went on to destroy the Brest fleet in the battle of Quiberon Bay, south of the Isle of Belle-Isle, on 25 November, the projected expedition was over. Not only had the French been attempting to use Jacobitism as a political lever in a difficult international context, but the divisions evident amongst the Jacobites in Great Britain and Ireland, and the integration of Jacobite exiles into their host countries, had made effective scheming nigh impossible. The famous French Captain Thurot carried out his raid in Ireland, using Gothenburg and Bergen in Sweden and Norway, and Islay, off the west coast of Scotland as his supply bases, probably as a frustrated parting gesture to the grandiose 1759 scheme. It, nonetheless, indicated what the French could have done with more determination and without the usual Jacobite procrastination.[184]

On 7 March 1760 Giovanni Molinari, archbishop of Damascus and nuncio at Brussels, wrote to Cardinal Luigi Torreggiani that he had received news that Captain Thurot had overcome both storms and the English ships and had made a Jacobite raid on Ireland, successfully putting men ashore at Carrickfergus, on 20 February, from four frigates under his command. The French had attacked Carrickfergus Castle and after slight resistance the garrison had surrendered. On hearing the news, the Irish viceroy, the Duke of Bedford, sent 4,000 men to Carrickfergus. However, the nuncio considered it likely that Thurot would withdraw, since he had only a few hundred men. Further news sent to the nunciature from London, on 29 February, reported that the Privy Council in London ordered Bedford to direct some vessels of war from England to join those in Ireland, and to capture Thurot. However, it was feared that the Captain would make his escape to the Hebrides, for further news received on 14 March 1760 indicated that 'before Thurot made his descent on the Irish coast, he went to Islay, an isle in the Hebrides, and there he got some provisions for which he paid in ready money.'[185]

A detailed Scots eye-witness account, surviving of Thurot's trip to Islay, was, understandably, loathe to admit that Thurot paid for his provisions, indicating, on the other hand, that he had taken them by force. News was brought to Malcolm Campbell of the Battalion of the Fencible men of Argyll, early on the morning of Sunday 17 January 1760, "that some French ships of war had arrived on the Coast of Isla and Plundered two small Vessells that anchored in their Neighbourhood and Detained on board two of the Gentlemen of the Country who had gone out in boats to learn what they were." Frenchmen in long boats had taken the master's clothes, about £43 in gold, and a small stock of sea stores from one vessel, and about four tons of flour and all the provisions they could find from the other. The plundered vessels belonged to Archibald MacDonald, merchant in Islay, and Archibald McAulay, merchant in Lorn. Among those in the long boats "there were some who could talk English and one of them who by his Dress and behaviour seemed to be the Principle person talked good highlands or Earse." The French ships were anchored in Claggain Bay ["Claggingarroch"] in the south-east of the island. They also plundered the public house at the end of the bay, carrying off 3 guineas and all the bedclothes from the landlord. Moreover, they went ashore on the nearby "Island of Ard Elister" where they shot cattle.[186] This event is worthy of note in that even in the middle of the Seven Years' War between England and France, owing to the Jacobite connection with France, Highland Jacobites were prepared to supply the French.

Conclusion

In terms of Gaelic participation in the Jacobite rebellions, the native Irish only took part in the 1689 campaign in which, with the Old English Catholics, they comprised the Irish Jacobite force. The Scottish Highlanders, on the other hand, provided the basic manpower for all the Jacobite risings except the fairly insignificant 1708. This, in its turn, caused two basic problems, first, one of identification for Lowland Scots with Jacobitism, and second, a contradiction between the aim of the Pretenders, which was always the throne of England, and their military support which was mainly Scottish Highland. Moreover, the lack of continental support for the rebellions further destroyed the confidence of the English Jacobites.[187] As for inter-relation between Irish and Scots Gaels, even in the 1689 in which both participated, there was little co-operative interaction between them. Certainly there were some Highland chiefs and clan élite such as Donald MacDonald, younger of Sleat, Alexander MacLean of Otter, and the Earl of Seaforth in Ireland with James, in 1689, with some of their men, but they were few in number. Similarly, some 300 Rathlin men came to Mull to join Dundee in July 1689, but this hardly represents extensive pan-Gaelic activity. Having put so much into the 1689-91 campaign, the Irish did not actively enter the Jacobite arena again, confining themselves to background plotting, financing and scheming, from the continent. Various reasons have been advanced for their subsequent non-participation, including the penal laws, lack of foreign support, and lack of dynamism on the Pretenders' parts. Scottish support was

to the fore in the next two rebellions, because after the Treaty of Union Jacobitism was fused to the nationalist struggle to maintain Scotland's identity. However, in both Scotland and Ireland, the Jacobite struggle was consistently dogged by infighting and disunity, ineffective co-ordination, indecision and 'by varying measures of ill-luck and crass incompetence.'[188] On the death of his father, the titular James III and VIII, in 1766, those political heads who still recognised the Stewarts refused to recognise Charles Edward.[189] Thus, having largely been extinguished at a grass roots level after the '45, Jacobitism can be said to have died at the international level in the 1760s.

NOTES

1. Rev. Alexander D. Murdoch (editor), *The Grameid. An Heroic Poem descriptive of the Campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689 and other places by James Philip of Almerieclose 1691,* SHS, 1st series, III, (Edinburgh, 1888), p. ix.
2. John T. Gilbert, *A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland 1688-1691,* (Shannon, 1971), pp. v, vii-viii.
3. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 488.
4. John Cornelius O'Callaghan (editor), *Macariae Excidium, or The destruction of Cyprus; being a secret history of the war of the Revolution in Ireland by Colonel Charles O'Kelly of Skryne, or Aughrane, now Castle Kelly, County Galway,* (Dublin, 1850), pp. i-vi; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 488.
5. Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War,* (Edinburgh, 1986.)
6. *A Jacobite Narrative,* p. 49; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Cause,* (Glasgow, 1986), p. 9.
7. Three royal commissions for Sleat MacDonalds in the Jacobite army survive, given at Dublin Castle in March 1689 and signed by Melfort. The first to (blank) MacDonald is dated 20 March 1689, constituting him colonel of a regiment of foot and captain of a company in the said regiment "which you are hereby Impowered to Raise (by Beat of Drum or otherwise) for Our service in Our Ancient Kingdome of Scotland." A second commission of 30 March 1689 was to (blank), appointing him captain of a company of foot in the regiment commanded by Col. Donald MacDonald, that is, younger of Sleat. The third, dated 31 March 1689 was to "John Mackdonald of Bornscitaik," also appointing him captain of a company of foot in Donald MacDonald's regiment. (SRO RH4/90/5, 6, 7, Lord MacDonald, miscellaneous papers 1447-1852.)
8. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War,* pp. 134, 233-35.
9. William of Orange had a double claim to the Stewart throne, both as the son of Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I and as the husband of James VII and II's eldest daughter, Mary, by his Protestant first wife, Anne Hyde. (*The Jacobite Cause,* (Glasgow, 1986), p. 7.
10. Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746,* (London, 1980), pp. 46-48; *The Jacobite Cause,* pp. 7-8, 20-21, 48; Daniel Szechi and David Hayton, 'John Bull's Other Kingdoms: The English Government of Scotland and Ireland,' in Clyve Jones (editor), *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750,* (London and Ronceverte, 1987), p. 250; *The Grameid,* p. 118. A document in the Scottish Catholic Archives (SCA) SM2/27/21, headed 'Ane list of such gentlemen in the Highlands of Scotland as may render good service to his majesty' lists 45 Highland lairds and chiefs who were expected to rise for King James in 1689.
11. *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746,* pp. 19-20.
12. Sir Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement, the first phase 1688-1716,* I, (London, 1948), pp. 31, 76, 86; *The Grameid,* footnote to p. 28; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 493.
13. *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746,* p. 30; E. W. M. Balfour-Melville (editor), *An Account of the Proceedings of the Estates in Scotland 1689-1690,* I, SHS, 3rd series, 46, (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 90; *The Jacobite Cause,* p. 21.
14. James King Hewison, *The Isle of Bute in the Olden Time,* 2 vols., (Edinburgh and London, 1895), II, p.

342.

15. SRO NRA (Scot)/1209, Argyll Survey I, bundle 120. This document is dated 12 February 1690.
16. Alexander Fraser, *North Knapdale in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries,* (Oban, 1964), p. 59; Paul A. Hopkins, 'Loup Hill, 16th May 1689: The first 'battle' of Dundee's Jacobite war,' *The Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society Magazine*, no. 29, (Spring 1991), pp. 5, 8; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 141.
17. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, pp. 41, 47, 60; 'Loup Hill,' p. 5; *The Jacobite Cause,* pp. 27-28.
18. See Hopkins, 'Loup Hill.'
19. Not specified by Hopkins, but presumably the MacLeans of Otter.
20. 'Loup Hill,' pp. 3-5; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 140.
21. *The Grameid,* footnote to p. 237; *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, p. 33. Certainly, the Sheriff was later confined in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh for communicating with James.
22. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, p. 46.
23. 'Loup Hill,' p. 5.
24. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, pp. 71, 75. It was at this stage that the Sheriff of Bute confessed to being implicated with the Jacobites.
25. 'Loup Hill,' pp. 5-6; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 141.
26. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, p. 106; 'Loup Hill,' p. 6.
27. Petrie, I, pp. 81-82.
28. NLS Ms. 3741, fol. 40, Dyson Perrins Collection, Miscellaneous, section V, being a transcript by the donor of the letters of Hugh Mackay and others in Ms. 3740.
29. 'Loup Hill,' pp. 6-11; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 140-41.
30. 'Loup Hill,' p. 11.
31. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, pp. 111, 123; 'Loup Hill,' pp. 5, 11-12; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War,* p.142.
32. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 143, 146; Scottish Catholic Archives (SCA) Blairs Letters (BL) 1/122/15; *The Grameid,* footnote to p. 106; Edward MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland,* (Shannon, 1969), p. 204. MacSween was mentioned as far back as 27 January 1687 in the Register of the Privy Council as 'one of the gentlemen of Major-General Graham, his troop of horse.' (*The Grameid*, p. 105.)
33. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1689-1690*, p. 135; Petrie, I, footnote to p. 82; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 149-51; *The Grameid,* footnote to pp. 237-38.
34. *A Jacobite Narrative,* p. 86; *The Jacobite Cause,* p. 27. Note that the *Narrative* refers to him as a Brigadier, though many secondary sources address him as a Colonel.
35. *The Grameid,* footnote to p. 240.
36. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 154; *The Grameid*, footnote to p. 237; Petrie, I, p. 82.
37. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, pp. 166-67.

38. *The Grameid,* footnote to p. 237; *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, pp. 166-68. From the name of one of the captains it can be fairly categorically stated that these were the Estates frigates.
39. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, pp. 168, 175, 179; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 154.
40. Petrie, I, p. 82.
41. *The Grameid*, footnote to pp. 237-38, p. 240. Contrary to James' statement in his letter, the witnesses before the Privy Council stated that Col. Wauchope was also amongst them. (*Proceedings of the Estates*, I, p. 167.)
42. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 154.
43. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, pp. 169-70, 179; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 154.
44. Their passage seems to be corroborated by local oral tradition which states that an Irish regiment, across in the 1689 war, indicated to Stewart of Ballachulish that Ballachulish had a potential for the quarrying of slate. Some years later this proved to be correct. (I am grateful to Professor Allan Macinnes for this point from Ballachulish oral tradition.) Further credence might be given to this oral tradition by the fact that when the Isle of Rathlin was sold out of the hands of the MacDonnell family in 1746, the Indenture, dated 10 March 1745, stated that the purchaser, the Rev. John Gage acquired, in addition to the land, a mill, quarries and rights to stone, limestone, slate and marble.··(Wallace Clark, *Rathlin - Disputed Island,* (Portlaw, 1971), p. 123. However, it should be stated that the enumeration of these rights was a standard formula in Antrim leases and sales. For instance, in 1637, when Alexander Stewart of Redbay and his son, John Stewart, were given a lease from the second Earl of Antrim of the constableship and keeping of the Castle of Redbay, with the town custom, market custom and lands, as well as the lands of Carvok, Maynthe, Cloney, Ballyvistoe, Gurterlie, Aghoshie, Knockmayne and Cloghglass, the rights of the quarries of free-stone, slate and marble were reserved to Antrim. (*MacDonnells of Antrim,* footnote to p. 119.)
45. *The Grameid,* footnote to p. 119. However, it must be stated that there is no mention of any MacDonalds or MacDonnells actually living on Rathlin since the Campbell massacre of 1642. Indeed, in the 1689 campaign, Rathlin was used by both sides. For instance, a fleet under the command of Captain George Rooke in H.M. Frigate Deptford anchored in Church Bay in June 1689, and took in a hundred head of cattle which were intended as food for the besieged Derry garrison. Whether Derry ever saw the cattle must remain a matter for conjecture, for although Rooke reached the Foyle on 11 June, Derry was not relieved for another six weeks. (Clark, pp. 118, 137.) By the same token, the Duke of Schomberg wrote to King William, on 15 September, that some of James' officers visited the Isle of Rathlin after "un petit combat" and found some sympathisers in the glens there. Schomberg wrote to the King on 17 February 1690 that he had stationed a regiment on the coast and in the Isle of Rathlin. (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1689-1690,* pp. 256, 465.)
46. Petrie, I, pp. 82-83; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 156-59, 178; *The Jacobite Cause*, p. 23.
47. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 181-82, 185-86.
48. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 187, 189.

49. *Proceedings of the Estates,* I, p. 226.
50. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1689-1690*, pp. 255, 304; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 191-92, 199, 201-03, 205; *The Jacobite Cause*, p. 29.
51. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 206, 212-25, 219; *The Jacobite Cause*, p. 35.
52. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 233-35.
53. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 232, 235, 237-38, 240-41.
54. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 242-45, 247; *RPCS*, 1690, pp. 428-29; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1690-91, p. 123.
55. NLS Ms. 3138, Argyll Papers, fol. 35; *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 249-50.
56. *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 251-52, 268, 275, 279, 309; SRO GD90 SEC2/138, 140, Yule Collection.
57. Bruce P. Lenman and John S. Gibson, *The Jacobite Threat - England, Scotland, Ireland, France: A Source Book*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 50-51, 58.
58. *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746,* p. 48*; Glencoe and the End of the Highland War,* pp. 374-75.
59. Allan I. Macinnes, 'Jacobitism,' *History Today,* 34, (October 1984), p. 27.
60. *The Jacobites*, p. 11.
61. J. G. Simms (edited by D. W. Hayton and Gerard O'Brien), *War and Politics in Ireland 1649-1730*, (London and Ronceverte, 1986), p. 135; *A New History of Ireland*, III, p. 487.
62. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 483-85; Petrie, I, p. 88.
63. *Jacobite Ireland 1685-91,* pp. 63-66; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 485, 489.
64. Petrie, I, p. 89.
65 See section II B. Irish Jacobite views of the war.
66. Petrie, I, pp. 90-91; *A New History of Ireland*, III, p. 491-93.
67. *A New History of Ireland*, III, p. 493; Frank McLynn, *The Jacobites*, (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley, 1985), pp. 13-14.
68. Hector MacDonnell, 'Jacobitism and the third and fourth Earls of Antrim,' *The Glynns*, 13, (1985), p. 51.
69. Petrie, I, pp. 93-94.
70. J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland 1685-91*, (London and Toronto, 1969), p. 19; *The Destruction of Cyprus,* p. 41.
71 Petrie, I, p. 96; *A Jacobite Narrative,* p. 95; MacDonnell, pp. 50-51.
72. *A New History of Ireland*, III, p. 498.
73. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 397.
74. *The Destruction of Cyprus*, p. 58.
75. *A New History of Ireland*, III, pp. 498-99, 501; *The Destruction of Cyprus*, pp. 64, 73-74.
76. For a detailed exposé of this battle, see G. A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The Battle of Aughrim 1691,' *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 20, (1942), pp. 1-30.
77. *A New History of Ireland*, III, pp. 501-03; *The Jacobites*, p. 17; 'The Battle of Aughrim 1691,' p. 29; *The*

Jacobite Cause, p. 30; Petrie, I, pp. 101-02. Sir James MacDonnell's death was embodied in elegiac panegyric by Séamus Mac Cuarta and addressed to Lord Antrim. It is renowned as the last substantial poem in Irish in honour of the MacDonnells of Antrim. (MacDonnell, p. 51.)

78. Petrie, I, p. 106.
79. *A Jacobite Narrative,* pp. vii-viii.
80. *A Jacobite Narrative,* p. 49.
81. *A Jacobite Narrative*, p. 52.
82. *The Jacobites*, pp. 11, 13.
83. Petrie, I, pp. 88-89. Plunket insists that this number actually existed and that "it was resolved in council to break a great part of the new raised army, by reason that the king was judged not able to support so numerous forces; upon which resolution the captain-general, Tyrconnell, was sent into the country to disband some companies out of every foot regiment." (*A Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 52-53.)
84. Macinnes, p. 23. For aspects of Argyll's financial hold on these clans, see Chapter 11, section II. Case study of the Irish MacDonnells and Scots MacDonalds.
85. *A Jacobite Narrative*, p. 51.
86. *A Jacobite Narrative,* pp. 51, 53.
87. *A Jacobite Narrative*, p. 53.
88. *War and Politics in Ireland 1649-1730*, p. 219; *The Jacobites*, pp. 18-19.
89. *The Destruction of Cyprus*, pp. 154-55.
90. *Jacobite Ireland*, pp. 254-55.
91. *War and Politics in Ireland 1649-1730,* pp. 203, 210, 215, 219; *A New History of Ireland*, III, p. 508.
92. This is discussed below, section B. The nature of the Irish presence in the '45.
93. This is dealt with briefly in Chapter 18.
94. *The Jacobite Cause,* pp. 39-41; *The Jacobites*, p. 92.
95. See Chapters 12 and 13.
96. See Chapters 9 and 10.
97. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 39, 647; Bruce Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland,* (London, 1977), p. 38.
98. Petrie, I, p. 103; *Jacobite Ireland*, p. 260.
99. See particularly below, The final Jacobite attempt of 1759.
100. *The Jacobite Cause*, pp. 44-45; *The Jacobites*, p. 25.
101. *The Jacobite Cause,* pp. 46, 48-49, 53, 55, 57-59; *The Jacobites*, pp. 97-100.
102. MacDonnell, p. 51.
103. See Chapter 16.
104. See Chapters 3 and 6.
105. See Chapter 11, section II. Case study of the Irish MacDonnells and Scottish MacDonalds.
106. For instance, in April 1691, the city of Londonderry was in receipt of £1200 p.a. out of the revenues of the

Antrim estate from the Commissioners appointed to set the forfeited lands. Thomas Phelps petitioned that £600 of this be used to pay a debt owed to him by the Earl's father, the first Marquis of Antrim. (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic,* 1690-1691, p. 338.) Similarly, on 27 July 1694, Alice, Countess-Dowager of Drogheda, petitioned for debts due from the Antrim estate to her grandson, Lord Slane, when she was his guardian. (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic,* 1694-95, p. 241.)

107. MacDonnell, p. 51; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 358-60.
108. Petrie, I, p. 102.
109. Petrie, II, p. 59; NLS Ms. 3784, MacDonald of Killearnan Papers, fols. 29, 43.
110. Petrie, pp. 60-61 quoting HMC Stuart MSS., I, pp. 511-12, IV, pp. 71-72, VI, p. 406.
111. MacDonnell, p. 52.
112. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 367. His own father had made a similar first marriage to Elizabeth Annesley, daughter of the Earl of Anglesey, who died childless in 1669. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 360.) However, it appears from a manuscript *Account of the War and Rebellion in Ireland since 1641,* generally attributed to Nicholas Plunket (see introduction to this chapter), that Anglesey was as guilty of seeking advantage in the marriage as the Earl.
113. For which transactions see Chapter 11, section II. case study of Irish MacDonnells and Scots MacDonalds.
114. MacDonnell, pp. 52, 54, footnote 11.
115. MacDonnell, pp. 52-53, quoting PRONI T448, p. 185.
116. MacDonnell, p. 53.
117. MacDonnell, pp. 52-53.
118. See Chapter 11, section II. Case study of the Irish MacDonnells and Scottish MacDonalds.
119. SRO GD201/1/203, Clanranald Papers. This, clearly, is the "considerable sum of money" referred to above. Clanranald took out a warrant authorising Hans Hamilton and William Taylor, attorneys in the Court of Record in Ireland, to appear for him in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland at the suit of the Earl of Antrim, to confess a judgement, with stay of execution until 1 November 1715, on the filing of a declaration (claim) against him on the bond. The action at Dunblane refers to the battle of Sheriffmuir fought on 13 November 1715 after which it appears, from the above evidence, that some of the Clanranald fugitives took shelter in Antrim.
120. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 117, pp. 362-67. The beneficiary was Francis Edwards.
121. MacDonnell, p. 53.
122. PRONI T.448, Transcripts of State Papers (Ireland), 1715-16, held in the PRO, pp. 210-11. .These contain a fuller original text than the printed version.
123. MacDonnell, p. 53.
124. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote. to p. 363.
125. Petrie, I, pp. 184-87; *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746,* p. 120.
126. MacDonnell, p. 53.

127. For which, see Chapter 18, section II. The vernacular period in Ireland. Much of the native Irish population seem to have remained Jacobite in sentiment until the late eighteenth century, apparently holding on to the forlorn hope that the Stewarts would salvage them from the degraded condition in which they found themselves after the violation of the Treaty of Limerick. Whether he had visited Ireland in 1715, the second Lord Lucan definitely did so in 1719 where he attempted to arrange diversions in all the provinces of Ireland. When the fleet was lost, Lucan slipped away to the continent and the remainder of the small Spanish force in the Highlands surrendered on 10 June 1719. (Petrie, II, pp. 59, 61-62.)

128. *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746*, p. 238; W. B. Blaikie, *Origins of the '45 and Other Narratives*, SHS, (Edinburgh, 1916), pp. xxv-xxvii, xxxix.

129. Blaikie, pp. xliv-xlvii. O'Hampsey, the harper (for whom see Chapter 17, section II. From Gaelic exclusivity), stated that he was in Scotland in 1745 "at Edinburgh when Charley the Pretender was there." He was brought to play for the Prince by "Colonel Kelly, of Roscommon, and Sir Thomas Sheridan," the former of whom, as Ó Baoill points out, was probably one of the Seven Men of Moidart, as was Sheridan. (Ó Baoill, p. 164.) Although Kelly had no true military title, this may have been an honorary title in recognition of his position of confidence thus far in the campaign. However, Ó Baoill is probably mistaken in equating him with Parson George Kelly, for the religious title referred not to him, but to his Catholic relative (George Kelly was a Protestant) who was a Cordelier friar, taken along by the Prince as his confessor. (Blaikie, p. xlvi.)

130. Petrie, II, pp. 71-72; Lenman and Gibson, p. 201.

131. After he left the Navy in his youth in 1711 and spent some time in London in 1712, marriage was mooted with two Irish ladies - a daughter of the Duke of Ormonde and the sister of the Earl of Thomond - though nothing came of the schemes. In 1735, he is mentioned in a letter from Fr. Innes, principal of the Scots College in Paris, as consenting to go to live "with a country Curat, Dr. Dunne an Irishman recommended by Mad. de Mezieres, about a day's journey from Paris." (A. Tayler, *Jacobite Epilogue,* (London, 1941), pp. 23, 37.)

132. Petrie, II, pp. 71-72.

133. *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746*, pp. 245, 248, 255; *The Jacobites*, p. 108; Macinnes, p. 29.

134. *A New History of Ireland,* IX, p. 493; F. J. McLynn, 'Ireland and the Jacobite Rising of 1745,' *Irish Sword,* 13, (1982), pp. 339-40.

135. *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746*, pp. 241-42; *The Jacobites*, pp. 84-85.

136. *The Jacobites*, pp. 85-86.

137. Petrie, II, p. 95.

138. David, Lord Elcho, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746,* (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 339.

139. Elcho, p. 340; 'Ireland and the Jacobite Rising of 1745,' pp. 343-44.

140. Elcho, pp. 340-41.

141. 'Ireland and the Jacobite Rising of 1745,' pp. 343-46, 349.

142. Petrie, II, p. 103.

143. Blaikie, p. xlviii.

144. Alistair Livingstone of Bachuil, Christian W. H. Aikman and Betty Stuart Hart (editors), *Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-46,* (Aberdeen, 1984), p. 134.

145. Petrie, II, p. 103.

146. *Muster Roll*, pp. 37, 60, 134.

147. 'Ireland and the Jacobite Rising of 1745,' p. 348.

148. *Muster Roll,* p. 37.

149. *Muster Roll*, p. 37; Petrie, II, pp. 111, 129-31. It was O'Neill who introduced Charles Edward to the legendary Flora Macdonald, whom he had met formerly, though it appears that Flora was less enamoured of their past acquaintance than he. Shortly after Flora began her escort of the Prince, O'Neill was caught too.

150. *Muster Roll,* pp. 37, 134, 60.

151. *The Jacobites*, p. 134.

152. Edward MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland*, (Shannon, 1969), pp. 35, 164, 197, 176, 129.

153. *Muster Roll,* pp. 38, 66; MacLysaght, pp. 33-34, 54, 99, 111; Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames,* (Oxford, 1991 reprint), pp. 176, 515. For the Tyrone MacLeans, see Chapter 14, section I. Settlement during the mercenary period. It may also indicate that he had family ties with the MacLeans through his mother, for example, or his wife.

154. MacLysaght, pp. 34, 56, 59, 61, 63, 91, 130, 149, 157-58, 173, 207, 217; George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, (New York, 1989 reprint), p. 575; Hanks and Hodges, p. 35.

155. MacLysaght, pp. 40, 49, 71, 74, 134, 166, 183, 200, 203-04; Black, p. 509; Hanks and Hodges, p. 114; *Muster Roll,* pp. 62-63, 135-36.

156. Claude Nordmann, 'Choiseul and The Last Jacobite Attempt of 1759,' in Eveline Cruikshanks (editor), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759,* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 201.

157. Petrie, II, p. 163.

158. Petrie, II, pp. 141-42, 144, 146, 159.

159. *The Jacobites*, pp. 185-86; Petrie, II, pp. 149, 150-51, 154; Lenman and Gibson, p. 238.

160. Petrie, II, pp. 154-56; Lenman and Gibson, p. 238; *The Jacobites*, pp. 43-44.

161. BL Add. Ms. 33,050, Papers relating to the Jacobites, 1745-1755, fols. 369-79; 'Loup Hill,' p. 13.

162. Lang, pp. 231-32, 234-35.

163. BL Add. Ms. 33,050, fol. 374. Mr. Savage had met Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk who had been in contact with Dr. Cameron, Jacobite schemer, in Stirlingshire.

164. Lang, pp. 233, 243, footnote 1. For further details, see Chapter 14, section II. Settlement during the plantation period.

165. Lang, pp. 233-37, 243, footnote 1.

166. BL Add. Ms. 33,050, fol. 371.

167. BL Add. Ms. 33050, fol. 371.

168. 'Loup Hill,' p. 13. 'In this distorting mirror appears the last caricatured glimpse of the scheme which Sir Alexander Maclean once brought so close to success, through which Kintyre might have become the strategic key to a Jacobite restoration.'

169. A letter in the Montrose Mss. correspondence from Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, Newhailes in Edinburgh, on 10 March 1715, could not express the phenomenon better: "We are still told that highlanders are unsettled. The story says they have agents resideing in France who undertake for them according to a very unsolid Schem, for if any man has 20 Men he undertakes for 100 and so proportionately, these agents send them messengers with letters which promise present invasion..." (SRO GD220/5/453/11.)

170. BL Add. Ms. 33050, fols. 372-73; Lang, p. 245, footnote 1, p. 240.

171. L. M. Cullen, 'The Smuggling Trade in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 67, section C, no. 5, (1969), p. 153.

172. Fingall was described in 1600 by Fynes Moryson, secretary to Lord Deputy Mountjoy (1600-1603) as "a little territory, as it were the garner of the kingdome, which is environed by the sea and great rivers, and this situation hath defended it from the incursion of rebels in former civill warres." (*A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. lv, 547.)

173. BL Add. Ms. 33050, fols. 374-76.

174. Black, p. 485.

175. BL Add. Ms. 33050, fol. 375.

176. See Chapter 18, section II. The vernacular period in Ireland, comments on Jacobite aisling poems.

177. BL Add. Ms. 33050, fol. 379.

178. BL Add. Ms. 33050, fol. 379.

179. Lang, p. 248; Petrie, II, p. 154.

180. Petrie, II, pp. 163-65.

181. Nordmann, p. 202; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 637.

182. For the promotion of Catholicism in the Isle of Lewis by the MacKenzies of Kildun, see Chapters 8 and 10.

183. Nordmann, pp. 202-06, 208.

184. Nordmann, pp. 207-10.

185. Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M, 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the Collection Nunziatura di Fiandra, Vatican archives, Part 1, vols. 1-50,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 1-2, (1958-59), pp. 119-20, 122.

186. NLS Ms. 5127, Erskine Murray Papers, fol. 133, Declaration of Thurot's living in Ila January 1760.

187. Macinnes, pp. 26-27.

188. Macinnes, p. 27.

189. Petrie, II, pp. 166-68.

CHAPTER 5
RELIGIOUS CONTACTS BETWEEN IRISH AND SCOTTISH GAELS, 1560-c.1619

Introduction

In Ireland, the beginning of the Reformation was technically earlier than in Scotland, dating from the Irish parliament's enactment in May 1536, that Henry VIII was "the only supreme head in earth of the whole church of Ireland" and the breach of the Irish Church with Rome.[1] However, the actual creation of a Protestant Church in Ireland did not begin until about the same time as in Scotland when, shortly after the accession of Elizabeth I, the act of supremacy of 1560 provided for an ecclesiastical commission to superintend the reform of the church, and the act of uniformity, in the same year, made attendance at the parish church statutory. Furthermore, services were to be conducted by English-speaking clergy using the Book of Common Prayer, and Latin, not Irish, was to be the preferred second language for conducting the service for those who did not speak English. This was a great irony in a reform movement which emphasised use of the vernacular, and moreover: 'To approach the task of converting Ireland whilst at the same time stressing the use of English was automatically to limit the appeal of Protestantism.'[2] This lead to a scarcity of Irish-speaking Protestant clergy which was partially met from the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd.*

A further difficulty for the establishment of Protestantism in Ireland, one mirrored to a certain extent in the Scottish Highlands and Islands, was the close working relationship between the Church and the State at this time throughout Protestant Europe, in spite of the generally anti-erastian nature of the reformers. For in Ireland, the power of the Dublin government was not effective over vast areas of the country, particularly in Connacht and Ulster, that is, precisely those areas where Highland settlement was greatest in the sixteenth century. In Connacht, there was indifference and hostility to the Church of Ireland, and the lack of commitment on the part of either the clergy or the civil government resulted in substantial loss of resources to the church. For instance, by 1615, 86% of rectories in the province of Tuam (see fig. 5.1, Church of Ireland dioceses c. 1570) were in the hands of laymen and a great many benefices were not being served. In Ulster, the diocese of Raphoe, in Donegal, was particularly regarded as outwith royal control. Elizabeth did not nominate a bishop there throughout her reign, while the register and revenues of the See remained under control of the Catholic bishops until 1606. (See fig. 5.1, Church of Ireland dioceses c. 1570, dioceses independent of royal control.) Thus, James VI and I's appointment of the Gaelic-speaking Highlander, Denis Campbell, to the See in 1604, and subsequently, Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, in 1610, must be seen as a concerted attempt to check the autonomy of the Irish *Gaeltacht.* Furthermore, the Protestant evangelisation of the native Irish community there was closely tied to the plantation of Ulster. The Church was generously endowed from the

escheated lands and Protestant clergy were often attracted to Ulster through their ties with settlers in the plantation. By 1622 there were 136 ministers in the planted Ulster dioceses.[3] Bishop George Montgomery, incumbent of the Sees of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher between Campbell and Knox, was not only the brother of Hugh Montgomery, laird of Braidstone in Ayrshire and one of the main leaders of the plantation in County Down, but in his ecclesiastical capacity he worked to substantially increase the acreage for plantation in his Sees which was ultimately far more than the English government had envisaged.[4]

As in the Highlands of Scotland, the reformed church in Ireland fell heir to the ministry, lands and patronage of the medieval church but, as in Scotland, it was a somewhat delapidated institution which declined further in the late sixteenth century due to lay appropriation and the generally poor quality of the clergy. Unlike the Highlands, however, which had many cumbersomely large parishes, effective ministry in the Church of Ireland was made difficult by the existence of a network of relatively small parishes, some of which did not have sufficient income to support a minister. As in the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd,* the Church of Ireland provided little more than a 'skeleton ministry' throughout the country, which was particularly sparse where the native Irish held political control. The situation was exacerbated further by the inadequacy of the clergy. Many of those native Irish or Anglo-Irish who conformed on the accession of Elizabeth I were simply 'reading ministers,' who read the service book but did not preach and were often pressurised by Catholic relatives to alienate church lands. As in the Highlands, Gaelic-speaking conformists ensured a degree of continuity and were, at least, able to speak Irish when there were few native Irish entering the ministry. However, it was mainly the strength of the Counter-Reformation in Ireland which restricted the growth of the Church of Ireland, because 'the leaders of the Catholic church could rely upon a basic popular distaste for Protestantism and the established church, partly for religious reasons, but also on political and even racial grounds.'[5]

Not only were the English resented as Protestant reformers, but they were disliked even more for their political interference in Ireland which was seen to be in direct conflict with the interests of the Catholic faith. In the 1570s, Catholic intrigue on behalf of the imprisoned Mary Stewart served to increase the efforts of the Counter-Reformation in Ireland, as in Scotland. The revolt in 1579 of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, cousin of the Earl of Desmond, and his international connections with Catholic leaders such as the Pope and Philip II of Spain, alarmed the government, and led the way, after the attainder of the late Earl of Desmond in 1586, for attempts at the reformation of Munster.[6] The political dimension of the Counter-Reformation was also to the fore during the Ulster rebellion of 1594 to 1603 with Hugh O'Neill's appeal for Spanish support. The Counter-Reformation movement in Ireland was particularly invigorated in 1596 when a Jesuit residency was set up, heralding the arrival of substantial numbers of priests from Europe who worked to sustain the Catholic faith. The end of the period under view, saw the beginnings of the establishment of a

resident Catholic episcopacy, in 1618, which placed Catholicism in Ireland on a far firmer footing.[7]

The Dublin government sought to protect the Church of Ireland, after the accession of James VI to the English throne, by issuing a proclamation in 1605 banishing priests from Ireland and enforcing the fine for recusancy. But this had little effect on the most essential task of the Church, the evangelisation of the native Irish. Many remote Irish-speaking parishes were vacant, the living held by an absent pluralist or a poverty-stricken Irish curate, and as in many remote Highland parishes, the churches were decayed. The problem was exacerbated by the fact that most clergy appointed to Irish parishes in the early seventeenth century came from England, Wales and Scotland.[8] Among these, only a handful of Gaelic-speaking Scots were capable of ministering in Irish.

In Scotland, with Parliament's acceptance of the Reformed Confession of Faith in August 1560, papal authority there was completely destroyed, and it became punishable to celebrate mass. Within a few years of 1560 the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Scotland had been removed. Although many people in the country appear to have remained nominally Catholic, there were no longer any bishops to coordinate or supervise the work of any priests who remained, or more importantly, to safeguard recruitment of new priests to Scotland.[9] While it is, in general, very difficult to trace the fate of the ordinary priest in the Highlands and Islands, it is clear that some continued to administer the sacraments according to Catholic rites. It is a little easier to trace the path of the higher clergy, where there appears, as might be expected, to have been a period of adjustment. As late as 1565, Patrick MacLean had had Queen Mary's nomination to the Pope, as bishop elect of the Isles, (which he had perhaps had since 1560,) but about January 1565 transferred his right to the Protestant, John Carswell, for a pension. On MacLean's resignation, Carswell received a crown grant of the revenues of the See, and was subsequently provided by the Crown on 24 March 1567. Donald Munro, who wrote a *Description of the Western Isles* in 1549, appears as archdeacon of the Isles on 11 September 1553, probably having been so earlier, and again on 25 January 1563. Munro later conformed to Protestantism and was appointed commissioner of Ross by the General Assembly. John Campbell, commendator of Ardchattan, was designated bishop elect of the Isles from 1557 to 1560, by which time he was considered a good Protestant. He was still commendator of Ardchattan in 1564. James Hamilton was appointed bishop of Argyll in 1553, conformed, and remained in the Protestant heartland, though relatively inactively, until he died on 6 January 1580.[10]

The overall impression is that after 1560 the Catholic structure was crumbling and that some of the higher clergy introduced into the Highlands were Lowlanders. For instance, Henry Sinclair, was dean of Glasgow, as well as president of the college of justice, when he received papal provision to the diocese of Ross, two years before Munro was appointed there as commissioner. Interestingly,

however, although Sinclair died a Catholic in Paris in 1565, he appears to have been a pragmatist. Whilst still in Glasgow he had agreed to supply bread and wine for Protestant communion in the parish Kirk of Glasgow, and once in Ross declined to answer the papal envoy, also stating that the laws, including that forbidding celebration of mass, were to be upheld. Indeed, he even paid £50 a year out of his own income to the Protestant preacher of the Kirks of Nigg and Tarbert. The preacher was probably a reader, for the records of the assignation of stipends indicate that the post of reader in Nigg was vacant by 1574 and that Gavin Dunbar was then 'reidare at Tarbert.' Another Catholic, John Leslie, subsequently received nomination to the diocese of Ross from the crown in 1566, is recorded as having been inducted in January 1567. He was forfeited in the following year, receiving a new papal provision to the See in April 1575, a month after the Protestant Alexander Hepburn had been provided to the bishopric. Similarly, in Caithness, Robert Stewart, son of the third Earl of Lennox, had been appointed to the bishopric of Caithness as a minor, in 1542, lost it in 1545 for treason, but was then returned to it, conforming at the Reformation. Stewart was relatively inactive from 1570, but retained the bishopric until his death in 1586. The next crown nominee, Robert Pont, the provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh, was clearly a Lowlander, but objecting to episcopacy, he was prepared to be minister only.[11]

The new Protestant regime sought to protect its infant establishment, and to give it financial security. Nonetheless, this was done with some thought for the current possessors. It was ordained in February 1562 that as long as they did not celebrate mass, existing benefice holders could draw two thirds of their revenues during their lifetimes. The remaining third was to be divided between the Crown and the Protestant Kirk.[12] However, significant numbers of pre-Reformation clergy in certain dioceses in the mainland Highlands did conform to Protestantism.[13] At the time of the 1573 Test Act which sought to obtain the benefices of non-conforming clergy for the reformed ministry by requiring all benefice-holders to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and to acknowledge the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical and civil matters, there were only 14 deprivations in the dioceses of Dunblane, Dunkeld, Aberdeen and Ross, and two in Moray. It is worthy of note that there were none in the exclusively Highland diocese of Argyll and the Isles,[14] though in the Isles, at least, this was possibly more due to the existence of vacancies than to total conformity on the part of the priests. For the 1573 statute removed only 'the very small number of determined recusants,' and it is likely that the geographical isolation of the Highlands protected those Catholic priests who still wished to serve, without great fear of detection. However, by the 1570s, the Catholic priests still operating in the Highlands and Islands must have been very few.

On the other hand, the Established Church minister did not exist in some isolated parts of the Highlands until the middle of the seventeenth century, though there were readers and exhorters in some parishes. Moreover, Highland benefices were notoriously unpopular and except in a few cases, it was probably the less able ministers who received them. Even then, the minister's absence

was still marked in enclaves such as Moidart which was claimed back for Catholicism by the Irish Franciscans during their first mission, in the 1630s.[15] It was generally not until the first half of the seventeenth century that anything approaching a satisfactory provision of ministers was made for the Isles. An interesting claim has been made for this period - 'It is significant that in several cases the earliest recorded appointments of Protestant ministers to Hebridean parishes date from the year of the Statutes of Iona, 1609. But even then few could be found.' The first extensive report of the area, compiled in 1626, lists only ten ministers in Hebridean parishes,[16] but there were no fewer than 19 ministers, as well as two readers there, at this time. However the detail of this report more properly pertains to Chapter 6. Thus, it must certainly be agreed that 'the conventional claim which assigns the first recorded appointments of ministers in Hebridean parishes to 1609 and the Statutes of Iona cannot be entertained.'[17] Such circumstances did not make for the extensive survival of ecclesiastical records, but rather the very fragmentary sources with which we are left today.

I. Sources

The one major difficulty inherent in any study of religion in the Highlands during this period, from the Reformation to the beginning of the first Franciscan mission, is the sheer paucity of indigenous primary source material for all religious denominations. The main reason for this dearth of ecclesiastical source material is possibly the drastic effect of changes ordered at the Reformation. There is particularly little information about survival of the Catholic faith in the Highlands and Islands, and while it can by no means be said that relations between Irish and Scottish Gaels require study of only the Catholic records, nonetheless, Highland connections with the native Irish during the mercenary period were generally with adherents, nominal or practising, of the Catholic religion. Although the tremendous work of Cathaldus Giblin in translating the Latin documents from the Vatican Archives has provided the historian with abundant record material for the first and second Franciscan missions to Scotland, there is no record of the missionaries' activity in the Highlands and Islands until 1624, nor did the Franciscan missionaries come to the Highlands until 1619, the last year within the scope of this chapter.[18] On the other hand, any remaining indigenous Catholic priests were unlikely to compile their own local records, because they would undoubtedly have spun sufficient cord to hang themselves if the records chanced to wander into government hands.

With regard to this lack of ecclesiastical records in the Highlands, it has been stated that 'Gaelic emphasis on oral tradition offers only a partial explanation for this deficiency, for there were undoubtedly ecclesiastical records written in Latin, and even in Scots, which were kept but which simply have not survived - records perhaps no longer retained when their evident utility had ceased.'[19] While accepting the truth of this statement, the general indifference engendered by the oral tradition to the value of the written record (with the possible exception of title deeds), should

still not be underestimated. It was the *seanchaidh*'s job to make a genealogical record of the more significant births and deaths, and even with the demise of the classical clan historians by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the tradition still continued in a less official capacity with those who had a flair for the work. It was really only with the advent of commercialism to the Highlands in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the need to keep accurate fiscal records, that it became more essential to write down and preserve detailed official documentation in the locale, such as customs or estate ledgers.

An equal paucity in source material for the Highlands and Islands has been commented upon, that is, the lack of 'adequate ancillary sources of the sort which do exist for the Lowlands, such as histories and diaries, to reveal the more personal reminiscences and attitudes of contemporaries to the developments they depict.'[20] Unfortunately, there are no such personal accounts by Gaels, and such reaction is lost to historical debate. Here, such a lack can be directly attributed to oral tradition. The writing of prose texts was rare in Gaelic society, and one of the few extant, the late seventeenth-century MacDonald history and account of the civil war, *The Book of Clanranald,* furnishes but one reference of ecclesiastical relevance for this period.[21] Certainly, some of the poetry can be revealing of the odd personal attitude but because of its highly wrought nature, this does not tend to be extensive, and is sometimes too cryptic to identify accurately with a particular person or situation.

However, what does survive is the substantial body of work called *Carmina Gadelica*, collected from oral tradition by Alexander Carmichael in the mid-nineteenth century. It not only provides information of the mode of life of the Gael, but also of his spiritual beliefs. Although poetic in expression and imagery, and thus, not direct in the same way as that given by a diary, it is nonetheless indicative of what was revered, in a religious context, within that society. Indeed, it is significant that most of the material in Carmichael's collection pertains to religion, and is a blend of folklore and stories of Christian saints and miracles, invoking St. Bride, Columba, St. Michael, Christ and Mary.[22] More interesting are the glimpses of survival, particularly in Protestant areas, of elements which following the Reformation are regarded as exclusively Catholic, such as the Marian cult. It is pointed out, for instance, in the editor's note, that the name 'Moire' or Mary, mother of Christ, 'is used even in Protestant districts as an asseveration, as 'Moire tha,' 'Moire chaneil,' 'by Mary it is,' and 'by Mary it is not.' ' The declaration 'Bithibh bìth a chlann, pheacaicheadh sibh Moire mhìn nan gràs!,' that is, 'Be still, children, you would cause mild Mary of grace to sin!' is documented as having been said by a grandmother in Protestant Skye to her grandchildren.[23] Even though areas of Skye were visited by Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century, those things retained by oral tradition are as likely to have come from a pre-Reformation era, or to have survived later in areas which waited almost a century for their first resident reformed minister. Indeed, those areas regained for Catholicism later in the seventeenth

century, might have been more inclined to Catholicism because of the remnants of pre-Reformation prayers and incantations in the oral tradition.

In Ireland too, there is a lack of parish records for the period just after the Reformation. Similarly, there are few sources which give an indication of the state of popular religion, so that in Ireland as in the Highlands and Islands, it is difficult to get a precise idea of any change in the religious attitudes of the native Irish.[24] However, the *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland* is always a useful source of information, and though obviously written from the government point of view, provides material where little is available. There is a fundamental increase in the amount of Protestant material available incidental to the plantation of Ulster in the early seventeenth century. Many government records are extant which cover the various settlements on the escheated lands, as well as a number of surveys of the plantation. Settler bishops such as George Montgomery, bishop of Raphoe, Clogher and Derry (1605-1609), also tended to carry out surveys of their Sees which give details about the resident clergy.[25]

In Scotland, the inability of the Kirk to provide other than a sparse network of ministers in the Highlands and Islands in the late sixteenth century, lead to an absence of kirk session records until well into the seventeenth century. Neither are there any presbytery or Synod records for the period from 1560 to 1619. Such information as can be gleaned about the early days of the Protestant Church in the Highlands and Islands is, as in Ireland, mainly derived from various government and official State papers such as the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland,* the *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, and the *Register of the Privy Seal,* which give information both about personnel and grants to benefices. There is also the odd glimpse of ecclesiastical discipline being enforced through local courts,[26] while the presence of clergymen in various locations can be noted in such records as the *General Register of Deeds,* through their witnessing of various legal documents for landowners.

The extent of the reformed presence in the Highlands and Islands from 1560 to 1619 will now be examined. Though it might be said that the Kirk made an admirable attempt to provide ministers in the early decades after the Reformation, it was working against huge odds, in terms of both geographical isolation and because among those who had conformed to Protestantism there were very few Gaelic speakers. Its success or failure clearly denied or offered opportunities for the Catholic faith to move in.

II. THE PROTESTANT INITIATIVE IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND

Owing to the relative paucity of indigenous Church records for the Highland district, historians have tended to fall into the well-trodden path of therefore assuming that almost all parishes were

unfilled and unattended. However, research conducted on two series of financial records kept by the Crown which recorded the rentals of ecclesiastical benefices from 1561 to 1595, and for the assignment of stipends from 1567 to 1615, has shown that, contrary to previous opinion, the Reformed Church had established a presence which is certainly worthy of note in many mainland Highland parishes within just a few years of the Reformation. This is a valuable revision but, nevertheless, the reformed presence can by no means be regarded as extensive in the Isles and certain districts of the western Highlands. Two qualifications must be made here. First, this presence was not necessarily in ministers, but sometimes in readers who could not celebrate the sacraments of baptism and communion. Second, these financial records do not exist for Argyll and the Isles. The marginal and isolated nature of the Isles and the lack of Gaelic-speaking clergy make it unlikely that the Kirk achieved anything other than the sparsest presence there, and this is supported by the little evidence which survives. On the contrary, however, it may be a fair assumption that similar provision of reformed personnel had been made in Argyll as, for example, in Ross. A state report for 1574 indicated that the sixth Earl of Argyll had obtained ministers and readers, with assigned stipends, for every parish in Lorn, central Argyll and Cowal, and had made provision for the administration of the sacraments and forms of church discipline "after the order of Geneva, translated out of the English into the Irish tongue by master John Carswell, late bishop of the Isles." Certainly, the parishes of Craignish, Glassary, Glenaray and Inveraray, Kilmartin, Knapdale, Dunoon (whose incumbent often held the parish of Kilmun), Inverchaolain, Kilfinan, Ardchattan, Glenorchy and Inishail, Kilchrenan and Dalavich, and Lismore had all been filled either from the Reformation or by the mid-1570s. (See fig. 9.2, Parishes of Argyll and Bute in 1698.) So too, in Lorn, Muckairn was provided with a minister by 1578, Kilninver and Kilmelford by 1580, Kilbrandon and Kilchattan by October 1584. However, Kilmodan or Glendaruel in Cowal did not have a minister until 1598, nor surprisingly, the parish of Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich, next to the Inveraray heartland, until 1601, nor Kilmore and Kilbride in Lorn, until 1608. Moreover, the united parish of Strachur and Strathlachlan, in Cowal, was not provided with a minister, (even if it had a reader,) until 1652, that is 92 years after the Reformation.[27] Here, it is not just a case of lack of record, but these parishes are known to have been vacant until the dates given.

Though the above parishes undoubtedly comprised a substantial part of Argyll, the report's equal emphasis on the existence of readers should not be forgotten, and secondly, that it still implied the non-coverage of a broad area (which was generally more accessible by sea), that is, the Isles, Kintyre, Ardnamurchan, the Moidart region and Glenelg. In short, it leaves out about half the diocese of Argyll and the Isles. For though the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles were separate before 1560, the superintendent of Argyll was provided to the bishopric of the Isles in 1565.[28] Furthermore, available evidence, such as reference to ministers or lack of them, in the early seventeenth-century reports of the Irish Franciscan missions, shows that, even then, such provision was definitely not the general case throughout the Highlands and Islands. Although inroads had

been made into the Isles by the end of the sixteenth century, it was still possible for Farquhar M'Rae, minister of Gairloch in Ross, (see fig. I.4, Scotland - Land over 300m) to say in 1610, when he undertook a mission to Lewis, that 'its inhabitants were strangers to the Gospel,' with few under the age of forty having previously been baptised.[29] The Isle of Lewis had but one Protestant minister by 1572,[30] hardly a healthy coverage of the four parish kirks mentioned by Munro in his 1549 survey, and an indication of the early constraints under which the Reformed Kirk operated in such a vast territory.[31]

From the information uncovered, it appears that in certain of the Highland areas some of the pre-Reformation priests happily took on the role of minister for the area. The advantages of this were obviously that they knew the area intimately, with all its various regional quirks and characteristics, and doubtless spoke Gaelic. For example, in the diocese of Ross about half the ministry on record in the region in 1569 had held office in the pre-reformation church. In this way, the majority of parishes in the diocese were provided with either readers or ministers (though largely ministers) by the late 1570s. Fearn in Easter Ross did not have a minister until 1590, though more significantly, in parishes on the west coast, Gairloch was unfilled until 1583, Lochcarron until 1587 (though Alexander Fraser alias Moir served as a reader in 1574), and Applecross, filled by Murdo Johnston from 1574 as a reader and from 1579 to 1590 as a minister, did not have its own minister again until 1731. Indeed, until 1607, the parishes of Applecross, Gairloch, Lemlair and Dingwall, stretching from Easter to Wester Ross, were the responsibility of one minister, and in 1614 Applecross was served by the minister of Gairloch. Later, in 1656, an ordinance was made that the minister of Lochcarron, with which the parish was joined by this time, should visit Applecross every five to six weeks, staying for at least three days to catechise the people. This situation goes a long way to explaining the persistence of the animal sacrifices recorded there by the presbytery of Dingwall in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was presumably avoided by the Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century because of its proximity to well-staffed Protestant areas. In the diocese of Moray, part of which was in the *Gaidhealtachd*, twenty pre-Reformation secular priests undertook office in the Reformation Kirk, as well as around a dozen monks and friars. On the other hand, evidence from the above sources for Caithness indicates that the recruitment of candidates for the Reformed Kirk did not noticably come from the existing beneficed clergy in the diocese. Nonetheless, all parishes in Sutherland and Caithness appear to have been filled by the late 1570s. Similarly there was relatively little conformity in the dioceses of Dunkeld and Dunblane, but the majority of parishes in these dioceses were also well provided with reformed staff. Significantly, however, five parishes in the diocese of Dunkeld which had been served prior to 1560 but lacked readers in 1574, lay in Atholl and Breadalbane, that is they were all southern Highland rather than Lowland parts of the diocese. Here one exception of a priest who conformed is revealed through the action of Colin Campbell of Glenorchy in paying the stipend of the minister of Kenmore who had earlier been his chaplain in Finlarig Castle and curate at Killin.[32]

The degree of conformity in Ross and Moray probably accounts for attested popular support in these areas in the last decade of the sixteenth and first decade of the seventeenth centuries. When the General Assembly sent a commission to the north in 1597 which passed through Moray, Inverness and Ross, "the visitors found an unexpected avidity for religious instruction and great readiness on the part of the principal proprietors to Make provision for it. Foremost amongst these ... was Lachlan Mor Mackintosh [16th chief] who met the deputation in Inverness and subscribed obligations for payment of stipend in different parishes on his estate." So too, when Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, powerful preacher and twice Moderator of the General Assembly, was exiled to Inverness in 1605, he conducted a mission there, which according to tradition, was attended by multitudes from the neighbouring parishes. People were even said to have come from Ross and Sutherland.[33] (For geographical extent, see fig. I.5, The Highland line.)

The difficulty in making comparisons within the diocese of Argyll has already been mentioned, but the Reformed Kirk is known to have had support from the fifth Earl of Argyll. However, the Countess of Argyll, was ordered by the General Assembly of 1567 to undergo public repentance in the royal chapel at Stirling for having attended the baptism of Prince James as Elizabeth I's proxy.[34] Nonetheless, the public defection of the seventh Earl of Argyll to Catholicism in 1618 probably had a regressive effect upon the progress of Protestantism in Argyll, though his son, Lord Lorne, continued to support the Protestant religion. This support was by no means insignificant, for, after his father's exile, Lorne was, in all but name, the head of the family. The defection of members of the Campbell kin group, such as Campbell of Cawdor, to Catholicism later during the first Franciscan mission, was attributed by the Franciscans to the influence of the Catholic Earl of Argyll.[35] Moreover, when Argyll was ordered to appear before the Privy Council to answer for his conduct, under pain of treason, in 1618, he was also chastised for being "not secretlie reconceilled bot oppinlie enterrit in verie professed freindschip and suspitious dealing with our proclaimed tratour Sir James McDonald and olde McRonnald."[36] This shows the extent to which not only the government, but also the clans themselves, identified adherence to Catholicism with political protest against the establishment, just as it was used contemporaneously in early seventeenth century Ireland.

Argyll also had the renowned John Carswell as its superintendent, whose diligent translation of the Book of Common Order into Gaelic in 1567, under the Earl of Argyll's patronage, showed practical concern for people to whom he ministered.[37] He had a sensible commitment towards gradual change, for answering criticism of his work in Argyll, he said in 1564, "latt thaim say quhat thai list, my conscience will nocht latt me use rigour but aganis the sturbborne."[38] Carswell was further provided to the bishopric of the Isles in 1565. Although in theory this extended the area of his work as superintendent[39] it still appears, from all the available evidence, that the Isles remained more immune to the Reformed Kirk than some of the mainland areas by reason of geographical

situation. Even the Reformers recognised this on various occasions in the seventeenth-century records of the Synod of Argyll and much later in the eighteenth-century records of the Royal Bounty, operative from 1728.[40] Provision of ministry had been made in some cases by the end of this period, but the parishes were huge.

Thus, in Jura, Alexander MacAllister was in place at the time of Knox, the bishop of the Isles' report of his diocese in 1626, but no one is recorded prior to that. At the same time, Mull was reported as having three ministers for the one parish, (blank) MacLean, 'parson of Kilean,' Mr. John Campbell and Ninian MacMillan, though no reformed presence is reported earlier than this. The parish served by three ministers was, therefore, presumably Killean in Torosay.[41] Nonetheless, for Mull to have been served by three ministers at the beginning of the seventeenth century would seem to make a case for some kind of preparation having preceded this in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is doubtful, otherwise, whether there would have been sufficient demand to sustain such a presence. The more southerly Iona, or Icolmkill, had a minister, Fingon MacMullen, as early as 1573; his immediate successor was Ewen MacLean who died before 26 May 1642. In Tiree and Coll, Thomas Knox was already minister when he was made dean of the Isles on 4 August 1617. In the following year, 1618, the two Tiree parishes of Kirkapol and Sorobie were joined with Coll on 31 July. Yet, just how effectively was the Protestant Church established in Coll when, during the Commonwealth period, parents who lived in vacant parishes in Argyll and wished their children to be baptised, had to bring a certificate of fitness from the session, while those residents of Coll who wished their children to be baptised had to bring a certificate from the island's baillie?[42] This shows either that they wanted Protestant baptism, or that communications were so uncertain in the joint parish of Coll and Tiree that Coll was really without a ministry.

In the Long Island, comprising South and North Uists, Benbecula, Barra, Harris, Bernera, St. Kilda and Lewis, there was some provision of ministers in the first two decades after the Reformation, with more in place in the early seventeenth century.[43] When criminal letters were taken out in October 1633 against Ranald MacDonald, first of Benbecula, he was accused, amongst other things, of coming to the Isle of Barra in June 1609, and that he there "slew to the death umquhile Johnne Mcniell persone and minister of Bara."[44] This murder, combined with the ministrations of Irish regular missionaries of various denominations throughout the seventeenth century, appears to have effectively decided the future religious bent of the island as a Catholic enclave later in the seventeenth century. At the time of Knox's report, Barra was nominally served by the minister of Harris, which also implies that there was no Protestant minister between the two.[45] In the same year, 1609, Kenneth McKenzie, minister, was presented by Andrew, bishop of the Isles, to the parish of Sleat, including Trotternish and the Small Isles of Eigg, Muck, Rhum and Canna.[46]

The Hebridean Isles, Skye and Harris had the earliest settlements of reformed ministers, both in

1566, and Lewis had a minister by 1572. It was, perhaps, because the Reformed Kirk had arrived before them that the various waves of Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century, were able to make only limited headway in these islands. In Skye, as early as 1566, Malcolm MacPherson was granted the parsonage and vicarage of Duirinish for life by Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll. In the following year the grant was confirmed by Queen Mary, as well as his collation by John Carswell, as abbot of Iona. Since he was one and the same as the Malcolm MacPherson who was also granted the parsonage and vicarage of St. Bride in Harris during his lifetime, and was confirmed in that grant too in 1567, he may simply have been drawing the revenues of both.[47] The first reformed minister in the parish of Duirinish appears to have been Alan O'Colgan, who witnessed a contract between Donald MacDonald of Sleat and Roderick MacLeod of Harris in 1609. The appointment of this minister shows a deliberate attempt at cultural empathy, for he would seem to have been of native Irish extraction, though his forename is more particularly Scottish than Irish, which might indicate second-generation settlement. So too, there is known to have been a minister in the parish of Bracadale by 1614, which makes a total of two operational, reformed parishes in Skye by this date.[48] Nonetheless, this represents a coverage of only one-sixth of the twelve parish kirks in Skye mentioned by Munro in 1549, and appears to have left openings for the survival of at least one Catholic enclave.[49]

Alexander Campbell, parson of "Killychmynewyr," seems to have held the benefice of Kilmuir in Trotternish, in Skye, when, in 1580, he witnessed a bond from Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg, to John, bishop of the Isles.[50] He does not appear in the revised *Fasti*, and presumably was the pre-reformation incumbent, just holding two-thirds of the fruits of the benefice during his lifetime. The fact that he was a Campbell also tends to support this interpretation, for the majority of that name were employed in and around Argyll. Moreover, the fact that there was then a gap of about eighty years before the next incumbent, Farquhar MacLennan, in 1662, who is noted as the first reformed minister in the *Fasti*, might partially account for the fact that Trotternish became the most Catholic of all the districts of Skye in the seventeenth century.[51] Further evidence of continuance of the old church in Trotternish is the survival of a medieval Gaelic-Latin *Cisiojanus*, that is, a mnemonic list of feasts, a manuscript which had been acquired locally by Donald Macqueen, parish minister of Kilmuir in Trotternish from 1740 to 1785. It is, in itself, as an unsophisticated composition, an indication of the esteem with which the saints were held in the area from which it originated. It derived from the Beaton family in Skye and dates from the sixteenth century.[52]

In the parish of Kilbride in Harris, Malcolm MacPherson was granted the parsonage and vicarage of St. Bride in Harris for his lifetime, in 1566, by Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll. He still held the grant in 1568, but following this, John McPherson was in place in 1626 and may have been there earlier. There was also a minister working at Rodel in Harris in 1605 in the service of MacLeod of Harris. Thus, it seems that only in Harris was there a reformed presence as early as in Skye. In

North Uist, Donald MacMillen was said to be "ane verie auld man" in 1626 and had probably been there for some time. Technically, MacMillen also served South Uist but he had his residence in North Uist, where the people had taken to Protestantism, whereas even prior to the advent of the Franciscan missionaries, the people of South Uist seem to have shown no inclination for Protestantism. The Irish Franciscan missionary, Fr. Ward is said to have converted Ranald MacDonald to Catholicism, claiming that he was the minister in South Uist.[53] This, however, appears to have been another of MacDonald's many ruses, for the first minister of South Uist, rector John MacKinnon, is not recorded until 3 June 1633, and may not have been resident there.[54] Under any circumstances, MacDonald was to prove a disreputable convert.[55] In Lewis, two clergymen are mentioned in the two decades after 1560. In 1566, Sir Patrick McMaster Martin was parson in Barvas, but his designation as confessor indicates that he was one of the pre-1560 clergy who had retained his benefice. A minister, Ronald Anguson, was also in place in Uig by June 1572, though it should be borne in mind that because of the amalgamation of the parishes of Stornoway, Gress, Ey, Lochs and Uig, he was responsible for a vast parish which actually covered three-quarters of the island. (See fig. 9.1, Highland parishes from the eighteenth century.) In an obligation of 16 April 1573, from Roderick MacLeod of Lewis, pledging cooperation with John Campbell, bishop of the Isles, Anguson is designated "persoun of Wig." This terminology makes it possible that he was incumbent in the benefice at the reformation and had simply conformed. The island of Lewis was also served briefly, on two occasions, by ministers in a missionary capacity. Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, accompanied the Fife Adventurers[56] to Lewis in October 1598, and again in April 1601, at the behest of the presbytery of St. Andrews, in order "to plant ane kirk" in Stornoway. When 60 of these Lowland planters were murdered in December 1601, Durie fled to his old parish. In 1610, the final year of the Adventurers' attempts at colonising the island, Farquhar McRae, minister of Gairloch, went as missionary to Lewis, where little had yet been done to instruct the inhabitants in the reformed faith.[57]

What comes across from the evidence in Scotland as a whole, in the late sixteenth century, is the general receptiveness of the populace to the Protestant faith, and the relative ease with which the Reformed Kirk was able to assume established superiority in many areas.[58] Certainly, after the abdication of Queen Mary in 1567, the Reformation was regarded as more of a political *fait accompli*,[59] and any Counter-Reformation plot which held the least suggestion of foreign involvement held markedly political implications. Furthermore, the transition from the Catholic to the reformed faith was assisted by the apparent inability of the Scots Catholic community resident abroad to mobilise support for a mission, either in terms of manpower or finance. Yet, neither should it be assumed that the Protestant Kirk was attempting to replace a parochial system in the Highlands and Islands which had been 100% operational, because prior to the Reformation, the Catholic Church had been as guilty of providing absentee appointments in the Isles as the Protestant Kirk was now unable to fill all its benefices. As in other parts of Scotland, parochial revenues had

been used to endow other religious institutions, with a minor curtailment on appropriation in the Highlands and Islands because of the limited number of possible recipients and the inaccessibility of some parishes.[60] So too, the granting of the headships of religious institutions *in commendam*, that is, of appointing a caretaker in the absence of the rightful, *in titulo* possessor, had been used as a way of circumventing the rules against pluralism, and had even resulted in the appearance of lay commendators.[61]

To what extent there was a converse reaction to Protestantism in the Highlands and Islands (though the behaviour of Ranald MacDonald of Benbecula was undoubtedly an extreme example of its type), it is very difficult to gauge from the extant source material. For opposition to Protestantism was often symptomatic of a more general rejection of Lowland politics and culture in favour of local Gaelic hegemony, as expressed at the time of the Fife Adventurers attempted colonisation of Lewis. The establishment of the reformed faith in the Highlands and Islands was used, as in Ireland, as a tool to civilise the natives. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, James VI and I made steps to bring the Highlands under state jurisdiction, which meant, by implication, within the fold of the Established Church. The very first term of the Statutes of Iona in 1609, by which the main Highland and Island chiefs were made to subscribe an oath to the future obedience of the King and the laws of Scotland, referred to their lack of support of the Established Church. The registered copy of the Statutes of Iona went as far as to equate their ignorant state with lack of the Protestant religion:

> ... the speciall barronis and gentilmen of the saidis Yllis undirwrittin ... togidder with the maist pairt of thair haill speciall freindis, dependairis and tennentis, compeirand judiciallie, and undirstanding and considering the grite ignorance unto the quhilk not onlie thay for the maist pairt thameselffis, bot also the haill commonalitie inhabitantis of the Illandis, hes bene and are subject to, quhilk is the caus of the neglect of all dewtie to God and of his trew worschip, to the grite grouth of all kynd of vice, proceiding pairtlie of the laik of pasturis plantit and pairtlie of the contempt of these quha ar alreddy plantit...

The proposals made for remedying this state of affairs were that the ministers planted, and to be planted, in the Isles were to be reverently obeyed, their stipends to be dutifully paid, the ruinous kirks repaired, the sabbath kept, and all sexual misdemeanours as well as hand-fasting[62] were to be punished "conforme to the lovable Actis of Parliament of this realme and disciplein of the Reformit Kirk."[63]

The overall aim of the Statutes of Iona was to encourage the assimilation of the clan *fine,* and to make them more like the Lowland gentry. In terms of what the Statutes achieved concerning the Kirk, it does appear that a sustained effort was made to introduce more ministers to the Isles

particularly, as can be seen from the evidence discussed above, the provision of more ministers by the time of Knox's report in 1626 than there had been in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Doubtless the virtual capitulation of the native Irish in Ulster and the escheating of the six counties would also have served to focus the minds of Highland and Islands chiefs with regard to similar occurrences on the west coast of Scotland. Nonetheless, the reconstitution of the Statutes by the Privy Council seven years later is an indication that all the proposals contained in the Statutes had not been fully implemented.[64] Thus, even though more ministers were in place in the Isles following the enactment of the statutes, there was still much room for improvement. By no means all the vacant parishes were occupied and thus, there was an added burden on those ministers *in situ*, who generally had burdensomely large parishes in the first place. Even fifty years after the Reformation there were still only a modicum of filled benefices in the Isles.

It was apparent, a decade later, that some in the Highlands appeared to adhere to a tenuously remembered Catholic faith. This was perhaps as much a consequence of the uncertainty which the Kirk seemed to bring, as of innate conservatism, or alternatively perhaps, of defiance of the Clan Campbell. One view of the situation has been stated thus:

> The religion the people of the Isles wanted was clearly apparent when the Irish Franciscans came to the Hebrides in 1624, when several of the subscribers to the Statutes and thousands of ordinary Hebrideans were speedily reconciled to the Roman Catholic church - the latter mostly from ignorance, not from Protestantism - in numbers that the Vatican found difficult to believe, having the illusion that Scotland was by then totally Calvinist.[65]

It is necessary to qualify this statement at several levels, not least numerically, because the evidence of the early conversion of areas of some islands, such as Skye and Harris, to Protestantism refutes the statement that all the people of the Isles wanted Catholicism. Some, perhaps, found it flattering that a clergyman of any denomination took an interest in them at all. Nonetheless, many of those areas where people were more receptive to the tradition of Catholicism were particularly isolated, and some of them were in the Isles, or in mainland areas where there was a strong link with other clan territories in the Isles, like the Moidart territory of the MacDonalds of Clanranald. On the mainland, Glengarry and Lochaber were also more favourably inclined to the Catholic tradition. For geographical, cultural and political isolation forged the attitudes which kept the Protestant Kirk out, as it did in the Isle of Barra in 1609.

There was also a certain amount of pragmatism in the exercise of religion. For instance, though there was an early reformed presence in Skye, Donald Gorm MacDonald, seventh of Sleat stressed his Protestantism as much in the hope of gaining lucrative mercenary contracts in Ireland from Elizabeth I of England. He pointed out, in a letter of 1598, that he could ascertain for her all the

secret actions and intentions of the recently restored Catholic Earls of Huntly, Angus and Errol, "whoe hes gottin tham selfis (be his Majestie's speciall caire and politique Industrie) resaved agane in the bosome of the Church of Scotland."[66] He would also be able to find out the intentions of the Spanish and their plots against England "and that throw the veray speciall credeitt Inteirfreindschipe and familiaritie I have with Mr James Gordoune Jesuit,[67] Mr Walter Lyndesay With divers other Scottis papistis Jesuits and seminarie preistes," whose diabolical, pestiferous and anti-Christian practices he professed to hate with all his heart and soul.[68]

As for any mainland Highlanders who accepted the discipline of the Kirk, the personality of the local minister backed by the power of the State must have been responsible, for no kirk sessions were established to assist ministers in the Highlands until well into the seventeenth century.[69] Adherence to Catholicism, especially in the absence of a resident priest to bring home the immediacy of its practical lifestyle, was perhaps more attractive. Indeed, in some localities, many were able to use the existing discrepancy in religious observance to achieve aims which ultimately might not have been allowed by either church. Surviving presbytery and Synod minutes of a later period show in graphic detail the sins and errors, particularly of adultery and fornication, which the Kirk denounced. The Highlands had its fair share of this type of sin which undoubtedly existed before the start of the extant Highland Kirk records of the 1630s. One of the terms of the Statutes of Iona was that marriages contracted only for a certain number of years were no longer permissable. Much has previously been made of the practise of 'hand-fasting,' so called trial marriage, in the Highlands 'but as A. E. Anton has pointed out, paraphrasing Cosmo Innes "there is no proof, or approach to proof, that handfasting in Skene's sense (trial temporary marriage) or any other peculiar customs of marriage were recognised in medieval Scotland after the introduction of Christianity had given one rule of marriage to the whole Christian world.' It has also been shown, however, that geographical or other difficulties often upgraded the status of the formal engagement or *rèiteach* which was considered sufficiently binding for cohabitation pending a formal church marriage, 'after the Reformation, the more so if the participants did not want to be married by a protestant minister.'[70] Yet, it must be said that judging by the extra-marital conjoinings of many of the Irish and Scottish chiefs of the period, cohabitation whether bound by the *rèiteach* or not, was perfectly socially acceptable, and therefore probably so for the average clansman. Such unions could, of course, later be dissolved and frequently were.

In his 'Observations on the Western Isles of Scotland,' written in c. 1596, Denis Campbell, the dean of Limerick, notes the apparent abduction of Agnes (or Anne) Campbell by James MacDonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, sixth chief, who succeeded in 1538. Having been imprisoned by James V for non-payment of feu duties to the Crown, James MacDonald got out of prison after the King's death, and "taking a lease of Ilahi [Islay] and letters patent as I suppose of Kintyre, acknowledging a good yearly rent for the same, was, notwithstanding, holden in great jealousy by the house of

Argyll." MacDonald's method of remedying this jealousy appears to have been to abduct Agnes Campbell, the Earl of Argyll's half sister, who was then wife of the sheriff of Bute, but "by whom she was hardly entreated." Allegedly because of this harsh treatment, she was making her way to Argyll and "was intercepted by the said James and married," subsequently producing six sons and a daughter.[71] There is no surviving evidence of any ecclesiastical censure of James MacDonald. By the 1630s, when the Protestant Kirk had made some progress in establishing a network of presbyteries in the Highlands, it began to deal, retrospectively, with such transgressors. Another part of the indictment of 5 October 1633 which accused Raonull Mac Ailein 'ic Iain MacDonald of Benbecula of murdering a minister in Barra, also accused that having:

> shakkin aff all feare of god and obedience to His Majesties Lawes he in 1603 with out any Lawful devorcement putt away ------- nyn Rannald Vcdonald his first mareit wyiff and mareit umquhile Margaret nccleoyd sister to umquhile sir Rorie Mccleoyd of Dounvegoune. Efter quhais deceis he mareit Marie Ncconnell sister to Sir Donald McDonald of Sleatt and keepit house with her Ten yeires and thaireftir in ane most godles and Lawles manner without any Decreit of Devorcement patt the said Marie away and mariet Margaret NcConnell sister to Angus McConnell of Dounnavaig with quhome he keipes present companie and societie.

The Protestant Establishment was scandalised that "at this present hour he hes thrie mareit wyiffes alive." MacDonald was, therefore, charged to appear at Inveraray, on 10 January 1634, to answer Criminal Letters on the complaint of Malcolm Fisher, Procurator Fiscal. He was charged with polygamy as well as murder.[72]

III. EFFECT OF THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER ON RELIGIOUS CONNECTIONS

Protestantism had been legally established as the State religions in both Ireland and Scotland by the 1560s, and James VI and I sought to convert the Gaels to Protestantism with the idea that it would have a beneficial affect on their civil behaviour. The beginning of the seventeenth century heralded two events which had powerful implications for the future of the Gaelic world. The first of these was the Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England in 1603 which effectively reduced the options of the Gaels in terms of political connivance. Secondly, there was the defeat and flight of the last truly independent Irish chieftains, O'Neill and O'Donnell, in 1607, which led through the whole-scale forfeiture of their lands to the Protestant plantation of Ulster. After the Union of the Crowns, James was in a better position to undertake a concerted policy of subjugation or 'danting' of the Gael. In the second books of his *Basilicon Doron* of 1599, in which he passed on instruction to his son, he mentioned those he regarded as the oppressors within the kingdom: "As for the Hielandes, I shortly comprehend them all in two sortes of people: the one, That dwelleth in our maine

land that are barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civilitie: the other, that dwelleth in the Iles and are alluterlie barbares, without any sorte or shew of civilitie." For those on the mainland he felt that the best way of proceeding was to execute the laws already constituted against the chiefs, by which they would be easily suppressed. "As for the other sorte, thinke no other of them all, then as of Wolves and Wilde Boares." The remedy for them, therefore, was to "followe foorth the course that I have begunne, in planting Colonies among them of aunswerable In-landes subjectes, that within shorte time maye roote them out and plant civilitie in their roomes." However, James was as wary of "vain Puritans" protesting that he "never founde with anie Hie-land or Bordour thieves so greate ingratitude, and so many lyes & vile perjuries, as I have found with some of them," as he was of "proud Papall Bishoppes."[73] The nominal acceptance of Catholicism by many politically non-conforming Irish and Scottish Gaels, was regarded as a further embodiment of their cultural difference. Yet, James was also a pragmatist and thus, retained the Catholic MacDonnells of Antrim as major planters in the plantation of Ulster.

In Ireland, it appears that the country was supplied with a sufficiency of priests to maintain the old religion because the people still wanted it, and because the Irish Colleges on the continent, in France, Italy and Spain were able to supply clergy. Quite why the same did not happen in Scotland is perhaps worthy of comment, and probably has much to do with the fact that all the Scots Colleges were in the hands of Lowlanders. In comparison, by no means all of the Irish missionaries sent to Ireland at this time spoke Irish;[74] some spoke only English, others only Irish and others spoke both, so the lack of the Gaelic tongue can hardly be blamed. Indeed it is somewhat of an irony that while Scots made such a contribution to the Protestant effort in Ulster, the Irish were to make a similar commitment to the Catholic effort in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland!

The polarisation of culture and religion that we see today, had already begun to reveal itself in the late sixteenth century when, as early as 1576, it was suggested that Gaelic-speaking Scots should be brought to Ireland to preach the true religion to the Irish. On 28 April of this year, the Lord Deputy, Sydney, wrote to Queen Elizabeth concerning the lamentable state of the Church of Ireland. He requested that the Queen write to the Regent of Scotland to send some honest, zealous, and learned men, who could speak the Irish language.[75] One such, more eminent than the rest, was probably Denis Campbell, the illegitimate son of the fifth Earl of Argyll, who became dean of Limerick in 1587.[76] The State Papers refer in 1596 to 'the contention betwixt the Bishop of Limerick and him' and how his friends 'have provided that he shall be advanced to the bishopric of the Isles.' The problem with the bishop would appear to have arisen from a perceived conflict between his ecclesiastical office and his involvement in the mercenary trade, both as an adviser to the government and a contact for Argyll. On 30 April 1596, Robert Bowes, English agent in Scotland, informed that the dean had 'covered (as he says) the wrongs done to him by the Bishop of

Limerick, both in the particular violence against himself and also in offensive words towards Argyll and the house of Campbell, which he called Redshanks to their disgrace and which might stir the house to passion and contempt.' In June, Argyll requested of Bowes that the Queen 'direct the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland with the better expedition to hear and determine the controversies depending betwixt the Bishop of Limerick and the Dean.'[77] In spite of the possibility of advancement to the bishopric of the Isles, Denis Campbell seems to have elected to stay in Ireland. This may be due in part to his alleged unpopularity in the Highlands. George Nicolson, English agent in Scotland, wrote in 1600 that he was 'a gentleman of good affection to her Majesty's service, but much disliked and crossed here,' especially it seems, by Agnes Douglas, Countess of Argyll, wife of the seventh Earl, which would not have furthered his advancement to the bishopric of the Isles.[78] He is noted in Ireland in 1599 and 1601 as one of several preachers to the army for which he was paid 30s per week. He attended the soldiers in garrison, but stayed in Dublin.[79]

This suggestion of importing Gaelic-speaking Scots was repeated, in 1604, by Sir John Davies, the Solicitor General, to Cecil. Davies was under no illusion as to the inadequacy of the Irish clergy, even following the Protestant Reformation, indicating that the Irish Protestant churchmen are "for the most part mere idols and ciphers, that many are serving men and some horseboys, and that many cannot read," labels differing little from those applied to the Catholic clergy in the previous century.[80] After a visitation of Cashel and Emly (see fig. 5.1, Irish dioceses c. 1570) in 1607, Thomas Jones, archbishop of Dublin (1605-19), remarked that the native Irish clergy there were "fitter to keep hogs than serve in the church."[81] There was certainly as much abuse of appropriation, Davies giving the example, on 20 February 1604, of Miler Migrath, Protestant archbishop of Cashel (1571-1622), who held four bishoprics, as well as another 77 livings. He then suggested that the English government examine the situation, that preachers were in great demand, and that Gaelic-speaking ministers should be brought across from Scotland. At least they would be understood by the native Irish whom he called "a clamorous and whining nation."[82] Indeed, the opinion has been advanced that it may have been due to Davies' suggestion that Denis Campbell was elevated to the three Sees of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher later in 1604. Although Campbell died before he could enter his new post, the appointment of Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, to the See of Raphoe some few years later in the summer of 1610, undoubtedly occurred by way of a continuation of this same enterprise, for both men knew the Highlands and Isles intimately. However, it should be noted that this strategy ultimately aimed to reduce connections between Gaelic Ireland and the Highlands, as a natural extension of James VI and I's civil policies.[83] In effect, he sought to tame Gaelic resistance by converting them to Protestantism. In 1620, James clarified the role which he envisaged that the new Protestant establishment of Trinity College, Dublin, founded by Royal charter in 1592,[84] would play in the creation of missionaries to evangelise the native Irish. He stated that:

Fig. 5.1
CHURCH OF IRELAND DIOCESES c. 1570

Reproduced from
Ruth Dudley Edwards,
An Atlas of Irish History,
(London and New York,
2nd edition 1981), p. 126.

> because our College of Dublin was first founded ... principally for breeding up the natives of that kingdom in civility, learning and religion, we have reason to expect that in all this long time ... some good numbers of the natives should have been trained up in that College, and might have been employed in teaching and reducing those that are ignorant among that people ...; and therefore we do require that henceforth special care be had ... and, for the supplying of the present want, that choice be made of some number of towardly young men already fitted with the knowledge of the Irish tongue, and be placed in the university ... for two or three years till they have the grounds of religion and be able to catechize the simple natives and deliver unto them so much as themselves have learned.[85]

However, it was difficult to attract native Irish to Trinity College when the official education system was geared towards the English. Moreover, those few Irish-speaking students who went to Trinity in the first decades after its establishment rarely served in the native strongholds of Connacht or Ulster, but more often in the eastern dioceses which were more lucrative and already contained large numbers of Protestants. It certainly never lived up to James's ideal of becoming a seminary for the native Irish.[86]

Inattention, at least in the first few decades after the Reformation, to spreading the gospel in the only vernacular readily understood by the Irish, Irish Gaelic, has been held to be the root of the failure of the Protestant Reformation in Ireland in the sixteenth century. It is a persuasive argument, though Scotland suffered from a similar lack of Gaelic speakers. Indeed, when Archbishop Adam Loftus wrote to the English Council on 5 March 1604, he stated that during the 36 years in which he had been incumbent in the See of Dublin (1567-1605), the city had had as distinguished preachers as any English city, but only the English had heard them.[87] In the following year, on 13 June 1605 the Scot, George Montgomery, dean of Norwich and the King's chaplain, acceded to the combined Sees of Raphoe, Clogher and Derry. 'Unlike Campbell, Montgomery probably knew little or no Gaelic, having spent his life in Scotland's Lowlands or England.' He remained in England for a further two years after his grant, before taking up his appointment, but was interested enough to undertake a survey of his three Sees. Montgomery's survey, dated at some time before September 1607, probably around 1605, is useful as an indication of the extent of Highland or Gaelic-speaking penetration into the area. First of all, it must be stated that the large majority of the names in the survey are Irish in origin, with just a representation of Scots. However, there seems to be insufficient evidence to support Perceval-Maxwell's conclusion about the Scots names in the survey that: 'Despite these tenuous Scottish connexions, almost certainly all were nominal Roman Catholics.'[88] As far as the Scots are concerned, it shows evidence of significant movement of Highland Protestant clergy into Ulster over a decade before the first Irish regulars took their Catholic mission to the Highlands.[89] The survey notes that numerous clergy were versed in Latin as well as speaking Irish and 'Scots,'[90] and

confirms that many of the Irish clergy, owing to its proximity to Ulster, had studied at Glasgow University.[91] These clergymen, at least, were very unlikely to have been Roman Catholic. Until Ulster was adequately provided with the requisite level of educational facilities in the nineteenth century, studying at the nearest Scottish University was the only alternative to Trinity College, Dublin.[92]

A few of the Derry clergy are worthy of note in that not only were many noted as speaking Irish, but at least two spoke both Irish and Scots. Both had also attended Glasgow University, and as such are highly likely to have taken at least one trip to the Highlands, perhaps to a fairly accessible area like Argyll.[93] John O'Henney of Banagher is said to have known Latin, Scots and Irish and studied at Glasgow University. Hugh MacDonnell ["Donaldeus"], rector of Donaghmore and of Ardara in Raphoe, was "clever in Irish, Latin and Scots tongue, the man in all the bishoprics, in my judgement, most learned and most worthy..." though it was said that he "finds difficulty in expressing his opinions" and this, despite his linguistic capabilities! MacDonnell is included among the Derry clergy rather than the Raphoe clergy, which tends to indicate that he was an absentee rector.[94]

The bishopric of Raphoe had clergy with similar accomplishments. Donatus Maginnell, located in a parish "on this side of the mountains," that is, probably to the north of the Blue Stack Mountains (see fig. I.3, Physical features of Ulster) was "learned in Latin, Irish and Scots, studied at Glasgow and is of a good disposition." Nellanus M'Callen (Mac Cailein, i.e. Campbell?), alias Groome, located "beyond the mountains" that is to the south of the Blue Stack Mountains, had also studied at Glasgow and spoke Irish, Latin and Scots. On the other hand, Lodus M'Swine (MacSween?) in Kilcar, who is referred to as "honest" and "guileless" spoke only Irish and Latin, although he had studied at Glasgow. Lastly there is Magonius M'Connell, also located "beyond the mountains," who studied at Glasgow and spoke Scots.[95] The last three definitely sound Scottish in origin and indeed, it is difficult in the latter case to attribute anything other than this nationality to a man who is said just to speak Scots. The surprise here, with a name like M'Connell, is, rather, that he did not speak Irish of one variety or another. None of the clergy in the bishopric of Clogher are said to have been Scots-speaking or to have attended Glasgow University, but the final name in a six-name list of the last bishops of Clogher is 'Dromitius Campbell.'[96] It has not been possible to identify this person, but if 'Dromitius' is taken as a misreading of 'Dionicius' (i.e. Denys),[97] this might refer to Denis Campbell, incumbent of the neighbouring ecclesiastical diocese of Raphoe, who died at about the time the survey was made.

It seems unlikely that Montgomery continued a policy of positively encouraging Gaelic-speakers into his bishoprics, for the plantation was a time for the encouragement of Lowland Scots. He certainly worked assiduously to increase the lands of the Church in Ulster at the beginning of the

plantation period, advertising for tenants in all the ports in the south-west of Scotland and particularly near his brother's Scottish estate of Braidstane, near Irvine. They probably began to arrive in 1607. Having increased the land assigned to the Church in his dioceses by 25,000 acres, Montgomery was then translated to the bishopric of Meath in July 1609 and became more involved with Church affairs in the country as a whole. While he remained bishop of Clogher *in commendam*, the way was opened for new appointments in the other two Sees.[98] The nomination by the King of Andrew Knox to the bishopric of Raphoe, on 12 August 1610, is significant not only as a real attempt to appoint somebody who could effectively communicate with the native Irish, but is significant for the growth of presbyterianism in Ireland. As he wrote to Chichester, the Irish Lord Deputy, on 7 May 1610, the King had particularly chosen Knox, who had been bishop of the Isles since 1605, because there had been a good deal of intercourse between the Scottish Isles and Raphoe, and because Knox had already shown his worth in the former, in negotiating with and attempting to reduce the Islesmen to a state of obedience. Certainly, although Knox had visited Ulster by April 1611 and began to operate from Ireland, he was allowed to retain his Scottish See concomitantly until 1616, a state of affairs which might be regarded as facilitating a ready source of translatable ministers and tenants.[99]

Initially, Knox seems to have had difficulty in persuading Scots tenants to settle in his Donegal See, and he was obliged to grant more favourable terms of tenure in contravention of his patent, and was thus indicted in 1632 for the despoliation of his See. However, in spiritual terms, he implemented a rigorous plan of reform which, for example, recommended the residence of bishops in their bishopric, such that by 1611 Chichester praised him for doing more during his few months in office than Montgomery had done in five years.[100] At the start of 1612, he had already drawn seven ministers across from Scotland to serve in the 28 parishes which constituted the See of Raphoe and of these three are described as Irish-speaking. The word 'prescopalian' has been coined to describe the majority of Scots ministers who came across during this period, because they were presbyterian in attitude, but worked within the fold of the episcopal Church of Ireland. However, during the period of Arminian ascendancy under Archbishop Laud, from 1630 to 1640, most were forced to reveal their true presbyterian tendencies and became ministers of presbyterian non-conformist congregations. For though he never visited Ireland Laud exerted his influence and sought to bring his reforms to Ireland through various agents whom he chose there. He worked, firstly, through Archbishop James Ussher of Armagh (1625-1626), Primate of Ireland, with whom he corresponded from 1629, secondly, from 1631, through William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and finally in 1633, the year in which Laud was appointed archbishop of Canterbury, through Thomas Wentworth (later first Earl of Strafford) who was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in the same year, and his chaplain John Bramhall. Wentworth earned himself the epithet "the Irish Canterbury" from Oliver Cromwell, while "Bishop Bramble" was loathed by the Irish presbyterians.[101]

The seven parishes of Taughboyne, Raymoghy, Raphoe in the barony of Raphoe North, Donaghmore in the barony of Raphoe South, Conwall, Aughnish and Clondavoddog, in the nearby barony of Kilmacrenan, were all served by the Scots brought across by Knox, and are regarded as the 'mother-parishes' of Donegal presbyterianism.[102] Although these seven ministers are said to have been hated by the Irish, the policy of Gaelic promotion must have had some effect on the numbers of native Irish who could be claimed for Protestantism, for even to present them with arguments, never mind to convert them, it was necessary to speak their language.[103] Interestingly, another Scot, who appeared in the diocese of Raphoe in Ireland at this time as a non-conformist to episcopacy, who was not known to have been Gaelic-speaking but had previous connections with Caithness, was the uncompromising presbyterian, Robert Pont.[104] He was one of three Scots who were denizated as "preachers of the Word of God" on 12 February 1619. He probably ministered to the Donegal Scots about Ramelton.[105]

One of the original seven was the Gaelic-speaking Dugald Campbell, who appears to have hailed from Argyll.[106] In all likelihood he was a student of St. Andrew's University, though this cannot be stated with absolute certainty.[107] As for his period in Ireland, Campbell was ordained in Raphoe on 1 September 1611, becoming the rector of Conwall, though his church was subsequently removed to Letterkenny, where eighty British families lived. (For Raphoe and Letterkenny, see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) '... he was one of the Gaelic or Erse preachers employed by Bishop Knox in his praiseworthy but belated endeavour to teach the Irish Protestantism in the vernacular.' Yet, in spite of the introduction of Gaelic-speaking Scots which occurred particularly in the diocese of Raphoe, this method of evangelism was ultimately of limited success in Ireland. It has been said that: 'The emphasis placed by the Scottish Bishop upon the teaching mission of the Protestant Church and upon the need to engage the intelligence of the natives, came after the psychological moment had passed, and ... seems to have been insufficient, of itself, to ensure permanently the conversion of the whole of Donegal.'[108] However, since the Scots came to Ulster, even prior to the plantation of Ulsters, as foreigners and expropriators and brought in their own tenants, it is hardly surprising that their religion was rejected. Although the use of Irish as a tool in conversion might have been more effectively employed by Protestants from the time of Sydney's initial request in 1576, and though the Catholic priests of the Counter-Reformation had undoubtedly taken the earlier initiative in using it, Protestantism in Ireland laboured under the burden of being the religion of conquest.

This translation of ministers must have had an adverse affect on the Kirk's evangelisation of the Highlands because it lost a small but significant number of its Gaelic-speaking personnel to Ulster, a loss which it could ill afford when there were still many vacant parishes in the Highlands and Islands. The Kirk's inability to provide anything other than a skeleton ministry in the Highlands and Islands in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries opened a window of opportunity

for Irish Catholic missionaries to move in in the second decade of the seventeenth century.

IV. THE CATHOLIC COUNTER-ATTACK

What was left of Catholicism in Scotland as a whole seems to have been in difficulty by the end of the 1570s. It was then, perhaps, that the older generation of priests still incumbent at the Reformation who had been allotted two-thirds of their stipends as a retiral pension, were inactive and there was no new blood to continue their ministry. Even before the Reformation, the Highland parishes were in many cases so large as to be ecclesiastically unwieldy, the diocese of Caithness, for instance, having 24 very large parishes. After 1560, the problem must have been exacerbated. Moreover, as in other areas in Scotland, many of the benefices in the pre-Reformation Highlands had been vacant or had had their revenues appropriated, compounding any shortages of revenue. All the 59 parsonages of Caithness and Ross, for example, which being on the mainland were more accessible than the Isles, had been appropriated to the cathedrals of Dornoch (see fig. I.4, Scotland - Land over 300m) and Fortrose. After 1573, however, when the Test Act was administered, demanding that all benefice-holders subscribe to the Reformed Articles of Faith and to royal supremacy in ecclesiastical and political affairs, benefices came exclusively under Protestant control. In the Highlands, many church lands were in the hands of the chiefs, and following the Reformation, it was perhaps at their discretion whether the teinds were paid or not. More interestingly, there is evidence in the diocese of Ross, for instance, between 1559 and 1561, to show that certain laymen took the opportunities provided by the Reformation to stop paying teinds to the existing clergy in the parishes of Kilmorack, Suddie and Kilmuir, and Rosemarkie. (For Rosemarkie, see fig. I.4, Scotland - Land over 300m.) So too, in Kilteam the vicarage teinds were apparently not to be paid "be reasoun the paroshineris will not pay quhill farder ordour be put to the kirk of the samin."[109] The spiritual support of the faithful may have continued for priests for a number of years in some areas, but any effective attempt to restore Catholicism in Scotland probably required political and financial support from abroad.

A short section of *The Book of Clanranald* mentions an ecclesiastical foundation executed in the second half of the sixteenth century which is some indication of continuing religious devotion. Here, the money was provided by a chief, John Moydartach MacDonald, eighth of Clanranald (1529-1584), son of Alexander, the seventh chief. The Book states: "acht do thaobh eoin mhúidéordaigh de chaith deiredh abhetha go diagha trocaireach, do thogaibh tempall a ceillmaoilridhe anárasáig 7 tempall a ccill Donnáin anéige 7 do fáguibh máoin do chum caibeil do thogmhail an hogmór anuibhisd bhala ar cuiredh achorp san bhliadhnasa daois chriosd 1574"[110] (concerning John Moydartach, he spent the end of his life godly and mercifully. He erected a church at Kilmarie in Arasaig, and a church at Kildonan in Eigg;[111] and he left funds to erect a

chapel at Howmore in Uist, where his body was buried in the year of the age of Christ 1574.)[112] This would seem to indicate that, at least in the Clanranald area of Uist, Catholicism was still practised at the height of the Reformation. As late as the early eighteenth century, the Kirk admitted that the Reformation had not yet entered Clanranald's bounds,[113] therefore the chapel at Howmore in Uist must have been a Catholic building. Whether it was a mausoleum or whether a curate or chaplain said mass in the chapel, is impossible to ascertain.

Other examples of the continuity of Catholicism are difficult to find. Some of the Clan Donald South clearly came into contact with Catholicism in Ireland on their mercenary trips, or lived in surroundings which encouraged their old beliefs. Sir John Perrot wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham on 20 October 1584, apparently sending him an ornamental Iona cross of which he spoke of mockingly, pointing out the esteem in which it was held by Somhairle Buidhe:

> And for a token I have sent you Holy Columkill's cross, a god of great veneration with Surle Boy and all Ulster, for so great was his grace, as happy he thought himself that could get a kiss of the said cross. I send him unto you, that when you have made some sacrifice to him, according to the disposition you bear to idolatry, you may, if you please, bestow him upon my good Lady Walsingham or my Lady Sidney, to wear as a jewel of weight and bigness, and not of price and goodness, upon some solemn feast or triumph day at Court.[114]

Some of the Isles people took to travelling to Ireland (with which there were still relatively strong social links during this period because of the mercenary trade) to revitalise their faith. In 1593 the Barramen were recorded as still making the pilgrimage to Cruach Phádruig in County Mayo, in Connacht.[115] Pilgrimages to Ireland, however, did little to provide regular instruction in the faith, for when the Vincentian Dermit Duggan visited Barra later in the 1650s, he found the people very poorly instructed in the rudiments of faith.[116] Moreover, not all Highland and Island chiefs continued to support Catholicism. Some took the Reformation as a good opportunity to secularise Church lands, so that 'the old Church lands of the Isles remained in the effective occupation of the clan chiefs.'[117] However, secularisation was not simply a product of the Reformation, but the continuation of a process which had been increasing throughout the sixteenth century. The exploitation of vacancies within the Scottish monasteries as well as Crown taxation, had resulted in a deteriorating economic situation which led, amongst other things, to an increase in feuing of their lands and ultimately alienation thereof into the hands of laymen.[118] Certainly, evidence survives in a contract of 8 December 1580, between the bishop of the Isles and Lauchlan MacLean of Duart, which shows that MacLean, designated baillie, had annexed lands in Iona and the Ross of Mull formerly held of the bishop and the abbacy of Iona. The 1561 rental of the bishopric of the Isles and abbacy of Iona, notes those lands held of the abbot by MacIain of Ardnamurchan, MacLeod of Harris and MacDonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, as well as by the bishop of the Isles, but shows

that MacLean of Duart held no lands.[119]

By the contract of 1580, Lauchlan MacLean of Duart promised to assist and maintain the bishop in all his rights and actions, especially in the collection of the fruits, rents and emoluments pertaining to the bishop, the abbacy of Iona and priory of Ardchattan. He also bound himself to go with the bishop's forces and bring in the profits six days after the bishop charged him to "sua that the said Lauchlane be nocht chergit be the kingis grace or my lord of Ergile service in the meyntyme." Besides this, he bound himself:

> to causs the said reverend fader joiss and broik the ile of Ycolmkill, the landis and barony of Rosse, the half of Ballifoill, and the grange of Kilmenie in Ylay, als frelie with all males, dewiteis, setting (and) resing of tenentis, removing and dispossessing of fre halderis, according to the ordour of law, use and consuetude of Ycolmkill and barony of Rosse, als frelie as ony bischop or abbot broikit the samine.

Interestingly, in the 1561 rental, the only one of the above lands specifically mentioned as held by the bishop of the Isles was Kilmeny ["Keilvennie in Illa,"] which probably indicates that the others were abbacy lands. MacLean was, further, to remove Lauchlan MacDonald MacConych and his galley from the lands of Ross and never to place a steward-depute on the said lands during the bishop's lifetime. Only the thirds of court were to pertain to MacLean and his heirs, as baillie, and he was not to allow anyone to oppress the lands of Iona and Ross or the tenants in them either with "stenting, conyow,[120] gerig service[121]" or any other kind of exaction. Moreover, only four men from the Ross and four men from Iona were to maintain the fort of Carnburgh, in the Treshnish Isles, off the west of Mull, at their own expense, when MacLean was attending a host. In all other things the services of the tenants of Iona and the Ross were to pertain to the bishop alone. MacLean had clearly been misappropriating the duties of the lands, for he bound himself to pay 1000 merks "in pairt of payment to ane guid compt of the byrun males and dewiteis of the kirklandis, that the said Lauchlane broikis, perteining to the bischopriks of the Ylis and abbacie of Ycolmekyll sen the bischoppis entrie," in 1572. Finally, MacLean was to produce his charter of feu of those lands which he held of the bishoprics of the Isles and abbacy of Iona on 28 December and was to appear before the Lords of Session to give security to the bishop for the yearly payment of the duties pertaining to the bishopric of the Isles and to Iona. For his part, the bishop was to renounce and discharge the decreet obtained against Lauchlan MacLean of Duart regarding his feus belonging to the bishopric of the Isle and abbacy of Iona, and his charter was to have the same force as before the decreet.[122]

However, the attempt by the bishop of the Isles to wrest these lands in Iona and the Ross of Mull from MacLean was short-lived. A Precept of a Royal Charter of Novadamus survives, of the island

of Iona and many other lands formerly belonging to the Abbot of Iona, dated 1587-88, to Hector MacLean, son and apparent heir of Lauchlan MacLean of Duart.[123] MacLean probably benefited from the passing, in 1587, of the Act for the Annexation of the Temporalities of Benefices to the Crown, which declared that all lands and revenues belonging to the clergy and the monasteries were now to be disposed of by the church. One of the many exceptions to the Act was that lands which had been held for life by lay commendators who became heritors before the Act was passed were to remain with those who had infeftments of them. Baronies or lairdships were included within this. Also excepted were all teinds, in order to pacify the proprietors of lands.[124] The greater part of the lands conveyed in the charter were in the Ross of Mull, but there were also lands in other parts of Mull, the Isle of Iona, in Islay, though not Kilmeny, and in Tiree.[125] More interestingly, in terms of Gaelic interconnection, a small portion of the land conveyed to MacLean, namely the five merk lands of Narrabolsadh in Islay, had been held formerly, not of the Abbot of Iona like all the rest, but of the Monastery of Derry.[126]

As the remnants of the old church decayed and the tide of secularisation advanced, the cogs of Counter-Reformation turned slowly into action in Scotland. In spite of the subsequent criticism of the Jesuits in the handling of their mission to Scotland, they must be credited with being the first continental order to send ordained priests into Scotland, on a regular basis. This is not to say that there is no evidence of native Scots doing this on an unorganised basis,[127] but such uncoordinated 'missions' into the Highlands at this period, appear to have been proportional to the personal zeal of those regular clerics who wanted to return and give their countrymen sustenance. Moreover, such trips were always dependent upon the finance which they could attract. Here it must be remembered that one of the reasons why the Franciscans were, allegedly, called in to help on the Scots mission in the seventeenth century, was that there were no Highlanders in the Scots Colleges on the continent. It is, however, likely that Irish priests visited occasionally from Ireland before this. Although only a little evidence survives of specific names,[128] in light of the constant traffic during this period, such visits might have occurred with more frequency than the extant record indicates, more particularly amongst the MacDonalds and their associates.

Highland and Island mercenaries would have ample opportunity to consult Irish priests on their mercenary forays into Ireland. Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's principal advisor, was informed from Dublin on 24 July 1579, that: 'Friars practise with O'Rourke, O'Donnell, Turlough Lynagh, and the Scots.'[129] A lengthy discourse on the services done by Sir Richard Bingham in County Mayo in Connacht in the summer of 1586, reported that on the night of 22 September the Scots were encamped near Ardnarea[130] in the barony of Tireragh, (see fig. 1.9, The Counties and baronies of Connacht) and that English spies were sent to reconnoitre the situation:

> Here our guide, who was Edmund M'Costello... found out a priest, who had that day broken from

> the Scots, who had him prisoner; he brought the said priest to myself, who assured me that they were encamped at Ardnary... I dealt with this priest to guide me thither, who of himself durst not undertake it.

However, the priest requested a couple of horsemen to accompany him to find two O'Haras who, when found, sent out two spies "to discover the enemy more certainly."[131] (O'Hara of Leyney held the adjacent lordship to Tireragh. See fig. 1.8, Connacht lordships c. 1534.) The priest may or may not have been taken prisoner. With contacts gained through the mercenary trade in Ireland, it must have been fairly easy for the Scots to have procured a priest to accompany them. It is perhaps more likely that the priest was trying not to compromise himself with the English forces and hence his insistence that he 'durst not undertake it' himself.

The Campbells had as many mercenary contacts in Ireland as the MacDonalds and, thus, must have been equally exposed there to Catholicsm, even though the house of Argyll fervently championed the Protestant religion in Argyll. One individual mission into Scotland was undertaken by John Campbell, Capuchin, the son of Hugh Campbell, provost of the burgh of Irvine. Although there is no direct evidence of his going to the Highlands he is worthy of note because he had a family connection with Denis Campbell, the dean of Limerick, and his brother, John Campbell, provost of the collegiate church of Kilmun.[132] (For the latter, see fig. 1.5, Relationship between the Campbells of Argyll and the MacLeans of Duart.) They were both illegitimate sons of the fifth Earl of Argyll[133] and appear to have been raised with John Campbell, a nephew of Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll. John Campbell may also have had the opportunity to speak to Highlanders in the Lowlands. His connection with the dean of Limerick comes to light through his arrest in England in 1599 en route for Scotland. On his person was a letter for his brother, minister at Westchester, who appears to have been Denis Campbell, as well as one for Anne of Denmark, wife of James VI. Although he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, his close relationship to Argyll probably ensured that he survived, 'but the Privy Council were unwilling that the infection should spread and on 18th March they gave a warrant to the keeper of the Marshalsea to deliver the priest over to Denis Campbell, Protestant dean of Limerick, who had done the English government great service in Ireland.' The dean was empowered to transport him overseas immediately. It should be pointed out here, that although the siblings were undoubtedly of a religious bent, Denis was a Protestant in the Church of Ireland and John a Catholic. John Campbell, born in 1570, was a definite champion of the Counter-Reformation era. He joined the reformed branch of the Franciscans known as the Capuchins in Lorraine. He was clearly a person of some influence, if not substance, because he is said to have founded the houses of the Capuchin order in Pont à Mousson and Nancy. His religious name was Fr. John Chrysostom.[134]

Fr. Campbell did survive to attempt another trip to Scotland in 1609 and actually made it all the

way to Scotland, confining his visitation to the area of his own upbringing however, around Irvine. Two of his sisters had married ministers, his brother was a minister, as also was his half-brother Alexander Campbell, and it is no small indication of the influence of the family he was a member of, as well as the toleration on a personal level between members of differing convictions, that he was given accommodation and board by five members of the presbytery. He was again ultimately arrested and deported and his sustainers reprimanded. He made one more trip to Britain and was deported for the final time in 1619.[135]

There is a distinct probability that Scottish priests, possibly some bilingual priests amongst the Scots Minims or perhaps the Scots Jesuits, crossed the frontiers into Gaeldom from the north-east of Scotland earlier than the Irish Jesuits in the early seventeenth century. Certainly this would accord with MacDonald of Sleat's asserted connection with the Jesuit, James Gordon, which clearly shows some links between Gaels on the west coast Highlands and Islands and Catholics in the north-east. Sleat's connection with the Jesuits appears to have come about through the links of both with Ireland, particularly the Ulster lords.[136] The proposals made in the first decade of the century to send Irish Franciscans to Scotland, appear to have aroused envy among the Scots priests who felt that they should have first call on funding. However, the majority of them probably did not speak Gaelic and so knew they weren't capable of manning a mission to the Highlands and Islands. One possible exception is John Brown, a Scots Minim who joined the order at Nigeon near Paris in 1595, and is thought to have been originally a native of Moray. He was distinguished in higher education, having received a doctorate in theology at the universities of Alcalá and Avignon and quite capable of having learned Gaelic. Brown was in Antwerp in 1615 and in April of that year in St. Andrews, perhaps on his way to the north-east of Scotland. In September 1617 he is reported as being on his way from Scotland to England, and it appears that from this time he made mission work his priority. He is further mentioned as having been in Scotland in 1621, with the other Scots Minims Andrew Baird, John Francis Maitland and Thomas Robertson.[137] Although some of this evidence relating to the Minims more accurately pertains to Chapter 6, in a sense, Brown's whole initiative, which included an attempt to establish a house for Scottish Minims on the continent, peopled by university men, and seeking to serve Scotland, pre-dates that of the Franciscans, and has therefore been dealt with in its entirety, here, to facilitate continuity.

It appears possible that Brown, at least, was bilingual, because in May 1622 he wrote from Dunkirk to the papal nuncio in Brussels, Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno, that he was attending mercenaries under Argyll who were going to serve in the King of Spain's army. While some of the mercenaries undoubtedly spoke English, their main tongue would still have been Gaelic. Therefore, it seems reasonable that Brown might also have served Gaels when he visited Scotland on the earlier occasion. In June of 1623 Brown was in Antwerp, preparing to go to Scotland. Owing to the delays, he was ordered either to leave for Scotland or to return, in habit, to his

province but left, instead, for Brussels on 10 June.[138]

Of this group of Scots Minims, Brown and Maitland appear to have been vehemently anti-Jesuit. On 16 July 1622, Bagno wrote to Propaganda stating that Maitland had presented a brief which recommended the Minims' mission to the Infanta of Spain. However, although she was in favour, the Infanta objected to Brown who had been proposed head of the mission, since he and two or three of his disciples were said to have led licentious lives. Moreover, although patents had been given to Brown stating that the house he was to found in the Low Countries was to be dependent directly on the general of the order of Minims and not on the Low Countries provincial, the general had already annulled Brown's appointment as vicar general. Maitland stated bitterly in his brief, that the rulers of France and Flanders seemed willing to grant privileges to English and Irish, but not to these Scots religious, while the Infanta excluded Scots in favour of Irish. In 1623 Brown and Maitland further submitted a relation to Rome pointing out that none of the Scots Colleges, including Paris, provided men for the Scottish mission, and that many Scots in Rome, with their profligate lifestyle, did more to discourage the conversion of Scots visitors. Significantly, however, they were full of praise for the Capuchin, John Chrystostom Campbell, the missioner mentioned above, who was imprisoned frequently. Moreover, the action taken on their relation is symptomatic of a whole area of contention which continued throughout the seventeenth century - rivalry between the Scots Jesuits and seculars, and further between the Irish and the Scots canons regular.[139]

In June 1623 Brown and Maitland were clearly feeling victimised, and reported the necessity of appointing an exclusively Scottish agent at the Curia to ensure the accurate transmission of information. They appealed for help with their mission which had been amply supported by Paul V, whose funds enabled four fathers to be maintained. However, under Urban VIII their idea seemed to have lost favour. To complicate the issue, in September 1623 Maitland and Robertson were imprisoned by the Flanders Minims, that is regulars of their own order, who appear to have feared a revival of past quarrels. There was also suspicion that rival religious, Fr. Robb, an Antwerp Scots Jesuit and David Chalmers of the Scots College in Paris, among them, were hindering Brown and Maitland's attempts. Later in the same month, on 30 September, Bagno appointed Andrew Baird to replace Brown. However, in 1625 some Scots gentlemen petitioned Propaganda to allow Brown to return to Scotland with them. In 1626 he arrived there via Calais, but appears to have suffered some persecution in Edinburgh. He was in England in 1635 asking permission to say the communion prayer in the Scots tongue,[140] though for whom is not specified.

It would appear, contrary to what is often suggested, that there were Scots regulars prepared to serve the Highlands, even though they were part of a broader mission to the north of Scotland as a whole, and with seldom more personnel than the later Irish Franciscan missions. However, their

entire scheme seems to have been thwarted by religious and international rivalry, at a time when many sources were vieing for the limited resources available at Rome. Certainly it has long appeared strange that none of the exiled Scots regulars and seculars on the continent wished to return to serve the Highlands and Islands. The above evidence shows that some did, but Catholicism was proscribed in Scotland and was no longer a powerful voice in the ear of the Vatican. In this position of weakness, some politically adept but short term decisions, were made on behalf of the Scots, such as the sanctioning of the Irish Franciscan mission to the Highlands and Islands. For though many (but by no means all) of the Franciscan missionaries were very committed to their task, the introduction of Scots missionaries from the continent would probably have facilitated an earlier establishment of an indigenous priesthood within the area. As it was, this had to wait until the eighteenth century.

V. THE JESUIT MISSIONS

The Jesuits were the first organised arm of Catholicism to come back to Scotland after the Reformation. Scots Jesuits first returned to Scotland in 1582 according to a history of the mission written by John Thomson (1742-92).[141] The majority were Scots-speaking and tended to ensconce themselves as chaplains in the houses of Lowland or north-east coast Catholics. The support given by heads of powerful families to closet Catholicism, notably by the Gordons in the north during the sixteenth century and in the following century, in the Highlands and Islands, by MacDonald of Clanranald and MacDonell of Glengarry, cannot be overestimated. It was one of the major factors in the survival and regeneration of the Catholic faith in Scotland. In his account of Catholicism in Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century, Sir Walter Lindsay wrote that "the Scotch especially the nobles, are accustomed to act in concert so that every one sides with his family."[142] Such was the persistent recusancy of Catholic noblemen in Scotland, that in 1601 the General Assembly resorted to placing ministers in the homes of the most renowned, including Huntly, Errol, Angus, and Sutherland. The policy did not prove very successful.[143]

Some of the Jesuits were operating in the north-east Highlands and others may have made occasional trips into the central Highlands. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, for instance, Jesuits and seminary priests, notably William Murdoch, "were busy in Caithness, north of the Ord, dispersing books and giving public and private discourses," and saying mass.[144] If not necessarily during this period, certainly later in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits appear to have crossed the Highland/Lowland border into the central Highlands. When Montrose's army came to Atholl, in the summer of 1644, for instance, they met up with the Jesuits, one of whom was able to supply them with a list of Catholics in the area, which suggests that they had been serving there for some time.[145] However, whether it was exclusively for reasons of language, or also because they

had better political and financial connections, it ultimately fell to the Irish to supply priests to the Highlands and Isles.

Prior to the official establishment of the Irish Franciscan mission from 1619, there is just a little evidence to show that Irish Jesuits had begun to make inroads in the Highlands and Islands, certainly from the first decade of the seventeenth century, and perhaps before that. The Jesuit mission to the Highlands appears to have had the support of the higher Irish clergy. Only a few years after the re-establishment of Jesuits in Scotland, the Jesuit, Fr. Tyrie, wrote from Paris on 31 September 1585, that Edmund MacGuaran, the Catholic archbishop of Armagh (1587-1593) who was maintained by O'Rourke, had been in the north of Scotland with Frs. Edmund Hay and James Gordon, and had then travelled to France and Spain. MacGuaran, who was then in Paris, allegedly assured Tyrie that he had administered the sacrament of confirmation to at least 10,000 people.[146] This is probably the first example of a practice of exaggeration which reported large numbers of conversions in the country. This practice was to be continued later by the Irish regular missionaries who ministered to the Highlands and Islands with the same aim, that is, to convince Rome of the necessity of their funding. According to English intelligence of January 1587 from Cúchonnacht Maguire in Fermanagh, the Catholic bishop of Derry, Redmond O'Gallagher (1569-1601), had also been in Scotland, France and Spain. Though the location is unspecified, it seems likely that he also visited the north-east of Scotland like MacGuaran, perhaps at the same time.[147]

O'Gallagher was a particularly influential member of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, having been one of the three Irish bishops at the Council of Trent. According to Miler Magrath, Catholic bishop of Down and Connor (1565-1580), his spiritual jurisdiction effectively extended throughout Ulster and not just in his own diocese.[148] The dean of Limerick said in his 'Observations' that he was 'the chief practiser between the Spaniards and Tyrone and the pretended catholics of Scotland, who coming to Glasgow six years ago [1590] and remaining there some time the ministers upon information that he was a papist searched his casket for letters and books but his person was not touched or stayed at all.'[149] O'Gallagher arrived in Dumbarton before 8 March 1590. His mission was 'to drawe a league and confederacie betwixt our iles and hylandes and the rebells of Ireland, and for that cause, it is thought, he is alreadie to Mull and Tyntire [Kintyre]; but others saye he is over as yet in the north with Huntley and that faction.' He was to acquaint the Catholics and confederates in Scotland that many Irishmen and some Englishmen in Ireland were ready to rebel with aid from Spain and the Scottish Isles. According to the bishop, Turlough Luineach O'Neill was old and weak and not willing to involve himself in the matter,[150] and was said to have offended his friends by this attitude. However, O'Gallagher informed that Campbell of Lochnell 'one of the house of Argyll, having great interest amongst the islands of Scotland, shall be brought to raise all his forces and take charge of the action.' By 16 March he had met with the Earl of Erroll, and on 3 April he was said to be with Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg, but according to other

intelligence of 5 April he was still in the north-east, apparently "stricken with suche feare to be apprehended as he will not trust to shew him self to any other then to Mr. James Gorden or suche like." On 25 April O'Gallagher crossed the Tweed near Kelso, intending to ride to Durham, from where he would either return to Scotland in ten days or sail for Ireland from the west coast of England.[151] Some Scots were also converted by Jesuits in Ireland. A Jesuit father, James Archer, a famous missioner in Ireland during the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion and known for his nationalist sympathies, wrote to Rome from Ireland on 29 September 1604 stating that he had converted three Scots, one of whom was a stubborn Puritan.[152]

It was from the time of the Ulster rebellion and particularly after the Flight of the Earls in 1607, when Irish-speaking Catholics came into contact with the ideology of the Counter-Reformation in Europe, that the enormous potential of the Irish language as a weapon for the cause was realised. But within this period its power was also recognised by Protestants, for if one side used it, the other was more or less bound to do the same. It seems, ultimately, that the Catholics wielded it more effectively. Many of the exiled Gaelic *literati* of Ireland, comprising clergy, poets, *seanchaidhean* and other learned men who fled to the continent in 1607, took refuge in seminaries there. It was a highly informed, intellectual atmosphere, thriving at a time - the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries - when theological and philosophical study in Europe was at a peak. In the seminaries native Irish lived alongside Anglo-Irish, and both groups were also united in their zeal for renewal of the Catholic faith in Ireland and that the Irish language should be the vehicle of their missionary activity. Every student took an oath to return to Ireland.[153] Of no less importance was their political aim of providing a suitable environment for the consolidation of their religion in Ireland.[154]

Catholicism in Ireland, at this time, was a religion under siege, its practice more than usually devout, so that parents felt a strong responsiblity for grounding their children in the Catholic faith. For many, the Irish language was also the medium of their Catholicism. Indeed, just as the geographical isolation of Highlanders was, in the seventeenth century, praised as having shielded many from Protestantism, in Ireland it was lack of English which was said to have shielded the Irish from the Protestant doctrines which were just beginning to be printed in Irish.[155] However, there was little in the way of printed aids to Catholic devotion in Irish in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The Spanish catechism of Jeronimo de Ripalda, published in Madrid in 1591, was abridged and translated by Archbishop Conry, but did not reach Ireland until 1598 and then only in manuscript form.[156]

Under the driving enthusiasm of the Counter-Reformation, some devotional aids in Irish were printed in the second decade of the seventeenth century. A basic catechism by Bonabhentura Ó hEodhasa, published in Antwerp in 1611, became available for general instruction of the populace,

while books dealing with new liturgical forms and elucidating doctrinal contentions between Protestants and Catholics, such as Séathrún Céitinn's *Tri bior-ghaoithe an bháis*, (The Three Shafts of Death), completed in 1631, were aimed more at instructing the clergy.[157] Flaithri Ó Maoil Chonaire's *Desiderius, Otherwise Called sgáthán an chráibhidh* (The Mirror of Faith), published in Louvain 1616, sought to enhance the individual's devotion. Moreover, these books were published in vernacular rather than classical Irish, that is, following the direction in which Carswell had been tending in Scotland a few decades before, so that they could be more readily understood. All of these publications were based on literature which had been popular on the continent but had been specially adapted to Irish purposes. Thus, for instance, *Desiderius* was fundamentally an abridgement of the 1519 text in Catalan, but Conry had added a section refuting Protestant doctrine.[158]

Of far greater significance however, was the increasing use made of Gaelic poetry to disseminate the fundamental Catholic doctrine to a Gaelic-speaking Irish population that could not read, and also to give form to their prayers. While the technique is first thought to have been used by a Franciscan in Ireland, it was readily adopted by those trained on the continent. The Counter-Reformation priests from native Gaelic backgrounds were now prepared to admit what Catholic clergy from the urban areas where English was in currency claimed, that is, that 'the Gaelic Irish were poorly Christianised.' Having admitted this, and joined with the Old English clergy, they were able to plan for a mission in the Irish language, aimed at both areas. The use of poetry as an *aide-mémoire* among the illiterate, was a totally new technique and was undoubtedly successful. The essence of the more important printed treatises available on the continent also appeared in the form of poetic summaries, wrought by the seminarians there.[159] While the groundwork for the effect of the Counter-Reformation movement in Ireland began to be laid down during this period, it came to fruit in the next period under view.[160]

There are some contemporary allusions to the use of Irish on the Irish mission, some of which make further reference to the employment of Irish missionaries on the Scottish mission. In 1608 an Irish Jesuit in Rome, thought to be a certain Fr. Wale, made interesting observations about the currency of the Irish language and the work of their Irish-speaking priests. He reported that Fr. Holywood, then superior of the Irish Jesuit mission could not go out much beyond Dublin, because of both his lameness and ignorance of Irish:

> which is the universal language in Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and is the more common speech of Leinster, as English is used in only one or two counties. Knowledge of English is required in only one or two counties of Leinster, and even Irish is somewhat used there. Some of our Fathers, though learned and prudent and holy, cannot preach in Irish, and hence can work only in these one or two counties. Others speak only Irish and can preach all over Ireland, the Highlands and Isles of

> Scotland, except in these one or two counties. Others speak Irish and English, and they can go everywhere. Fathers Robert Nugent, Moroney, Leinach, O'Kearney, Wale, Wise, and Sheyn commonly preach in Irish, sometimes in English; Holywood and Lenan preach in English.[161]

Fr. Christopher Holywood, himself (Jesuit superior in Ireland from 1603 till his death in 1626), wrote on 4 November 1611 in English to Fr. Conway, S.J. in Madrid. In his letter he alluded to the Scottish mission as follows:

> As for our neighbour Mission, when Claudius [code for 'Father General'] first acquainted me with his desire, wishing that I should give the Superior thereof two of mine... I had but six, whereof two could not speak the language, and the other three were spent, or at least broken, weak and sickly, and not able to undergo so difficult an enterprise, a thing the Superior himself, at his being here, saw, and therefore motioned for none of them.

The superior of the Scottish mission referred to here has been identified as Archbishop Peter Lombard of Armagh (1601-1625),[162] who also claimed primacy over the Highlands of Scotland, and is said to have sent Irish priests to Scotland intermittently, from the beginning of the century. If there were more, only details of the Jesuit mentioned below survive. Holywood continued:

> Yet, understanding that Claudius still continued his desire in this behalf, I concluded with the Superior, a little time before his departure hence, to assist him with the help of others, which I proposed to send for, and came since; ... we sent to sound the way and see what might be done - of which labour some fruit hath been already gathered, and more will, if it shall please God; but of this matter the less noise the better.[163]

It appears that on at least one occasion the Highland Scots could attribute a visit from an Irish Jesuit to the result of persecution of Catholics in Ireland. In just the same way as Scots would escape to Ireland when they wanted to lie low, there was also a counter-flow. Holywood wrote in one of his reports that:

> In 1613 the Catholics of the county of Dublin were called four times before the magistrates, and pressed by promises and threats to go to church and take the oath of supremacy. This was done to rob them of their religion or to impoverish them by fines. Our Fathers had to hide themselves, and sought shelter where they could. One of them from our Meath residence went into the North, and even to the most remote islands of Scotland, where the Catholics had not heard Mass for fifty years. When his presence was felt by the heretics he was tracked and had to return to Ulster. He went through that country doing all the good in his power.[164]

The man identified in this report is thought to have been a young Cork Jesuit, Fr. David Galwey, of whom more below.[165] Since he was tracked down so quickly, this expedition, like those later in this decade, was probably to the southern Isles near to Ulster. So too, perhaps some of the good Galwey was able to do in Ulster was on the recommendation of Scots to their Ulster relatives, but Holywood specifies only that a minister's son was converted and a lady who "had educated the daughters of a dynast of that country (that is, Ulster)." Significantly, the minister's son is said to have "devoted himself to teaching the catechism to little children in order to atone for the harm he had tried to do to grown-up Catholics."[166]

In his report of 1617, Holywood also said of the Irish Jesuits that "one of them went to console the Irish Scots who dwell in Ulster." This, again, may refer to Galwey. The Irish Scots were probably some of the Earl of Antrim's tenants, or the Irish MacDonnells themselves. Certainly the first Earl of Antrim was called to Dublin in 1621 and indicted for having sheltered priests, a charge which he admitted, escaping with merely a warning. In this instance, however, the steward of the 'Baron of Belfast' and the Marshal of the district apparently suspected the presence of a priest, because he went to a Catholic's house instead of staying at the public inn. They planned to capture him over a glass or two, but the steward's wife, although a Protestant, warned him. He stayed where he was, preferring that to the perils of an unknown road. "In the morning, while his two enemies were buried in a drunken sleep, he got his horses and escaped to his Scot, preached every day for three weeks, heard very many confessions, and converted four Protestants."[167]

From this point, doubtless under the barrage of letters which Rome is said to have received requesting spiritual aid for Scotland, the immediacy of the problem seems to have been accepted. On 17 November 1618 Cardinal Borghese wrote to Lucio Morra, nuncio at Brussels, referring among other things to the departure of four Jesuits for the Scottish mission. Considering how difficult it could be for Catholic priests to support themselves there, he thought that enough had been sent for the time being. The four referred to were not destined for the Highlands particularly, but he later said that 'gradually, other Scottish Jesuits will be trained for the mission; Irishmen in the Jesuits could be of help too.'[168] It appears from the reference to Irishmen that the Vatican envisaged that they would supply the Highlands, even though there may already have been some penetration of the central and northern Highlands by Scots Jesuits. It was felt there were stronger kinship ties between Ireland and the west Highlands and Islands, especially when his later commitment to the Franciscan mission suggests that the first Earl of Antrim would be supportive of these earlier developments.

There remains, however, only one extant name of an Irish Jesuit, Fr. David Galwey, labouring on the Scottish mission. In view of this, it is perhaps worth quoting the account of his mission to the Isles in an extended form. Interesting comparisons can be made both in activity and area of labour

between his expedition and the first Franciscan mission.[169] Acting under orders from Rome, Fr. Holywood had sent the Cork Jesuit, Fr. Galwey, to visit the Scots on their own territory. Holywood gave an account of this mission in his report for 1619. "Tesqua is forty miles from Ireland, it contained only three Irish-Scottish families, and paid rent to the Puritan Laird of Callaton.[170] Its only chapel had been burned by the Puritans in 1615." The only island nearing the description of the report, both in name and having "Irish-Scottish" families would seem to be Texa, off Islay, which was probably populated by MacDonalds or associates of the Clan Donald South. More interestingly, it appears that though Galwey may have been the mission leader, he had other religious companions. The report refers to both to "priests" and "two companions," though they are not named.

> The priests and sailors were nearly dead with hunger and thirst when they landed. They were well received, got stirabout and fish for food, and milk and water to drink. Their host and his wife repudiated their errors and went to confession, the other two families were inclined to do the same, but were afraid of the Puritans. At Islay the father reconciled forty of mature age to the Church, and said Mass for them, an act of religion which they had never witnessed before. After seven days there he found he had been denounced, and went with two companions to Oronsay, where there was a chapel of St. Columba, and thence to Colonsay; in both he reconciled forty people of mature age, who had never seen a priest before, and he said Mass for them. The commander of the place[171] and his wife and children and some soldiers were converted, but this gentleman, fearing that the natives would suffer if Galwey remained, gave him a boat and some soldiers to protect him. In Jura he reconciled forty adults and baptized eight children.

However, it cannot but be wondered if the numbers of conversions - 40 in Islay, and 40 each in Oronsay and Colonsay - were approximate, or even contrived to improve the report, when they appear to be so uniform in each place. Indeed, the report reads more like a census of the number of people encountered there:

> On the soldiers coming into the island he had to depart in a frail craft for Gigha, where the natives were amazed at his venturing in such a boat in such weather. The chief man of the place, being informed by him of the object of his visit, urged him to go away as a price was put there on the head of a priest; the Jesuit said he would risk his head for the salvation of souls, and he was harboured hospitably for two days, and having got a promise from him to look better to his soul than he had done, he passed to Kintyre.[172] There he found the people better disposed, visited twenty villages, converted over a hundred from atheism and heresy, baptized sixty. Then, afraid of the fury of the Puritans, he with one companion, a youth of sixteen, went to the island of Arran, where in seven days he converted only a few, as the people are stubborn Calvinists. Thence he went to the island of Cuin,[173] four miles off, reconciled to the Church all the natives, nineteen in number, and baptized

> six grown boys. In Kintyre a minister, finding no one in his church but the sexton, got soldiers together, armed with swords, pikes and long knives, and went to the place where Father Galwey was hearing confessions; but the latter had time to take shelter in a hut some way off. The converts were frightened at the furious threats of the minister; the priest comforted them by his words and by reminding them of the constancy of the Irish, of which they were well aware. On another occasion the Jesuit had to hide in a cave, exposed to wind and rain. He had many other hair-breadth escapes by day and night.

Fr. Holywood added the final sanction to the expedition by inferring that it had been divinely prophesied. "The Irish-Scots of the isles told him that it was prophesied that a servant of Patrick would come from Rome to their help; and that some had a foreboding that he would arrive at that time."[174]

Referred to elsewhere as Fr. David Galvins, S.J., it appears from an account of Galwey included among the reports of the Jesuit missions in Ireland between 1641 and 1651, that he made three journeys to Scotland, the first of which was not very successful, due to the fear of the Earl of Argyll in the areas he visited.[175] This limits his territory to the Argyll area. The following narrative is based on a Jesuit *Relatio*:[176]

> Father David Galwey was renowned throughout the Irish province for his piety and zeal; three times did he set out for the missions of Scotland. On the first occasion he travelled as a merchant, yet could convert none of the islanders to the profession of the Catholic faith such was their terror of the Duke of Argyll, a bitter enemy of the Catholics and lord of that territory.[177] When returning to Ireland, all sad for the bad success of his journey, the Scottish sailors, who themselves were imbued with Calvinism, surprised that, though he styled himself a merchant, yet he had purchased no goods, asked him for what object he had undertaken so long a journey? The good Father replied that he was indeed a merchant, but of merchandise far more precious than all earthly goods, and that he sought for souls redeemed by the most precious blood of Jesus Christ. The sailors, reasoning amongst themselves, declared with one accord that that religion should be true which could inspire such a desire for the salvation of souls, and before the vessel reached the Irish coast he had the consolation of receiving these straying children into the fold of Christ.[178]

On his first trip, Galwey had probably taken the simplest route across to Scotland, perhaps believing that since this was an area from which so many MacDonnells had come in the recent past that it was to such a people that he was going. Perhaps having learned something from his initial reconnoitering of the situation, and more ably defined the bounds of friendly territory, we read that "On his second and third mission his labours were crowned with abundant fruit: in some districts whole towns, parents as well as children, received the Sacrament of Baptism," which would

certainly agree more with Holywood's 1619 account above. "... on one occasion, so incessant was his toil in instructing the poor mountaineers, that for five months he never changed his garments, though often compelled to rest at night exposed to the rain and the inclemency of the weather." The text of the account makes it likely that he still worked in those areas close to Ireland, for it notes that "Such was the hatred conceived against him by the heretics that they publicly sent round his likeness in order to secure his arrest. But the good Father safely passed through their hands, though not without a manifest interposition of Providence." Most missionary priests of the period were consumate in the art of disguise, feigning a second skill or employment to evade possible capture. Sometimes Galwey employed "the artifice of declaring himself a merchant, and bringing around some sacks in corn, as if they were samples, the better to disguise his true mission."[179]

Conclusion

In this period as a whole, there seems to be evidence in the Highlands and Islands of lingering Catholicism, certainly in the first two decades after the Reformation, in places such as South Uist and Trotternish in Skye, while in the 1590s there is an instance of pilgrimage to Ireland by the MacNeills of Barra, no doubt as much a social as religious occasion. On the other hand, this must be tempered with evidence such as that in the Irish Jesuit report of 1619 which states that the inhabitants of Islay then heard mass for the first time in their lives. Furthermore, remote and tiny places like St. Kilda or Hirta appear to have scarcely caught up with Catholicism let alone been affected by the Reformation. Donald Munro, dean of the Isles, commented of it in 1549: "The inhabitants therof are simple poor people, scarse learnit in aney religion, Bot McCloid of Herray his Stewart or he quhom he deputs in sic office, sailles anes in the Zeir ther at Midsummer with some chaplain to baptize bairns ther, and if they want a Chaplaine they baptise ther barnes themselves."[180] This seems to record an absence of religion which was matched by that in other inaccessible Highland areas such as Glengarry, prior to the advent of either minister or priest in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the first minister was not to visit St. Kilda for almost another 150 years, when John Campbell visited the island in 1697 in the company of Martin Martin.[181] Nonetheless, those islands in which an effort was made by the Reformed Kirk to provide ministers as soon after the Reformation as possible, as in Skye, Harris and Lewis, have remained Protestant to the present day. Even though, in terms of the size and number of parishes on some of the islands, religious provision was spread very thin, the evidence, nonetheless, indicates that ministers did effect a conversion in that part of the population they reached. The same was true of those areas of the mainland Highlands where the Kirk was able to fill a significant number of benefices in the first decade after the Reformation. Moreover, with the expansion of the land, and consequently 'soul' market, in Ulster at the time of the plantation, the infant Protestant Kirk was even able to supply a moderate number of Gaelic-speaking ministers to attempt to convert the Catholic Irish. In

Ireland, however, there was formidable opposition from the forces of Counter-Reformation which effectively harnessed the vernacular as the vehicle of its missionary activity. Though it seems likely that some Scots regulars from the continent made uncoordinated attempts to bring the Catholic faith to those in the *Gaidhealtachd*, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the work was also assisted by Jesuits from Ireland from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In Scotland, the Protestant Church faired better than in Ireland. It was mainly in those areas in which the Kirk was not able to make an impact that the Irish regulars were able to stake a place for Catholicism on their various missions in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, almost all those areas visited by the Jesuit, Fr. Galwey, Kintyre and the nearby islands, did not remain Catholic because there was already too great a Protestant presence there by the early seventeenth century. However, whereas Fr. Galwey simply visited those areas close to Ireland, the missionaries of the first Franciscan mission, with a three-fold increase in manpower from 1624, and the patronage of the first Earl of Antrim, were able to visit the more northerly Hebridean islands as well, where they were able to reap a greater harvest.

NOTES

1. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 56, 61.
2. Alan Ford, 'The Protestant Reformation in Ireland,' in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (editors), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641,* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 50-51.
3. Ford, pp. 51-53.
4. Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'The Ulster Plantation: Scotland's First Colonial Venture,' *Scottish Colloquium Proceedings,* 2, (Guelph, 1969), p. 13.
5. Ford, pp. 52-55, 57-58.
6. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 103-109, 190; Colm Lennon, 'The Counter-Reformation in Ireland, 1542-1641,' in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (editors), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641,* (Dublin, 1986), p. 85.
7. Lennon, pp. 76-77, 87.
8. Ford, pp. 59-61.
9. Christine Johnston, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1829*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 33; Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History,* (London, 1992), p. 197.
10. D. E. R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 205-07, 209, 27-28; James Kirk, 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' *Northern Scotland*, 7, (1986), p. 10; 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands, 1567-1625,' in Loraine MacLean of Dochgarroch (editor), *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands*, (Inverness, 1986), pp. 29, 38, 43.
11. 'The Jacobean Church,' pp. 29, 43; Watt, pp. 270, 61; E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (editors), *Handbook of British Chronology,* third edition, (London, 1986), p. 319; 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' pp. 10-11; David Laing (editor), *The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society,* I, (Edinburgh, 1844), p. 335. See below, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections.
12. Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland James V to James VII,* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 111.
13. See below, section II. The Protestant Initiative.
14. Margaret H. B. Sanderson, 'Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century,' *Innes Review*, 21, (1970), pp. 88-89. In addition there were four deprivations in Roxburghshire and Fife. (p.89.)
15. See Chapter 6, section III. The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands, for details.
16. J. L. Campbell, 'The Catholic Church in the Hebrides: 1560-1760,' *The Tablet*, 206, no. 6032, (31 December 1955), p. 655.
17. 'The Jacobean Church,' pp. 47, 38.
18. See Cathaldus Giblin, *The Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619-1649*, (Dublin, 1964), (hereafter *IFM*); Cathaldus Giblin, 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' *Franciscan College Annual*, (MultyFarnham, 1954), pp. 7-20.
19. 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' p. 1.

20. 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' p. 2.

21. See below, section IV. The Catholic counter-attack.

22. F. G. Thompson, 'The folklore elements in 'Carmina Gadelica',' *TGSI*, 44, (1967), pp. 229, 239-40.

23. Alexander Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, III, (Edinburgh, 1940), p. 118.

24. Ford, p. 72.

25. See below, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections.

26. See, for example, the appearance of Ranald MacDonald of Benbecula before the Procurator Fiscal at Inveraray sheriff court, penultimate page of section II. The Protestant Initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.

27. 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' pp. 1, 17-18; Rev. John MacInnes, 'Baptism in the Highlands,' *RSCHS*, 13, (1959), p. 4; *Fasti*, IV, pp. 2, 5, 8, 13, 15, 22, 27, 28, 81, 86, 91, 98, 100, 96, 88, 30, 36, 94, 44.

28. See John Carswell, below. The Synod of Argyll, however, comprising the presbyteries of Dunoon, Kinloch, Inveraray, Kilmore and Skye, was not erected until 18 December 1638. (*Fasti,* IV, p. 1.) See fig. 7.1, Synods and presbyteries in the 1640s, for the extent of the jurisdiction of the Synod of Argyll.

29. *Fasti,* VII, p. 205.

30. See below.

31. 'A Description of the Westerne Iles of Scotland called Hybrides. Compyled by Mr. Donald Monro Deane of the Iles. 1549,' *MacFarlane's Geographical Collections,* III, SHS, 53, (1908), p. 300. See the four parishes of Lewis in fig. 9.1, Highland parishes of the eighteenth century.)

32. 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' pp. 7, 12-13, 15-16, for references to the provision of benefices in Ross; *Fasti*, VII, pp. 1, 4, 8, 10, 14, 17, 18, 21, 25, 30, 32, 36, 38, 39, 41, 46, 49, 51, 53, 56, 58, 60, 62, 65, 70, 74, 144, 146, 151, 154, 156, 159, for Caithness; *Fasti*, VII, pp. 77, 79, 81, 83, 86, 89, 92, 95, 97, 101, 106, 113, 116, 118, 121, 125, 128, 132, 135, 138, 140; 'The Jacobean Church,' p. 35; Laing, p. 334; Frances Shaw, 'Sources of the history of the seventeenth century in the Highlands,' in Loraine MacLean of Dochgarroch (editor), *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands*, (Inverness, 1986), p. 18.

33. 'Baptism in the Highlands,' p. 4. Bruce was Moderator of the General Assembly summoned to meet on 6 February 1588 to consider the means of defence against the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada. He was Moderator again in May 1592. He was a very skilled preacher, but fell out of favour with the King in 1596 when, with others, he opposed James's prelatic tendencies, and was banished from Edinburgh. He was ordered to leave Edinburgh again, in August 1600, over the Gowrie Conspiracy and was prohibited from preaching anywhere in Scotland, on pain of death. From 1605 to 1609 he was confined to Inverness. He is said to have met harsh treatment from Lord Enzie and others, but his preaching was appreciated by many of his friends, and clearly also by others besides. He was banished to Inverness a second time in 1620 where he remained until 1624, but since he was ill and increasingly weak, it is doubtful if his impact there was in any way comparable with what he achieved on the earlier visit. (*Fasti*,

I, pp. 54-55.)

34. 'Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the sixteenth century,' p. 103. Some converts to Protestantism were clearly made at the expense of Catholicism for earlier, in 1587, there had been a complaint in the General Assembly that in Ross "there is a great coldness amongst all, both gentlemen and commons ... since the Jesuits had liberty to pass through the country in the time of the earl of Huntly's lieutenancy." ('Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the sixteenth century,' p. 97.)
35. See Chapter 6.
36. *RPCS,* 1616-1619, pp. 467-68.
37. For further reference to Carswell, see introduction to Chapter 16. .
38. 'Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the sixteenth century,' p. 106.
39. 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' p. 18.
40. Duncan C. Mactavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651,* SHS, 3rd series, 37, (Edinburgh, 1943); Duncan C. Mactavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, SHS, 3rd series, 38, (Edinburgh, 1944); SRO CH2/557/3-6, Proceedings of the Synod of Argyll, 1687-1755; SRO CH1/5/51, Royal Bounty Records 1725-1730.
41. Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland,* Scottish Record Society, 93, (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 198.
42. J. B. Craven (editor), *Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, 1560-1860*, (Kirkwall, 1907), 'Report by Thomas Knox, bishop of the Isles, of the state of his diocese, 1626,' p. 47; *Fasti,* IV, p. 119; 'Baptism in the Highlands,' p. 5.
43. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 70, 111, 119.
44. J. R. N. MacPhail (editor), *Highland Papers,* IV, SHS, 3rd series, 22, (Edinburgh, 1934), pp. 226-27.
45. Craven, p. 49.
46. *Fasti*, VII, p. 174. The island of Muck formed part of the parish of Eigg and that of Rhum formed part of the parish of Canna. In the sixteenth century, the three parishes of Eigg, Canna and Strath or Strathswordale in Skye, had been united.
47. Cosmo Innes, James B. Brichan and other (editors), *Origines Parochiales Scotiae (OPS),* 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1850-55), II, part 1, Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, (Edinburgh, 1854), pp. 358, 377. See next page.
48. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 166, 168.
49. 'A Description of the Westerne Iles of Scotland called Hybrides,' p. 281.
50. Iona Club,*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 13. The obligation is recorded in the General Register of Deeds, 19, on 16 June 1581.
51. *Fasti*, VII, p. 171.
52. David McRoberts and Alexander Boyle, 'A Hebridean Cisiojanus,' *Innes Review*, 21, no. 2, (autumn 1970), pp. 108-10; William O'Sullivan, 'An Irish cisiojanus,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 29, (1988), p. 8.
53. J. L. Campbell, *Canna - The Story of a Hebridean Island,* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 56-57; 'The Jacobean

Church,' p. 39.

54. *Fasti*, VII, p. 194. It seems likely that John MacKinnon was the minister of Bracadale, in Skye. See Chapter 6, section I A. The Highlands and Islands. Thus, the first resident minister of South Uist, was not appointed until some time before 6 May 1642. (p. 194.)

55. For further discussion, see Chapter 6, section III C. Difficulties of the mission.

56. For whom, see Chapter 12, section V, Fishing Industry.

57. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 189-91, 199, 205, 207-08; 'The Jacobean Church,' p. 38; *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis,* pp. 6-8; I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods: The History of a Clan,* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 195, 206.

58. Donaldson, p. 152; M. H. B. Sanderson, 'Roman Catholic Recusancy 1560-1603,' in Peter McNeill and Ranald Nicolson (editors), *An Historical Atlas of Scotland*, (St. Andrews, 1975), p. 89.

59. Donaldson, pp. 146-47.

60. In the diocese of the Isles, for instance, at the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, eight churches were appropriated to the bishop of the Isles, 13 to the abbey of Iona, two to the nunnery of Iona, two to the priory of Oronsay, one to the Chapel Royal in Stirling, and another to collegiate church of Restalrig. There were 19 or 20 churches which remained unappropriated 'which included all four parish churches in Lewis, all three in Islay, six or seven in Skye, two in Uist and one each in Barra, Eigg, Gigha and Harris were exempted not because their teinds were undesirable but because of their very remoteness from the claims of appropriating institutions.' The situation was similar in the diocese of Argyll. 14 churches were unappropriated, eight of them in Morvern where there was no religious institution to appropriate them. (Ian B. Cowan, 'The Medieval Church in Argyll and the Isles,' *RSCHS*, 20, (1980), p. 26.)

61. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 13.

62. Hand-fasting was mainly practised among the elite of the clan, apparently in order to ensure lineal succession. It was a contract by which a man and woman agreed to live together for a year and a day. If the woman proved fertile within that period the marriage was legalised even though no ceremony had been gone through. If there was no sign of issue, both parties were at liberty to hand-fast or marry with others. (Frank Adam, *The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands,* (Edinburgh and London, 1934), p. 29.)

63. *RPCS*, 1607-1610, pp. 26-27.

64. *RPCS*, 1616, p. 777.

65. *Canna*, p. 47.

66. See above, Chapter 1, for the details of their plotting.

67. James Gordon was the fifth son of the fourth Earl of Gordon and an uncle of the sixth Earl of Huntly. (Donald MacLean, *The Counter-Reformation in Scotland 1560-1930,* (London, 1931), pp. 30, 62-63.)

68. *Clan Donald*, II, p. 759. It might be questioned, though there is no definite corroborative evidence, whether any priests had visited Skye by the late 1580s, for MacLeod of Dunvegan's name was included in a list appointing various lairds to expel Jesuit priests, beggars and malefactors from the country as part of

the precautions surrounding the Armada scare. (I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods. The History of a Clan*, (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 180.)

69. Lynch, p. 198.

70. *Canna*, p. 47.

71. *CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 203.

72. *Highland Papers, IV*, pp. 226-27.

73. James VI and I, *Basilicon Doron 1599*, (Menston, 1969 facsimile reprint), pp. 42-43, 49-50, 52.

74. See below, section V. The Jesuit missions.

75. *CSPI*, 1574-85, pp. 92-93.

76. *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, p. 2.

77. *CSPS,* 1595-1597, pp. 186, 198-99.

78. *CSPS,* 1597-1603, part 2, pp. 668, 778; Sir James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage,* 9 vols., (Edinburgh, 1904-1911), I, p. 349.

79. *CSPI,* 1599-1600, p. 360; *CSPI,* 1600-1601, p. 352.

80. A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' I, (unpublished typescript, Belfast, 1948), p. 135, viewed at Presbyterian Historical Society, Belfast; *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 255.

81. Ford, p. 54, quoting Public Record Office (London), State Papers, 63/222/111.iii.

82. 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' I, p. 136; *Handbook of British Chronology,* p. 381.

83. *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, p. 255-58; *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 38.

84. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 139-40.

85. Ford, pp. 61-62, quoting M. C. Griffith (editor), *Irish patent rolls of James I,* (Dublin, 1966), p. 471.

86. Ford, p. 63.

87. 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' I, p. 136.

88. *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, pp. 255-56, footnote to p. 253.

89. For which see Chapter 6, section III. The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands.

90. The first mention found of 'Scottish Gallic,' within the context of this thesis, is on 5 August 1751, in the records of the Synod of Argyll. (SRO CH2/557/6, Synod Book of Argyll, 1728-1755, fol. 315.) Yet, a contrary piece of evidence occurring earlier, in Scotland itself, must be pointed out, in reference to Donald Munro, who had conformed to Protestantism, and became the first incumbent of Kiltearn and Lemlair in Ross-shire. Although an initial complaint had been made about his ineptitude in 1564, it was further complained on 5 July 1570 that he was "not prompt in the Scottish tongue." This presumably meant that he could not communicate with Lowland ministers, in Easter Ross, for example, in Scots, rather than that he could not speak Gaelic. (*Fasti,* VII, p. 40.) I am grateful to Professor Archibald Duncan, Scottish History department, Glasgow University, for his views on the meaning of 'Scots' in this context.

91. *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, footnote to p. 253.

92. 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' I, p. 81.

93. However, the Catholic, John Campbell of Irvine, below, is also thought to have attended Glasgow University.

94. A. F. O'D. Alexander (editor), 'The O'Kane Papers,' part II, Bishop Montgomery's Survey of the Bishoprics of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher, *Analecta Hibernica*, 12, (January 1943), p. 102.

95. 'The O'Kane papers,' pp. 103-04.

96. 'The O'Kane papers,' p. 105. Campbell's appointment was made during the period (1571-1604) when the See was unfilled by the Crown. (*Handbook of British Chronology,* p. 382.)

97. I am grateful to Professor Archibald Duncan for pointing this out.

98. *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, pp. 24, 256-57. Braidstane is 'Stane' in the parish of Irvine. (*Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum,* VII, 1575-1580, 77.) Stane Castle, NS3339. For his brother, Hugh Montgomery's part in the plantation of Down, see Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.

99. 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' II, p. 497, quoting *CSPI*, 1608-10, p. 444, no. 748.

100. For details, see *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, pp. 259-60; 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560- 1660,' II, pp. 500-01.

101. 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' II, p. 502; Professor A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Alumni of St. Andrews and the Settlement of Ulster,' *UJA*, 3rd series, 14, (1951), p. 7; H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud 1573-1645,* (London, 1962, 2nd edition), pp. 29, 238-241.

102. 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' II, pp. 582-83; *Handbook of British Chronology,* p. 379. For greater detail, see Chapter 6, section I. The Protestant evidence.

103. *Scottish Migration to Ulster*, pp. 260-01, quoting *CSPI,* 1611-14, pp. 149, 315, *CSPI,* 1615-25, p. 3; 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' II, pp. 498-500.

104. See Introduction, above. His son, Mr. Timothy Pont, minister of Dunnet in Caithness, a mathematician, geographer and Lord of Session, was successful in an application for a grant of land in the Ulster plantation, and on 25 July 1609 he received a Crown grant of 2,000 acres for an outlay of £400. This is noteworthy as one of the few grants ever made to a resident in the north of Scotland, but it should also be made clear that Dunnet was one of a group of English-speaking parishes in the north of Caithness, and though north of the Highland line was not culturally or linguistically part of the *Gaidhealtachd.* (See fig. 6.1, The Scottish Gaidhealtachd in 1698.) Timothy, the eldest son of Robert Pont, the former minister of St. Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, had retained influential Lowland connections. (*Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 95; C. W. J. Withers, 'The Highland parishes in 1698: An Examination of Sources for the Definition of the Gaidhealtachd,' *Scottish Studies,* 24, (1980), pp. 79, 85; *Fasti,* VII, p. 119.)

105. J. M. Barkley, 'Some Scottish Bishops and Ministers in the Irish Church, 1605-35,' in Duncan Shaw (editor), *Reformation and Revolution,* Essays presented to The Very Reverend Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt, (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 152; 'Alumni of St. Andrews and the Settlement of Ulster,' p. 12. Note that

Pont does not appear in the Visitation Roll of 1622, for which see Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster. This, perhaps, indicates that he was technically working outwith the fold of the Church, but under the protection of Knox.

106. For more of whom see Chapter 7, section III B., case study of Mr. Dugald Campbell, in connection with his name-sake cousin from Argyll.

107. A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Alumni of St. Andrew's and the Settlement of Ulster,' *UJA*, 3rd series, 14, (1951), p. 12. 'A student of that name matriculated at St. Andrew's at the same time as Adair (St. Salvator's, 1593) and graduated M.A. in 1597. Another Dugald Campbell took his M.A. at Glasgow in the same year as Bishop Knox (1579). Which was the minister of Conwal it is not easy to determine.' (Archibald Adair was the first noteworthy graduate of St. Andrews in the Lagan region of Raphoe, where he was dean of Raphoe and went on to become bishop of Killala, in Connacht, in 1630. (p. 11.).) If Campbell went to the east coast university, he forms part of a whole group of St. Andrew's graduates who figure prominently amongst the earliest clerical settlers in Ulster. In light of his Argyll connections, it is both geographically, and in terms of a previous trend, more likely that he went to Glasgow University. However, since he was still alive in 1653 (see Chapter 7, and in all probability still in 1657 above, not being referred to as the 'late' parson) and working on the assumption that he was about twenty when he graduated, this would make him, in 1657, the grand age of 98. Though it is not impossible that he reached this age, it seems more reasonable to assume that he graduated from St. Andrew's in 1597.

108. 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' II, p. 504.

109. 'Roman Catholic Recusancy 1560-1603,' p. 89; *RPCS,* 1625-1627, p. cxvii; 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' pp. 4-5, 8-9, 11.

110. Note that Niall MacMhuirich, the writer of the history, was inaccurate in his recording of this date. John Moydartach died ten years later in 1584. (Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd (editorial director), *Burke's genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry,* 18th edition, 3, (London, 1972), p. 568.)

111. Kilmory in Arisaig already had a church in 1506 before John Moydartach became chief, therefore his church was presumably a new one. Archdeacon Monro noted that there was a parish church in Kildonan in Eigg in 1549. (*OPS,* II, pp. 200, 335.)

112. Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, II, (Inverness, 1894), pp. 170-71. This volume contains the Gaelic text and an English translation of 'The Book of Clanranald,' pp. 138-309. One of John Moydartach's namesakes was buried in the chapel almost a century later. "Anno domini 1670 an bhliadhna do theasda Eoin muideordach anéirisgáigh anuibhisd 7 do cuiredh achorp an Thogh mór." (1670 (was) the year in which John Moydartach (son of Donald) died at Eriskay, in Uist, and his body was interred in Howmore.) (pp. 206-07.)

113. See Chapter 10, section III C. Presbyterian counter-attack.

114. *CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. cxvi.

115. J. L. Campbell, 'The MacNeils of Barra and the Irish Franciscans,' *Innes Review*, 5, (1954), p. 34.

116. See Chapter 8, section III A. The Vincentian mission to the Highlands and Islands.

117. *Canna*, p. 44.

118. Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland*, (2nd edition, London and New York, 1976), pp. 22-23.

119. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 1-4, 15-18.

120. Neither this form nor anything close to it appears in William Grant and David D. Murison, *The Scottish National Dictionary,* (Edinburgh, 1956), or in Sir William A. Craigie, *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue,* (Chicago and London, 1937), but would seem to have the sense of 'coyne.'

121. 'Gerig' is not noted in *The Scottish National Dictionary,* or *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue.* I am not clear what it means - jury service, galley service?

122. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 1-4, 15-18.

123. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis,* p. 161.

124. *RPCS,* 1625-1627, pp. cxxxii-iv; Allan I. Macinnes, 'The Origin and Organisation of the Covenanting Movement during the reign of Charles I, with a particular reference to the west of Scotland,' 2 vols., (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1987), I, pp. 13-16.

125. It should be noted that further attempts were made to regain the church lands feued to MacLean of Duart in the sixteenth century under Charles I's revocation of Church property gifted to laymen since 1540. MacLean had since lost Islay and Jura to the Campbells but the Kirk had been attempting to regain Iona, though without success, since 1612. In 1635 the King wrote to Sir Lachlan MacLean commanding that "furthwith you restore unto the Bishop (of the Isles) the absolute possession of the said Island (Iona) without further hearing or delay." (Nicholas MacLean-Bristol, 'The MacLeans from 1560-1707: A re-appraisal,' in Loraine MacLean of Dochgarroch (editor), *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands*, (Inverness, 1986), pp. 81-82.)

126. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis,* pp. 161-79, quoting *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, lib. 37, no. 130. The original reads: "AC ETIAM quinque mercatas terrarum de Narrabolsadh cum pertinentibus jacentes in dicta Insula de Ylay, finibus lie ruidis nuncupatis ejusdem infra Vicecomitatum predictum olim ad prefatum monasterium Derrense attintentes...." "And also five merklands of Narrabolsadh with pertinents lying on the said island of Islay, with the borders of the same called the Rhinns within the aforesaid sheriffdom, formerly pertaining to the aforesaid monastery of Derry." (I am indebted to Dr. John Durkan, Senior Research Fellow in Scottish History at the University of Glasgow for this translation.) However, the former link with the monastery of Derry did not necessarily impute religious ties between Islay and Derry, but is undoubtedly further evidence of secularisation of kirk lands. The reddendo payable from Narrabolsadh was 'sixty ells or yards of cloth - white, black, and grey respectively' or a money conversion at 8d a yard. The cloth would presumably have been for monks habits. 'The rent payable for Narrabolsadh by this charter was equal to £2 Os. 8d. The total rental of lands in Isla, payable to the crown by this charter was £26 15s 8d.' (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, footnote to p. 173, p. 179.) This statement about the former owners of Narrabolsadh is further ratified in the next century in a document issued as part of Argyll's attempts to sequestrate the estates of Sir Allan MacLean of Duart. Argyll is said

to have been heritably infeft in various lands, one of which was "All and haill the five-merk land of New Calgadie, with the pertinents, lying in the Ile of Ila, in the lands of old pertaining to the Abacy of Derie...." (J. R. N. MacPhail (editor), *Highland Papers I, 1337-1680*, SHS, 2nd series, 5, (Edinburgh, 1914), 'Papers relating to the MacLeans of Duart, 1670-1680,' pp. 251-52.) Given that this is, so far, the only instance extant of such a transaction, it might be wondered how an Irish abbey came to hold a piece of Scottish territory. A rather lavatorial explanation is given in a memorandum in the Charter Room at Inveraray, dated 16 April 1659, which refers to the lands of MacLean of Duart. "As for that roume in Ila pertaining to the Abacie of Derie our Scheanachies or as Buchannane calls them Senetiones doe affirme that the same was mortified to the Abacie of Derrie in Ireland by M'Donald of Ila For ane untymeous fart he did let go, This I bot tell you by the way." (J. R. N. MacPhail (editor), *Highland Papers III, 1662-1677*, SHS, 2nd series, 20, (Edinburgh, 1920), footnote to p. 67.) While this is undoubtedly an amusing anecdote, it smacks largely of the poetic satire of the *seanchaidh* who, it must be remembered, would be well aware of the long-standing feud between the MacLeans and MacDonalds over the Rhinns of Islay at the end of the previous century and beginning of the seventeenth. It was probably written to further humiliate the MacDonalds, in true professional style. Although there may be some substance in the tale, by way of MacDonald's behaviour, nevertheless, in an age and community scarcely renowned for the gentility of its manners, it is hard to think that he would not be man enough, or covetous enough, to brazen it out!

127. See Minims below.

128. See below, section V. The Jesuit missions.

129. *CSPI,* 1574-1585, p. 175.

130. About 2,000 Scots were massacred the next day by the English at Ardnarea. See Chapter 1, section III C. Scots mercenary involvement in Connacht.

131. *CSPI*, 1586-1588, p. 178. One of these O'Haras was named three years later by the Lord Deputy in May 1589, who stated that the sheriff of Roscommon had 'taken Tymolter Oge O'Hara, a good subject (who was guide against the Scots of Ardnary).' (*CSPI,* 1588-1592, p. 196.)

132. *Calendar of Scottish Papers,* 1595-1597, p. 204; MacLean-Bristol, p. 80.

133. Loraine MacLean of Dochgarroch (editor), *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands,* (Inverness, 1986), pp. 79-81.

134. John Durkan, 'Catholic survival in the West of Scotland,' *St. Peter's College Magazine*, 21, no. 82, (1954), pp. 89-90.

135. 'Catholic survival in the West of Scotland,' pp. 90-91.

136. See Chapter 1, section III B. The kinship factor in the contracting of mercenaries in Ulster, 1560-1593, and section III D. The Ulster rebellion, 1594-1603, and below, section V. The Jesuit missions.

137. John Durkan, 'The Career of John Brown, Minim,' *Innes Review*, 21, part 2, (1970), pp. 165-66. Baird hailed from Auchmeddan, near Fraserburgh, and in 1609 had moved from Lyons to Dieppe in order to be nearer Scotland. Maitland probably came in contact with the Minims in Antwerp in 1614, and appears, as the grandson of Sir William Maitland of Lethington, secretary to Queen Mary, to have been very much a

Lowlander. Thomas Robertson, his brother Andrew, and their parents were exiles from Scotland for their faith. Thomas was in the Paris province, and spent much time in Calais tending to visitors by way of mass and confession. Many of them were Scots from a nearby location, but speaking English, Italian and French, he attended to others besides. (pp. 163, 165.)

138. 'The career of John Brown,' p. 166.

139. 'The career of John Brown,' pp. 163, 166-67.

140. 'The career of John Brown,' pp. 167-68.

141. M. V. Hay, *The Blairs Papers 1603-60*, (London and Edinburgh, 1929), p. 72.

142. 'Catholic Recusancy in Scotland,' p. 95.

143. D. MacLean, pp. 94-95.

144. D. MacLean, p. 95.

145. See Chapter 7, footnote 15.

146. D. MacLean, pp. 64-65; *CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 7; *Handbook of British Chronology,* p. 415. In 1599 all Scottish priests were put under the jurisdiction of George Blackwell, an English secular priest, though the Jesuits of both England and Scotland paid him lip-service only. (D. MacLean, p. 87.) This connection between the north-west of Scotland and the diocese of Armagh continued, more specifically in the *Gaidhealtachd*, well into the seventeenth century when Oliver Plunkett, appointed archbishop of Armagh in 1669, was designated superior of the mission to the Isles. (Cathaldus Giblin, 'St. Oliver Plunkett, Francis MacDonnell, O.F.M., and the Mission to the Hebrides,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 17, (1974-75), pp. 69-71.)

147. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 10.

148. Hiram Morgan, 'The end of Gaelic Ulster: a thematic interpretation of events between 1534 and 1610,' *Irish Historical Studies,* 26, (1988), pp. 27-28; *Handbook of British Chronology,* p. 423.

149. *CSPS,* 1595-1597, p. 210.

150. This is probably why he resigned the chiefship to Hugh O'Neill in 1594. See Chapter 1, end of section III B. The kinship factor in the contracting of mercenaries in Ulster, 1560-1593.

151. *CSPS,* 1589-1593, pp. 250, 252, 264-66, 284.

152. Rev. Edmund Hogan S.J., *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century,* 1st series, (London, 1894), p. 353.

153. Donal F. Cregan, 'The Social and Cultural Background of a Counter-Reformation Episcopate, 1618-60,' in A. Cosgrove and D. McCartney (editors), *Studies in Irish History presented to R. Dudley Edwards*, (Dublin, 1979), pp. 107, 109. Cregan has pointed out that though they may have held differing political opinions, there was also a cutural unity between the two groups. Referring to the episcopate of a slightly later period (1618-1660), John O'Cullenan of Raphoe and Heber MacMahon of Clogher, both of native Irish lineage were praised in Irish poetry, but Thomas Dease, bishop of Meath, from the Pale, was himself a Gaelic poet. So too, those from southern urban backgrounds, such as Richard Arthur of Limerick and William Tirry of Cork and Cloyne were learned in Irish antiquities and made translations into Irish. (p.

116.)

154. Nicholas Canny, 'The Formation of the Irish mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750,' *Past and Present*, no. 95, (May 1982), p. 95.

155. Canny, p. 97.

156. Cregan, pp. 103-04.

157. Séathrún Céitinn (Geoffrey Keating), was of Old English derivation. For more of Céitinn, see Chapter 18, section II. Vernacular period in Ireland.

158. Canny, pp. 95-96; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 534.

159. Canny, pp. 95-97.

160. See Chapter 8.

161. Hogan, p. 462.

162. *Handbook of British Chronology,* p. 415.

163. Hogan, pp. 467-68; H. Concannon, 'Irish Missions to Scotland in Penal Days', *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 14, (1919), p. 397.

164. Hogan, pp. 472-73.

165. Concannon, p. 402.

166. Hogan, p. 473.

167. Hogan, p. 478; Cathaldus Giblin, 'Francis MacDonnell, O.F.M., Son of the First Earl of Antrim (d. 1636),' *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 8, (1975-76), p. 51.

168. *IFM*, p. 20.

169. See Chapter 6, section III. The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands.

170. The Puritan Laird of Callaton is presumably Campbell of Cawdor, often contemporarily referred to as Caddell, of which 'Callaton' is probably a variant. Cawdor acquired Islay in 1614 and doubtless Texa with it, though he was not converted to Catholicism until 1624. See Chapter 6, section III A. Interaction of the Irish missionaries with the Scottish *fine*.

171. Colla Ciotach.

172. At the time of Munro, dean of the Isles' report in 1549, Gigha was possessed by the Clan Donald, though he suggested that the old thane of Gigha should have been laird of the same. (Sir Arthur Mitchell and James T. Clark (editors), *MacFarlane's Geographical Collections,* III, SHS, 1st series, 53, (Edinburgh, 1908), 'A Description of the Westerne Iles of Scotland called Hybrides. Compyled by Mr. Donald Monro Deane of the Iles. 1549,' pp. 265-66.) The island appears to have been repurchased by the MacNeills during the reign of Charles I. (I. F. Grant, *The Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603*, (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 488.)

173. There does not appear to be anything ressembling 'Cuin' at any distance off the coast of Arran. The 1" to 1 mile ordnance survey map indicates two islands off the coast of Arran, both at about 2 miles distance, the Holy Island and Pladda. It, therefore, remains a mystery as to which island is referred to here.

174. Hogan, pp. 493-95.

175. Rev. Sean Mac Guaire, 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 42, (1933), p. 358.

176. The narrative is originally from Cardinal Moran's *Life of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunkett*, which was itself based on a Jesuit *Relatio* published in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, II, p. 54.

177. Note that at this time there was no Duke of Argyll. This presumably refers to the seventh Earl before he converted to Catholicism in 1618.

178. Concannon, pp. 403-04.

179. Concannon, p. 404.

180. 'A Description of the Westerne Iles of Scotland called Hybrides,' p. 291.

181. *Fasti*, VII, p. 192.

CHAPTER 6
RELIGIOUS CONTACTS BETWEEN GAELS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST FRANCISCAN MISSION, 1619-1637

Introduction

The Reformed Church had made a notable start to its attempt to provide ministers and readers for Highland and Island parishes in the first decades after 1560. There were, nonetheless, many areas left unattended, as well as the creation of vast, composite parishes, where a minister also served the surrounding vacancies in his area, a practice well-documented later in the seventeenth century. Although there are known to have been 19 ministers in the Isles at the time of Bishop Knox's report on his diocese, there was still vast scope for improvement.[1] As Knox pointed out "the Yle Bara ... is servit be the Minister of Hereis," which could hardly have been a formula conducive to regular religious instruction![2] With only 19 ministers, there were clearly many Hebridean vacancies, numerous both because isolated and therefore unattractive, and also because of a dearth of Gaelic-speaking ministers. Even the lack of evidence from the thirds of teinds - inasmuch as the record is deficient for Argyll and the Isles - corroborates this relatively sparse provision in the Hebrides.[3]

For similar reasons of isolation and probably because there were no more than a few Gaelic-speaking personnel in mainland areas near to the Jesuit heartland in the north-east, the Isles had been eschewed by the Scots (though not Irish) Jesuits who were the only organised Catholic force of Counter-Reformation working in Scotland in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Another reason suggested for this was that the clan *fine* did not carry sufficient political clout. For, although missionaries of all denominations realised the value of establishing good contacts with the élite of a particular area, powerful patronage was sought by the Jesuits in particular, who tended to live in a state of dependancy in the houses of their patrons.

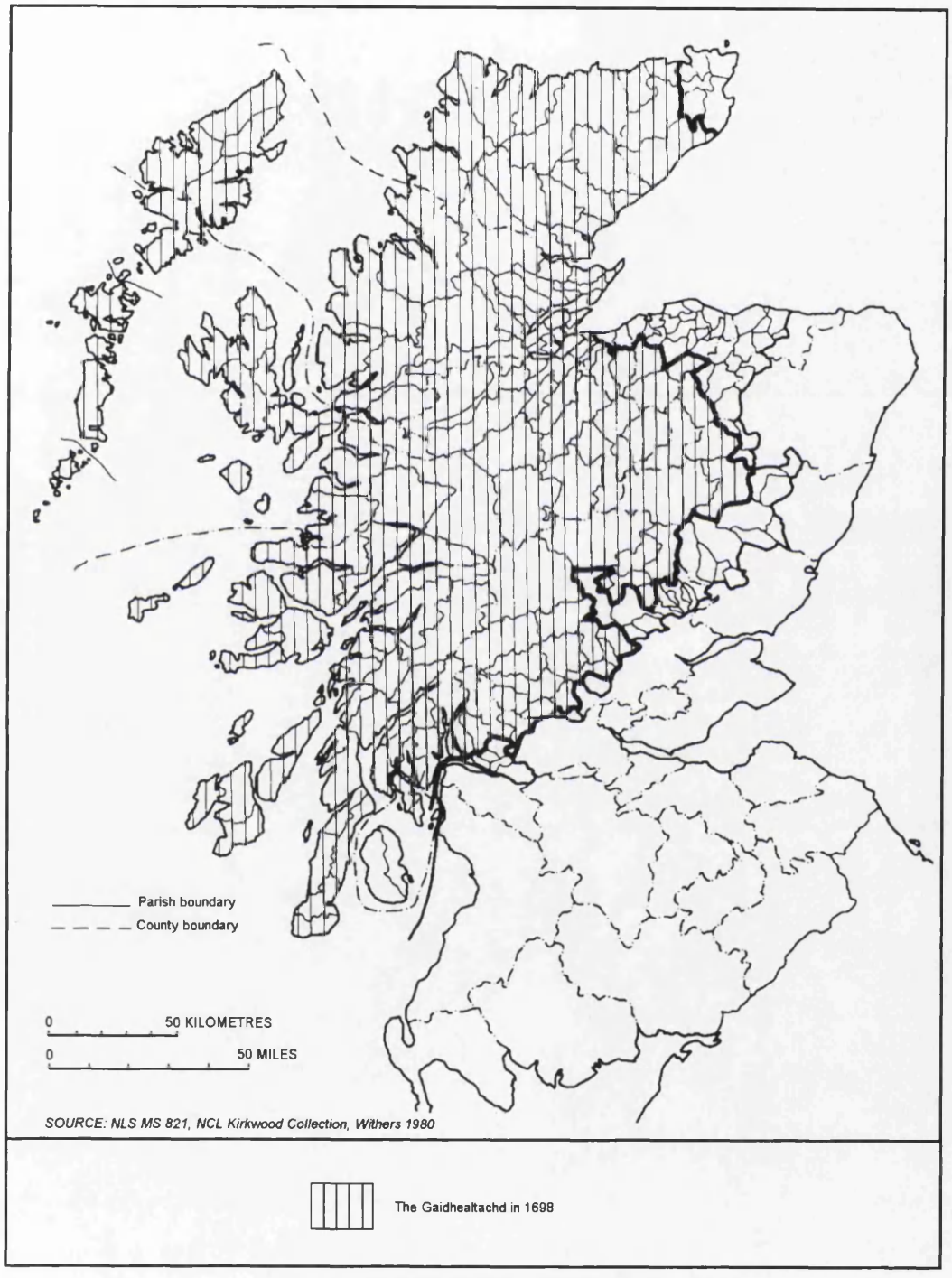
> Even if the Jesuits realised how greatly the Highlanders and Islanders were in need of re-conversion, they were shrewd enough to be aware that the chiefs of the various clans had no political importance. They did not mix with court circles. In comparison with most of the nobility and landed gentry in the Lowlands they were uncultured. So perhaps it was better that some other religious order should be found to minister to them and their peoples.[4]

While it cannot be agreed that Highlanders were comparatively uncultured, it is true that a society based on the mercenary trade and tenant farming was unlikely to have the degree of refinement which the Jesuits had become accustomed to in continental Europe.

Moreover, although a good deal of this assessment of Jesuit motives may be true, their presence in areas close to the Highlands probably led to a certain infiltration of Catholic ideas into these unattended areas. This occurred notably in Perthshire and the north-east, 'where the chiefs and gentry who formed the clan élite and the factors for Lowland landlords with Highland estates tended to be bilingual.'[5] (For the basic geographical division between the Gaelic-speaking Highlands and the English-speaking Lowlands in the seventeenth century, see fig. 6.1, The Scottish Gaidhealtachd in 1698. This is the earliest date at which the extent of the Gaidhealtachd has been calculated. Clearly its extent during the period from 1619 to 1637 would have been greater rather than lesser.) Indeed, one of the main commentators on the Catholic Highlands concedes that 'there was a sub-section of the Lowlands made up of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray, where variants of the so-called Buchan dialect were spoken' which 'was a remote and different world, dominated by the Gordons of Huntly and a number of other Catholic lairds, represented by members of the families of Abercromby, Dunbar, Forbes, Fraser, Hay, Innes, Leslie, and Ogilvie' where it was fairly safe for all classes to profess their Catholicism, except in times of particular persecution.[6] More pertinent to the present discussion, this area touched on the Gaelic-speaking periphery at several points on its boundary. Although recusancy was not sustained among the clans in Atholl, inroads were made by Catholic priests among the clan élite and factors in Upper Deeside, Strathavon and Strathdon. These converts provided a foundation for the later work of conversion by Irish as well as Scottish priests and members of regular orders among the indigenous clans, as in the neighbouring districts of Braemar, Inveravon and Glenlivet and further north in Strathglass, Strathfarrer and the Aird.[7]

However, the surviving evidence would seem more to indicate that many communities 'drifted into a state of semi-paganism, though retaining many Catholic traditions,' memories of which are embodied in the *Carmina Gadelica.* This state of semi-paganism is certainly borne out by the records of the presbytery of Dingwall which testify to pagan practices such as animal sacrifice.[8] These practices had undoubtedly survived from a pre-Reformation era, probably because 'Catholic life in the Highlands had never at any time been thoroughly organised.'[9] But where Catholicism had tolerated, assimilated and to a certain degree patronisingly ignored such practices, Protestantism tended to stress their hideousness. There would also have been some reversion to, or revitalisation of traditional practices in the absence of any religious ministration whatsoever. Indeed it was just such a lack of organisation to meet the spiritual needs of the Highlands and Islands that was to make it such a fertile ground for the first Franciscan mission. Some modern commentators regard the Irish link, fuelled by a native people who spoke more or less the same language and who had remained strongly Catholic despite having an established Protestant church, as the only one which remained religiously productive in the Isles.[10] This was to provide 'for the entrenchment of Catholicism as the faith of whole communities.'[11]

Fig. 6.1
THE SCOTTISH GAIDHEALTACHD IN 1698
The earliest date at which its extent has been calculated



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Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region,
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1622 marked the recognition of the death of the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland, for with the institution of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregation de Propaganda Fide)* in this year, Rome acknowledged that Scotland was now a missionary country. Propaganda's task was primarily to propagate the faith in the newly discovered lands of the period, namely America, Africa and Asia and to reconcile schismatic oriental churches, but it also took some responsibility for countries such as Scotland which had lapsed totally into heresy. In some Protestant countries like England where relations were not so hostile, the Pope could station an ambassador or papal nuncio, but because Catholicism had been rejected so entirely in Scotland, supervision of any Catholic interest in the country operated through the nuncio in Brussels. One of the innovations of Propaganda was the practice of sending 'duly consecrated bishops into countries, without permission of the civic rulers, often without their knowledge.' The first of these vicars-apostolic, William Bishop, was appointed for England in 1623[12] and was given jurisdiction over Scotland as well, although some Scottish priests stressed the ancient enmity between the two nations, to no avail.[13]

However, the maintenance of Catholicism in Scotland from the early seventeenth century to the present day was in no small part due to those Irish contacts which were originally fostered through an aristocratic marriage in the fourteenth century and sustained through social, economic and mercenary contact down to the sixteenth century. Certainly, the MacNeills of Barra appear to have kept the faith alive by taking occasional religious excursions to Ireland.[14] It is difficult to come to a definitive conclusion as to whether the territory of the MacDonalds of Kintyre remained Catholic in sentiment in any meaningful sense, or whether the people were reconverted by Irish Jesuits. An account of the 1615 rebellion in Islay notes that "the religioun that the cuntrie pepill hes heir amongst them is Popishe for thair is newer a minister in the wholle Ille except wan poore man that the bishop[15] did leaue heir." Yet, the report of the Irish Jesuit superior in 1619 noted that when Fr. Galwey went to Islay no one had ever received mass before in their lifetime.[16] It seems likely, therefore, that they were just inclined to Catholicism. Though Islay had passed into Campbell hands in 1614, it was subsequently visited on several occasions by the priests of the first Franciscan mission, which can in part be accounted for by the conversion of Cawdor, the next landowner. After 1629, however, it was largely ignored by the Franciscans. It is more of an enigma that they did not visit Colonsay or Oronsay after 1629, since Colla Ciotach MacDonald still held sway over the islands in 1633 when Lord Lorne decided to accept his presence by reconfirming feus of Colonsay and Oronsay made in 1619 and 1624.[17]

There was undoubtedly also a political element in Sir Randal MacDonell, first Earl of Antrim's financial subsidies to the Franciscan mission, for although James VI and I had confirmed Antrim as a substantial landowner in Ulster, the Protestant plantation of Ulster constituted a major threat to his future as a Catholic landowner, at the hands of suspicious English and Lowland Scots settlers.

Antrim's support for the Catholic mission in Scotland was intimately tied up with his plans to maintain his influence in Ulster and to provide it with a broader base in Scotland. He, thus, tried to assume leadership of the Kintyre MacDonalds following their expropriation. Moreover, as well as attempting to buy out the house of Argyll from Kintyre in 1635, he supported plans for the appointment of a Catholic bishop of the Isles in Scotland and 'it has been plausibly suggested that it was linked with his plans for reviving the power of the MacDonalds.'[18] During this period the Franciscans frequently called for the restoration of a bishop's authority. In 1640, pressurised by the Irish hierarchy, Propaganda got as far as discussing the revival of the diocese of Sodor, an ancient jurisdiction which had encorporated the Isle of Man and all the western Isles of Scotland.[19] To a large extent, however, with the advent of the National Covenant in 1638, the status of Antrim, an enthusiastic Royalist, markedly improved and Catholics were more openly tolerated in the light of trouble which had been caused to the Church of Ireland by exiled Scottish presbyterian non-conformists in the 1630s.[20] Antrim then saw a prime opportunity of promoting his own ends through Royalist service in Scotland against the Covenanters, with the aim of winning the expropriated MacDonald lands in Kintyre for the MacDonnells.[21]

I. THE PROTESTANT EVIDENCE

It must be said that the material extant for tracing links between Gaelic Protestants in Ireland and Scotland before 1637 is still practically negligible. Such Highland presbytery records as exist, effectively begin about the date of the official end of the first Franciscan mission.[22] As for Irish material, the great majority of parish-based material was destroyed during the subsequent 1640s civil war, and since such Scots presbyterian ministers as went to Ireland were at first contained within the body of the Church of Ireland, much of this information is lost, while the records of the presbyterian Synod of Ulster do not begin until 1691.

There is evidence of greater activity during the 1640s, from which period more historical papers have survived, but though there was communication between Scots and Irish Protestants during the growth of the Ulster plantation, the present thesis deals particularly with Highlanders and Islanders who were officially excluded from this settlement. While, in practice, some were accepted into it, in much the same way as were some Irish peasants, particularly, perhaps, on the estates of the Earl of Antrim, this would inevitably have been done in an underhand way, to disguise the illegality. Catholics would, possibly, even have been listed as nominal Protestants and therefore would not show so readily in the records. Moreover, with relatively few ministers still in the Hebrides by 1626, it must be concluded that Protestantism had impressed itself only on parts of the Gaelic-speaking population. Matters had made better progress on the mainland in the shires of Argyll and Ross, Caithness and Sutherland, though not in Inverness, but there was sufficient work to retain

these Highland Protestant ministers on their own doorsteps. Moreover, given that the majority of Protestant settlers in Ulster were English or Scots-speaking, there appear to have been an abundance of Lowland ministers who wished to serve them, and in many cases had removed out there with them. Certainly from the mid-1630s, with the ascendancy of episcopalianism in Scotland, most Highland presbyterians appeared content to stay in the relative safety of their Highland backwaters.

A. The Highlands and Islands

On the mainland, Argyll as a whole appears to have been adequately provided for during this period, there having been fairly consistent ministerial coverage either from the Reformation or from the early 1570s in many parishes.[23] However, the majority of the provided parishes were fairly near to the Campbell heartland of Inveraray. The further away from this, so proportionately later appears to have been the filling of the parish. Thus, the majority of Kintyre, that is, old Clan Donald South territory, was mainly provided in the seventeenth century. At the northern end of Kintyre, only the parish of Kilcalmonell and Kilberry had been filled consistently from 1580. The next south again united parish of Killean, Kilchenzie and Kilmalrubh, which included the lands of Skipness, was not provided until the third decade of the seventeenth century, when the minister, Murdoch M'Whirrie, is known to have been in place in August 1629. The adjoining parish of Saddell still had no minister by 1637. It had to wait until the same minister, Murdoch M'Whirrie, left Killean and was subsequently admitted to Saddell, just outwith the period under view, in 1639. Similarly, the more southerly parish of Kilchiaran (later Campbeltown) was also not filled until the period under discussion here. Duncan MacCalman is known to have been minister in the parish kirk of Kilchiaran by 1631 which, with the old parishes of Kilchuslan and Kilmichael, comprised the united parish of Kilchiaran, as created by a parliamentary commission for the plantation of kirks in 1617. So too, the most southerly parish in Kintyre, Southend, opposite the coast of Ireland and comprising the united parishes of Kilcholumkill, Kilblaan, and Kilchievan, was not filled until August 1629, by Duncan Omey, of the renowned ecclesiastical family of that name.[24]

By the same token, as in Kintyre, the parishes further north near Clanranald territory were also filled later, as if in a second wave of provision by the Synod of Argyll once the foundation had been laid in the Campbell heartland. Morvern was provided by 1611, but the parish of Ardnamurchan and Eilean Finain was not filled until Donald Omey, who was minister in February 1624, had been especially "plantit and placed" there. In these areas the Kirk was resented as an extension of an alien authority, as shown by an intrusion of a young, armed man into the kirk when Omey was preaching one day, to deliver a letter from Clanranald "intimating that the minister sould with all convenient diligence reteirr himself from those boundes, and have him hame, utherwayes it sould coast him his lyffe."[25] Interestingly, there is no record of the Franciscan missionaries having

visited the Moidart region by this time, so that the initiative to remove the Protestant minister can only have come from the inclination of Clanranald and his people.

The very worst provision in the mainland Highlands appears to have been in that area which was erected into the presbytery of Abertarff in the eighteenth century, though at this time was in the presbytery of Lorn or Kilmore within the jurisdiction of the Synod of Argyll, but situated mainly in Inverness-shire. It included the MacDonald enclave of Morar, Moidart and Arisaig within the joint parish of Ardnamurchan, Eilean Finnan and Arisaig, which was probably infrequently, if at all, served from Ardnamurchan from 1624. Glenelg, the next parish to the north, had not yet been filled since the Reformation, and stayed vacant during this whole period. The adjacent parish of Kilmallie covering the area south of Loch Arkaig, as well as the Inverlochy and Fort William region, also remained vacant throughout the whole period, and was first filled in 1651. Also within this area was the seemingly impenetrable hinterland of Lochaber, in the parish of Kilmonivaig, a vast parish (see fig. 9.1, Highland parishes of the eighteenth century) including Glengarry, which was vacant during this period, and indeed until 1720 when the first minister was settled there. Within this area only the joint parish of Kilchuimin or Abertarff (now Fort Augustus) and Boleskine, had a minister from the sixteenth century. Thus, with half the united parishes in this area not being filled until the first half of the eighteenth century, it is hardly surprising that the Catholic Church was able to claim a fair proportion of this area as its own by the end of the seventeenth century. This area of non-provision also extended, at its southern borders, into Perthshire in the jurisdiction of the presbytery of Dunkeld. Although the parish of Kilchonain or Kinloch in Rannoch had a reader fairly early on in 1574 who remained until his death in 1582, the first appointment exclusively made to this parish was not until 1755. Moreover, it was not a minister who was appointed but a catechist, the renowned Gaelic spiritual poet, Dugald Buchanan. Prior to that, Kilchonain was served by the minister of Fortingal which had been united to the parishes of Glenlyon and Kilchonain or Kinloch in Rannoch in 1585. During this period, Fortingal was served by two James Ross's, father and son, the first admitted before September 1629 and the second three years after his death, and two years outside the period considered here, in April 1639. However, the first minister resident was not presented to Kinloch Rannoch until the nineteenth century, some 62 years after Buchanan's death. So too, the parishes of Struan, Kilmoveonaig and Lude were only filled technically through the union of these three parishes with Blair Atholl in the early seventeenth century. However, in reality the reader had left Kilmoveonaig in 1580, while the readers in Struan and Lude had both died in 1582.[26]

It is interesting, once again, to look at the provision of Protestant ministers in the Isles during this period, for as a marginal area even among the Highlands and Islands as a whole, if there was reasonable provision there, it is indicative of the extent of Protestant penetration in the area as a whole. (For location of parishes referred to, see fig. 9.1, Highland parishes in the eighteenth

century.) In Skye, Bracadale continued to be served until 1632 by John McColgan, and thereafter by John MacKinnon, a presentee of John Leslie, bishop of the Isles. There was also continuous provision in Duirinish, with Ewen MacQueen having replaced Alan O'Colgan some time after 1613, and continuing there until 1643. There was still no minister in Trotternish, which therefore presented an open invitation for Catholic missionaries, though Kenneth MacKenzie who had been presented to Sleat in 1609 and was still there in 1627, was also supposed to serve Trotternish and the Small Isles of Eigg, Muck, Rhum and Canna.[27] However, given the extent of this territory, the ministration can have been little other than infrequent and cursory, and probably further explains the inroads made by Catholicism in Canna and Eigg, particularly when combined with the influence there of MacDonald of Clanranald. Sleat continued to be served with the admittance of Neil MacKinnon in 1633.[28] So too, prior to his incumbency in Sleat, Neil MacKinnon had served in Strath, the territory of the MacKinnons, referred to in Gaelic as 'Strath Mhic Fhiònghainn' or 'MacKinnon's valley,' where he was minister for at least six years, having been there from 1627. This represents a further expansion of Protestantism into a third parish in Skye, though to all intents and purposes only two were fully operational as in the period before 1619, for Neil MacKinnon was not replaced in Strath until 1663. It is, however, likely that he continued to minister to Strath from Sleat, the parishes being contiguous, and MacKinnon last being noted as minister in Sleat, in May 1661.[29]

In Barra, there was no minister between 1619 and 1637, allowing Catholicism a free rein. However, it appears from the evidence of the Franciscan mission that not all the islanders were predisposed to Catholicism, either in religious terms or as a further expression of their political and cultural identity.[30] In Harris, John MacPherson was admitted in about 1625, the benefice possibly having lain vacant at some time between the incumbency of the first minister in 1566 and 1625,[31] though this is difficult to prove. There was, perhaps, another gap in North Uist, where Donald MacMillan was considered old in 1626, and was not referred to again, but Angus MacQueen was only definitely in place as second minister just outwith the period under consideration, in May 1642. In South Uist, John MacKinnon was appointed rector on 3 June 1633, which was the first confirmed Protestant appointment there. Indeed, it is possible that this is the same John MacKinnon referred to above, who was presented to Bracadale in Skye in the previous year, for the parish faced the vacant South Uist. He may, therefore, only have drawn the teinds of the benefice, rather than being resident. In the first instance, Barvas in Lewis, was filled by the pre-Reformation parson who was still incumbent in 1566. The benefice was not filled by a Protestant until after this period, by 26 May 1642. Overall, there appears to have been Protestant regression in Lewis at this time, for in Uig, the one parish in Lewis which had a minister in 1572, the same incumbent was either a very old man and limited in his activity, or was dead, and the next minister was not appointed there until 1726! The length of time which the parish lay vacant when he died would also tend to support the premise that the first minister of Uig was a priest[32] who conformed to

Protestantism, perhaps only superficially, though it probably also indicates a profound difficulty in procuring reformed staff for such an isolated area. Thus, having made a start, and perhaps having done sufficient to ensure the island's long-term inclination to Protestantism, the Protestant Kirk largely failed to sustain its ministry in Lewis before 1637.[33]

B. Ulster

Many of the Scots presbyterians who went to Ireland during this period, which was characterised by the growing deference to prelatical power favoured by James VI and I, and his son Charles I, did so as non-conformists to the idea of ecclesiastical hierarchy. They had increasingly done so after 1615 with the adoption by the Church of Ireland of an independent Irish Confession of Faith which was more puritanical in its outlook than the English one and therefore appealed to the Calvinists.[34] Their presence was readily apparent in Ulster by 1621, when the archbishop of Armagh complained that, on the estates of one of the main Scottish planters in Down, there were:

> certain factious and irregular puritanes who I have discovered of late to be settled in the lands of Sir Hugh Mountgomerie intertayning the Scottish discipline and litergie so strongelie, that they offer wrong to the Church government here established.[35]

Although no precise details of Highland presbyterian ministers having been actually admitted to parishes during this period have been discovered, evidence exists which indicates that some were there. A visitation was undertaken in Raphoe in 1622 during the primacy of Bishop Andrew Knox (1611-1633), the ex-bishop of the Isles. Along with the Scot Robert Echlin of Down and Connor, (1613-1635), and the Englishman William Bedell of Kilmore (1629-1642), the latter of whom also sought to supply as many Irish-speaking ministers for Irish-speaking parishes as he could, and had a small catechism printed in Irish in 1631, Knox was regarded as one of the reforming bishops of the north. He did more than either Echlin or James Spottiswood, bishop of Clogher (1621-1645), the other two Scots appointed bishops in the reign of James VI and I, to promote the Protestant cause in Ulster. The Visitation Roll indicates both the continued presence of a Highlander originally admitted into a charge under Bishop Knox early in his primacy, and another admitted during this period as a reader.[36] More than this it underlines the stringent effort being made by Knox to minister to the Irish in their own language.

The Visitation Roll of the diocese of Raphoe in 1622 provides information, not only about the academic status of the Protestant clergy, but also the provision they had made for ministering to the Irish community. The roll lists fifteen clergymen, twelve of whom are definitely Scotsmen and fourteen of whom have degrees. The details of one of these fifteen, the Highlander, Dugald Campbell of Letterkenny, have already been dealt with.[37] Further than this, John Aiken of

Dunfanaghy was said to know Erse, as well as having one or two Irish curates to serve the district. William Patton of Ray had two assistants, one of whom was a converted Irish priest. John Hough of Kilmacrenan and Carrigart was assisted, in the latter parish, by an Irish reader.[38] William Cunningham of Tullaghfernan (in Ramelton) and Gartan, Donegal, was assisted by John Ross, who knew Irish. As with Campbell above, Ross may have studied at St. Andrew's University, but there were also several men of that name who were *alumni* of Glasgow.[39] It does, however, appear that Ross was a Gaelic-speaking Scot, and is the only Scottish Gael known to have been brought by Knox into his diocese during this period, though he had brought three in earlier by 1612.[40] Robert Whyte of Clondavaddog (a curate for a non-resident incumbent) was also assisted by an Irish reading clergyman. So too, Claud Knox of Aghanunshen (between Letterkenny and Ramelton) and Inniskeel (north of Killybeggs) was assisted by Irishmen.[41] Therefore, in just under half of the parishes mentioned, seven to eight, Knox had made provision for ministration in Irish. While it might be said that such provision was inadequate, it represented a valiant attempt, especially considering the national average in Ireland, at that time, was one minister to every six parishes. According to Knox, the native clergy endeavoured "by all means the conversion of their country people." But it is worthy of note that the native Irish ministers held the less lucrative parishes, serving as curates under British settler ministers.[42]

As a result of discriminating in favour of Gaelic speakers, both Irish and Scots, Knox's diocese began, at least in the short-term, to reap Irish fruit. The schoolmaster at Donegal, described as 'a very good humanist,' converted from Catholicism, and three ex-priests made up part of the previously mentioned fourteen-strong group of Irish readers.[43] Moreover, although Knox appears to have made an attempt to use Irish Gaels, the general policy of importing Gaelic-speaking Scots which had begun in the sixteenth century, continued in the next century when pleas were made from Ireland to the Synod of Argyll for Gaelic-speaking ministers.[44] Mirroring this initiative, it was precisely their command of the Irish language which made the Irish priests and friars so popular, a few decades later, on the Highland mission. However, Knox's policy of bringing in Scots, both Lowland and Highland, did not ultimately stand him in good stead. With the rise of Archbishop Laud's Arminian influence in Ireland,[45] Knox was accused of having despoiled his See. Defending himself to the Lords Justices in April 1632 he stated that the rents in his diocese were very small when he first took it over.

> I then went to Scotland and, with great difficulty, persuaded a number of Scotch people to come and colonise my see. When they came over I had, owing to the conditions of the land market to give them better terms than I had bargained for, but I made reservations on all the lands, and the result is that this see is now planted with over 300 families of British Protestant settlers.

Moreover, he had raised the rents from £30 to between £500 and £600 a year.[46]

In general, from 1634, the movement of clergy was in the opposite direction once again as the Irish governor Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, began to persecute non-conformists to episcopacy, the most tenacious of whom were compelled to return to Scotland. Scots, many of whom were crypto-presbyterians, were obvious targets. The Laudian Bishop Brahmall of Derry (1634-1661), particularly highlighted the Scots following the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. He wrote to Laud:

> But that which troubles me as much as all the rest is that never any Bishop of that (the Scottish) nation prefers any man but his own countrymen, yea, and them many times, with the extrusion of more deserving men. So as in a Bishop's time all the whole clergy of a diocese shall become merely Scottish, which how safe it is either for his Majesty's service or the settlement of the Church and State I leave it to your grace to apprehend.

There is an element of truth in his assertion for the dioceses of Down and Connor, Raphoe and Clogher, which had exclusively Scottish bishops until the Laudian period, while in the dioceses of Derry and Dromore which had English bishops, Scottish clergy were conspicuous by their absence.[47] It is, thus, as part of an overall movement mainly of non-conformist Scots into Irish dioceses under Scottish bishops that the immigration of Gaelic-speaking Scots ministers must be seen. There was, however, one Highland minister, an evident episcopalian, who was an exception to this movement. Thomas Mackenzie of Inverlaul, son of John Mackenzie of Inverlaul (minister of Killearnan in Ross) was admitted to the parish of Tarbat in Ross in 1633, but deserted his charge and went to Ireland in 1635. This was because his parishioners opposed his using a form of the liturgy, so he probably went to Ireland in hope of getting a more conformist congregation. Yet, it is also perfectly plausible that he simply stayed there on a social basis, or preached without being formally admitted into a parish. A good many lay conformists may also have crossed to Ireland at the same time, for when Sir William Brereton, author of *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634-5* was at Irvine in 1636, he was told that in two years "above ten thousand persons... have left the country wherin they lived, which was betwixt Aberdeen and Ennerness [Inverness], and are gone to Ireland."[48] This figure is an apparent exaggeration, but a significant number must have gone. Thomas Mackenzie, however, eventually returned to Scotland and was admitted to his father's old parish of Killearnan in 1638, was elected to the Glasgow Assembly that year and had charges brought against him there. 'He protested in behalf of the Presbytery against the Assembly as constituted and adhered to the declinature by the bishops,' and was deposed in 1638 and ordered to be excommunicated.[49]

Episcopalians were equally capable, in their turn, of exerting pressure on Scottish Catholics, some of whom also fled to Ireland. One such Highland Catholic who made Ireland his resting place, in 1631, was Sir Alexander Gordon. He was the third surviving son of the eleventh Earl of Sutherland

and Lady Jane Gordon and should be distinguished from his namesake, Sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny, who is mentioned later in this chapter. He held the lands of Navidale and others in the parish of Kildonan, and assisted his brother, Sir Robert, in the management of the Sutherland estate.[50] He had been raised as a Catholic and retained the faith like his elder brother and his mother. 'Under the high commission court Sir Alexander himself had to suffer much on account of his religion, and for refusing to conform to episcopacy.' Hoping to achieve more freedom in the pursuance of his religion, he went to Ireland in August 1631, with his wife and family.[51] He evidently returned to Scotland in the following year, for on 21 July 1632 he wrote to his brother, Sir Robert Gordon, concerning the redemption of some of his lands by the thirteenth Earl, which business appears to have brought him back. It is clear that he intended to stay in Ireland for some time.[52] He indicated that he would soon be returning to Ireland, intimating that he had settled in County Monaghan. He returned to Scotland again in 1636, when he stayed in Dornoch for several months, intending to return at Lammastide "seing langer I can not stey." Nothing further has been discovered of him in Ireland after 1636.[53]

Equally surprising, was the maintenance of a Scots portion of the plantation of Ulster for the Roman Catholic religion. Sir George Hamilton of Greenlaw, son of Lord Claud Hamilton, was a Roman Catholic. 'This fact gave rise to one of the most anomalous circumstances in the entire Scottish plantation.' His brothers died leaving only minors as issue, so that Sir George ultimately controlled five proportions in Strabane. Moreover, through his influence, the children of both the Earl of Abercorn and Sir Claud Hamilton of Schawfield were converted to Roman Catholicism, 'so that within a generation one of the most successful parts of the Scottish plantation in the escheated counties was led by Roman catholics.' These lands would presumably also have been amenable to receiving Highland Catholics. Certainly in 1622, Sir D. L.[54] in a report on Hamilton's proportion noted that there was negative discrimination against Protestant settlers in the barony of Strabane. (For Strabane see fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.) He also reported that Hamilton surrounded himself with men of his own religion. In the reign of Charles I, Sir George and his kinsman, the Earl of Abercorn, continued this movement, attracting Roman Catholic immigrants from Scotland. The immigrants even included some Jesuit priests.[55]

The bishop of Derry considered the situation so serious in 1630 that he felt that rebellion would occur shortly in Strabane, if the growing Catholic community in his diocese were not curtailed:

> There was a great meeting of priests last November at 'Ury,' in the parish of 'Commye,' wherein MacSwyne, Vicar-General for the diocese of Derry, gave up his place to Tirlough O'Kelly, who is now Dean and Vicar-General, and lives with Scottish papists at Strabane. He is generally harboured by James Ferrall, not by the Master of Abercorn, but the master often entertains him, and lodged him when the bishop of Derry and the provost of Strabane thought to arest him....

More pertinently, perhaps, the depositioner pointed out that the mass was attended by the Irish:

> There is evidence of the holding of mass on Sunday at Sir George Hamilton's and in other houses where it is attended by the Irish and forty Scotch from about Strabane. Sir George is praised for having made many converts during his residence in Ireland, both at Strabane and at Killybegs.[56]

It will be remembered that there had been a Scottish Highland settlement in Strabane, County Tyrone, since Agnes Campbell had brought over a thousand men on her marriage to Turlough Luineach in 1569. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the settlement comprised some 60 to 80 families. As such, they are often regarded as one of the 'few exceptions to the rule of non-settlement by the 'New Scots' mercenaries.'[57] By 1622 there were above 100 families there.[58] Moreover, in 1624 the native Irish were in possession of 305 of the 608 ploughlands in Derry, [59] or 50%, a significant percentage in an escheated county.

It is also worthy of note that the authorities knew of Hamilton's religious proclivities as early as 1614, when he was ordered either to conform or suffer expulsion from the country, but he retained his faith, continued in residence and nothing punitive occurred. A similar pattern can be traced in the religious inclination of, and the authorities's dealings with, the Earl of Antrim. This is, perhaps, something of a gauge of the relative importance of their religious adherence and of their standing as economically sound planters. By the same token, it was not only Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphoe from 1611, but also the previous incumbent of that See, George Montgomery, promoted to the Sees of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher in 1605, who was seen as acting as 'a sort of Ulster agent,' attracting many Lowland Scots into his area before the start of the official plantation.[60]

For the entire period from 1560 to 1760 it is virtually impossible to find an objective religious source, and this, particularly in relation to the wealth of information relating to the Franciscan mission, is now considered.

II. ASPECTS OF INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS SOURCE MATERIAL

Owing to the monumental work of translation and cataloguing of Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M., on the Irish and related Scottish aspects of the Vatican archives in the past four decades, much new information has been salvaged from the Catholic record about the missions of Irish regulars in the Highlands and Islands. It must be stressed, however, that the amount of material which has now been gathered on the Catholic missions to the Highlands during this period, which is discussed below, does not necessarily reflect accurately the progress of that religion. In spite of the wealth of information about these missions the numbers of priests actually labouring on the Highland

mission, during this period, ranges invariably from one to a maximum of six. Equally, the paucity of comparable evidence for Gaelic-speaking, pro-episcopal Protestants in Ireland does not mean that more of them did not go there and make a valuable contribution to the establishment of the Protestant plantation settlement.

Most commentators undoubtedly wrote with a view to their own salvation, and the present discussion is therefore relevant not only for this chapter but all subsequent chapters on a religious theme. Paranoia generated by such events as the 'Popish Plot' of 1678, for example, was amply used by the Protestant authorities to ensure the re-enforcement of the penal laws.[61] Similarly, a source from a later period shows that whatever the realities of the situation such fears were turned to the Protestant advantage to increase government funding of Protestant missionary work in the Highlands. In April 1727, four years before the establishment of a separate Highland Vicariate, and when the problems of the Catholic mission in the Highlands were much the same as previously, enhanced only by the presence of a few indigenously-born priests, the Committee of the Royal Bounty complained with regard to the presbyteries of Abertarff, Gairloch and Lorn, that there are "many Priests and Emmissaries of Rome travelling continually in among them... It appears that the Papists seem to be now Doubleing their Diligence, not only to maintain their ground, But also to gain Proselytes, for which, it is said, they have great premium from abroad, and no small Encouragement at home."[62] By no manner of interpreting the material, can it be said that 'great premium' was given from abroad. Financial assistance continued to be requested of Propaganda after the establishment of the separate Highland Vicariate, but was extracted as if from a stone.[63] This is not to say, as can be seen further on in this chapter, that the Catholics were not equally adept at turning circumstances of persecution to their own financial advantage. As the established religion, the Protestant side had the advantage of being able to call upon the judiciary for support, but it was equally capable of persecuting its own non-conformists, depending on whether the episcopalian or presbyterian faction had the upper hand. Furthermore, the astute expediency of marrying Catholicism with political disaffection often makes Protestant discourses on the Highland mission seem far more bigoted than those comments, for instance, of the Catholic missionary Ward who frankly stated, in 1626, that the leading men of South Uist simply agreed to accept the faith if they found his arguments more convincing than the minister's.[64]

Another aspect which receives a great deal of attention is persecution of Catholics. Yet, as has been pointed out for the period 1603 to 1707, 'that the penal laws against Catholic clergy, nonconforming laity and their resetters should be reinforced and their implementation proclaimed on another 18 occasions after their collation and codification in 1609 argues more for their ineffectiveness rather than their sting.'[65] Nevertheless, the very fact that the missionaries were not always offered shelter for the night in a very inclement climate, is some indication, in a society with a well-developed ethic of hospitality, of the fear induced by these laws in a predominantly

Protestant environment. Patrick Hegarty, in his report of 29 December 1624 said that when the missionaries crossed to Kintyre from Sanda 'they had to spend the night in the open; on the evening of the next day a catholic welcomed them to his house, and they stayed there overnight.' There the missionaries split up and went separate ways. Hegarty crossed to Arran where he spent eight days 'living in a cave on butter, cheese, and water.'[66]

At the same time, the priests clearly had a vested interest in scaling up their stories of persecution and potential capture in an attempt to get both more money and extra faculties from Propaganda. It could also be said that areas in, or bordering on, the 'protectorate' of Argyll were always better policed with Protestant informants, although a report of the Catholic Cornelius Ward at the beginning of 1625 identified the northern Highlands as a bigger danger area during this pre-Revolution period. Ward noted 'that in the north there are three factors which impede the progress of the catholic faith: the numerical strength of the ministers and their boldness, the fear of the catholics to profess their faith in case they might be discovered and fined, and the severity of the laws against catholics.' He said:

> that in the southern Highlands and in the Hebrides there is a far better chance of making converts, because the laws are not so severe there, and there are fewer ministers; indeed, in the southern Highlands and Hebrides there are many places which have never seen a priest or a minister since the religious upheaval, and in such places some of the people have memories of catholicism which have not been infected by the errors of the new religion.[67]

The laws against Catholics, however, were the same throughout Scotland, so Ward must simply have been referring to a slackness in their implementation in these areas. Moreover, although a failure to provide customary hospitality might be regarded as natural caution for their own and the priest's benefit, on the other hand, people liked to be sure of the credentials of those professing to be priests before bowing their heads in confession. In the past, priests had often been spies not only for governments but of conniving, political power-wielders such as Argyll, MacDonnell, O'Donnell and O'Neill. Consider, for instance, the role of Denis Campbell, dean of Limerick, in relation to his kinsman, Argyll, and to the English government in the late sixteenth century.[68] This situation was compounded by the fact that priests were often found masquerading in the guise of other Gaelic professionals such as doctors and musicians in order to avoid detection by the civil power. Thus, according to Ward, visiting in August 1624, the people of Eigg who had not had a priest on the island since 1556, that is before the Reformation, 'on hearing of Ward's approach ... sent messengers to tell him they would not believe till he first said mass and preached.' On the same island, an old lady challenged Ward that when she had taken mass in her youth 'it was the custom to give the pax to the people to be kissed, and he had omitted this.' Nonetheless, on the arrival of his fellow missionary, Paul O'Neill, for a three day visit, the people were said to have been 'impressed

by the fact that O'Neill preached the same truths as Ward had preached!' On the other hand, when Ward arrived in South Uist, a large crowd gathered to hear him on 28 October of that year, but while some are said to have been anxious to learn about the faith, others were 'merely curious.'[69]

From the abundance of material documenting the hunt for priests and the evidence of the capture of some, it must be concluded that the priests were definitely hounded, though not excessively. It was, in essence, a political issue because of the association of Catholicism with papal, and other continental, powers. This political aspect undoubtedly took on a greater magnitude with the later birth of Jacobitism. Priests were hunted almost as emissaries of foreign political powers, but it was relatively infrequently that severe reprisals were taken on the Highland civil population.[70] The authorities tended to work more at the level of the clan *fine* with the understanding that their conversion represented a strong example to the people. The records of the Synod of Argyll, for instance, are full of repeated calls for excommunication, supposedly the highest penalty for practising Catholicism, with its implied social ostracism, yet their constant repetition evidences the weakness of excommunication as a civil and social sanction.

Personal agents of persecution mentioned in the reports of the first Franciscan missionaries are MacLean of Duart, who was stated by Ward in 1625 to be opposed to Catholicism, and the minister of Eigg (though based on Skye), Neil MacKinnon, who was said to have come to Eigg accompanied by soldiers, at night, with the intention of killing or capturing Ward. The latter wrote that he was saved by some of the local, presumably Clanranald, gentry whom he had reconciled to Catholicism, who banded together and threatened the minister and the soldiers with death unless they left the island immediately. Fearing Protestant reprisals, the laird is said to have made an agreement with the minister guaranteeing him a third of the island's teinds if he left the Catholics and their priests unmolested.[71] Certainly, Clanranald was charged six years later in 1631, to appear before the Lords of Council and Session on behalf of three of his tenants, Donald McLaughlane McMurrich, Rannald McAlaster VcEan Og and McRorie VcFerquhar, and his uncle, Ranald McAllane VcEane MacDonald, who had rescued a priest from custody. When the bishop of the Isles was visiting his kirks in September 1630 he had heard that a priest, Patrick Hegarty ["Chagartie"] had come from Ireland and was now in South Uist. Hegarty was apprehended by the bishop's company, but Clanranald's uncle "accompanied by about thirty persons, armed with bows, darlochs, hagbuts and pistols ... forcibly took the said priest out of their hands." This Raghnall McAllane VcEane is the MacDonald of Benbecula who killed the minister in Barra in 1609.[72] Donald McLaughlane McMurrich was said to have fled to Ireland and could not be exhibited in court. However, when Rannald McAlester VcEan Oig was subsequently produced by Clanranald before the Privy Council he deponed, in an obvious attempt to protect his chief, "that before he wes instructed be that preist that he had never nather heard preaching nor prayer; and that there wes no suche divine exercise within the Captans bounds."[73] This, of course, was an outright lie. (For

priests in Clanranald bounds, see fig. 6.4, First Franciscan mission 1619-1637: incidence map.) However, the agreement to pay the minister a third of the teinds of Eigg, if honoured, was indeed a concession from Clanranald who was in severe financial difficulty, having inherited large debts from his predecessors, including past dues to Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles.[74]

A further aspect to be considered is the credibility of the mission reports and testimonials. The priests spoke of great numbers of conversions, with figures in the region of hundreds converted at one swoop, after merely a few days' visit. For instance, when Ward visited North Uist in December 1625 he claimed to have 'won 768 back to the practice of the faith' leaving 'only fourteen who remained loyal to the minister.'[75] Yet, when Fr. Dermit Duggan, an Irish Vincentian working much later in Barra wrote, in the 1650s, to his superior of the work of the Franciscan fathers among the people of Uist, he said that they had some knowledge of the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist, "but these people were so little instructed that they did not know how to make the sign of the Cross."[76] Such admissions would hardly class the vast numbers who flocked to the missionaries as converts, in any meaningful sense.[77] A much better word, and one which appears in later primary sources of the period is "reconciliations," but these priests operating from the continent on very limited budgets, often unpaid, doubtless had a vested interest in claiming large numbers as converts, in order to justify their work. Indeed, when in 1633 Cornelius Ward stated that, to date, the missionaries had converted 6,627 souls between them and baptized 3,010, these figures were, quite understandably, challenged by some Scots priests at Rome. They could almost more aptly be viewed as census figures of the districts in question.[78]

The difficulty arose, perhaps, because Propaganda itself failed to establish what exactly constituted a conversion for record purposes. In any case, Propaganda listened to various complaints about the missionaries, fuelled by Lowland Scottish jealousy, and several times insisted that testimonies be got from local dignitaries testifying to their work in the area.[79] Three such testimonial letters, one of which was signed by four Scotsmen from Islay and five unnamed Irishmen, and two individual letters by Donald MacDonald, a former captain in the Spanish army at Naples, and Colla Ciotach, were produced in 1629. One of the letters given priority by Ward, in 1633, as proof that the missionaries had laboured in Scotland was that written by the principal men of Clanranald to Urban VIII, three years earlier in 1626. Although the import of the letter can be seen as mainly political, Clanranald also provided testimonials for Frs. O'Neill and Ward, indicating that Ward had converted 2,373 people in the Isles and on the mainland and baptised 383 in the previous two years. These figures broadly agree with those given by Ward, which come to 2474.[80] The contents of the letters are sufficiently different to save Ward from being accused of drafting them himself, but it is surely significant that he had to ask so many Irishmen to write testimonials for him. While this may have been because they were literate enough to perform the task, unlike some of the Highland

fine, it may also have been because Ward could not summon sufficient support from the influential élite in Scotland.[81]

III. THE FIRST FRANCISCAN MISSION TO THE HIGHLANDS

In a situation where Protestantism was identified with a government unsympathetic to Gaelic culture, the Hebridean population put out requests to Rome for missionaries for the west coast, after similar appeals to Scotsmen in religious houses on the continent had failed. Several appeals were received at Rome in 1611.[82] This date can be seen as significant in terms of Catholicism being used as a weapon against assimilation into the Scottish State by certain clan chiefs. For it was in May 1611 that those chiefs who had subscribed the Statutes of Iona, that is, MacLean of Duart, MacDonald of Sleat, MacDonald of Dunyveg, MacLeod of Harris, MacDonald of Clanranald, MacKinnon of Strathordell and Cameron of Lochiel, were compelled to reappear before the Privy Council.[83] It was decided that the Irish Franciscan college of St. Anthony of Padua, at Louvain, should answer the Hebridean call. Looking at the history of the college it is no coincidence that they should have been chosen, for: 'After the Irish defeat at Kinsale in 1601 and the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel and their friends in 1607, the college became the great centre of Gaelic learning in exile.' It clearly had a vested interest in things Gaelic, as well as Catholic, and provided Gaelic-speaking missionaries for ill-tended Catholic flocks in both Ireland, and subsequently, the Highlands. According to the appeals, there was not one priest left in the Highlands and Islands at the time, nor any Gaelic-speaking student in the Scots colleges in Rome, Douai or Paris. It has also been proposed that 'Irish Gaelic-speakers at the time could easily make themselves understood in the Hebrides and on the mainland south of Kintail (probably not so easily in Ross-shire or Sutherland).'[84] However, this appears more like a retrospective attempt to justify those areas in which the Irish missionaries did not find success. The reason that they did not make any converts in Ross-shire and Sutherland was probably less to do with their Gaelic being understood, than with the militancy of the Protestant clergy.

Following the acceptance of the call, there was much discussion between the Franciscan college, the papal nuncio at Brussels, and the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome, about the financial practicalities of the mission. Although much was made of the links of friendship between the two countries, to say nothing of the fervent desire to perform spiritual service in a completely neglected land, the superiors of St. Anthony's were, nonetheless, unwilling to take on the financial burden of a Scottish mission. They pleaded that they were not even able to supply sufficient missionaries for Ireland, and 'that the Irish benefactors of the college would not be so generous if they learned that part of their aim was being devoted to the training and equipment of clergy for the Scottish mission.'[85] This was mainly because it was seen to vie with extensive missionary work of

the Counter-Reformation movement which was being undertaken by Irish colleges to Ireland in the first half of the seventeenth century.[86] The college did, however, defer to the wishes of Rome, and the Irish Franciscan mission to the Highlands and Islands officially began on 4 January 1619.[87] John Stuart, a Scottish laybrother with distinguished relatives, who was at St. Anthony's College at this time, had been sent to Scotland in 1613. He is said to have played a major part in setting up the mission, by travelling often between Scotland and Louvain, as well as visiting Ireland, England and France.[88] Two priests, Edmund McCann and Patrick Brady, as well as John Stuart, started out for Scotland in January, arriving in mid-March 1619. One of the first two, though which is not known, was an Irish secular priest who had taken the Franciscan habit.[89]

The mission field was divided between the two priests. Brady made for the mainland and McCann for the Isles. Stuart went with Brady, and probably played a supporting role in terms of administration and explaining the rudiments of the catechism to the people. He was, in effect, the Catholic equivalent of the Reformed Church reader. McCann alleged fairly instantaneous success in reconciling many in the Isles to the Catholic faith, by baptising 360. He was said to be thankful that a memory of the Roman Church and some remains of the old faith were with them, but many islanders were married within the forbidden degrees of kindred. The interest shown in McCann made him a threat, and he made a few short visits to Ireland to evade capture, despite which he was captured towards the end of 1620 and imprisoned for the next two years, after which he was banished on pain of death.[90] This prompted further appeals from the islanders to Louvain. Once again, as in 1611, the political dimension to the situation cannot be forgotten, particularly in relation to the Clan Donald South and the possibility that they were seeking Catholic aid from the continent to help reinstate them. With the converted Catholic Earl of Argyll having been declared a traitor in 1618, James VI and I re-called Sir James MacDonald of the expropriated Clan Donald South, as well as MacDonald of Keppoch who had taken part in his rebellion, from Spain. The latter was returned to possession of his estate, but Sir James was never permitted outside of London.[91] With Argyll still in Spain, there may have been fear of MacDonald attempts to regain their expropriated territories, especially since Sir James had been fraternising with the exiled Earl of Argyll in Spain.[92]

However, lack of enthusiasm in the Franciscan hierarchy was not apparent in the regulars themselves, for no less than twenty volunteered to go to the Highland mission, though many were considered too inexperienced. On 4 September 1623, the mission was extended, by papal approval, to include three more Franciscans - Paul O'Neill, Patrick Hegarty and Cornelius Ward - with McCann returning once more. The new missionaries reached Scotland in 1624. Each priest was officially to receive an annual allowance of 70 scudi from the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, but various letters requesting financial assistance throughout the mission attest to its irregular payment. Stuart was still labouring in Scotland when they arrived, but had the misfortune to be

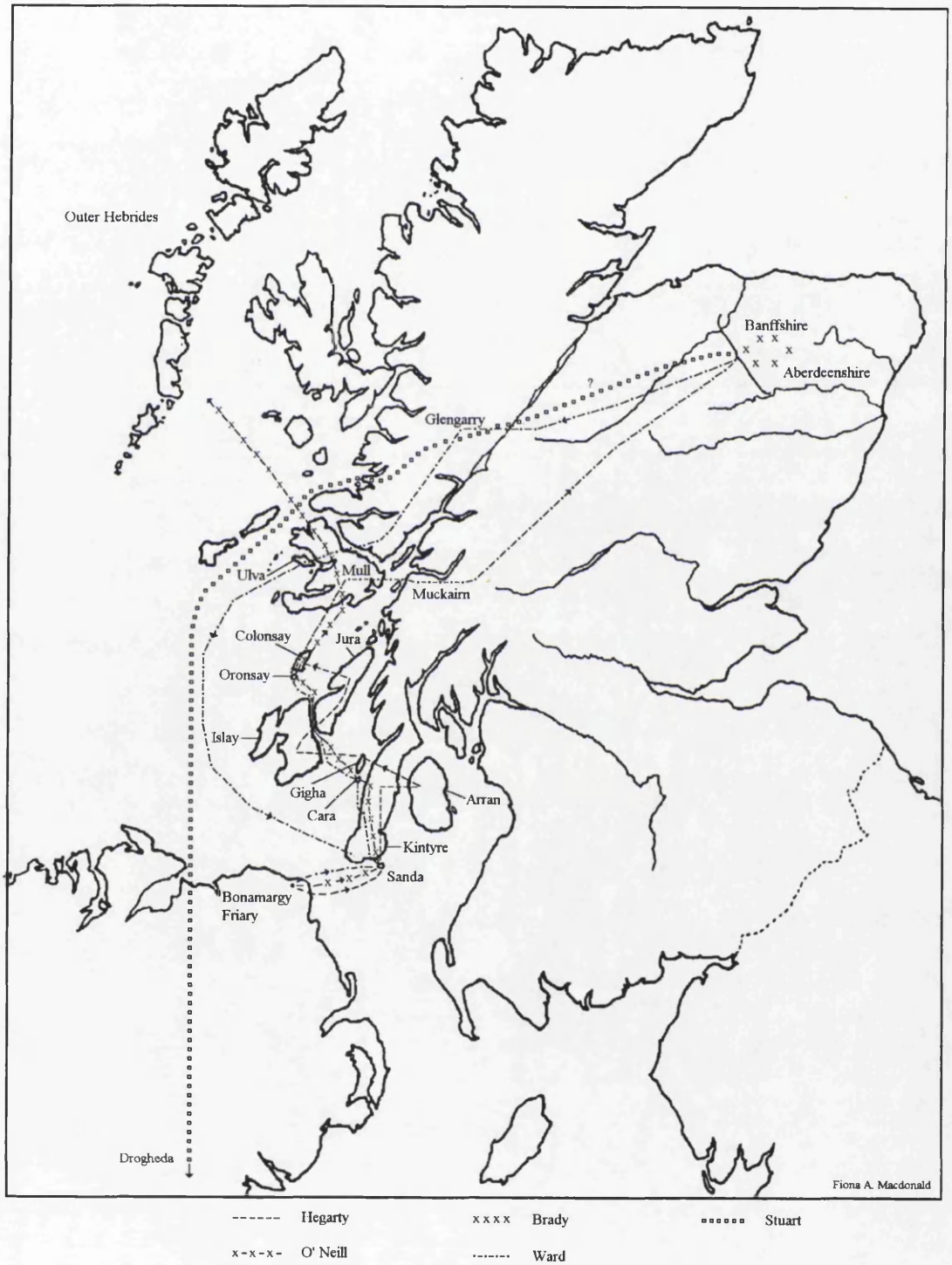
captured at Drogheda in 1624 when he was on a visit to Ireland, and imprisoned. (See fig. 6.2, First Franciscan mission 1624: priests' itineraries.) However, King James intervened on his behalf, which surely says something of his tolerance of Catholics, and Stuart was returned to Belgium, where he died on 6 September 1625.[93]

Paul O'Neill did not long endure the mission field either. He withdrew from Scotland at the beginning of 1626, though no reason is given. Significantly, this was also the year when Propaganda acceded to the demand of the numerous requests by the missionaries that the the friary of the Franciscan Third Order Regular at Bonamargy be granted to them. Those who remained on the mission were Patrick Brady, one of the first-stage missionaries, who was working in the Highland mainland, though probably stayed on the periphery of the Highlands, and Edmund McCann, also from the first stage of the mission, who had returned after his imprisonment, and two of the second-stage missionaries, Patrick Hegarty and Cornelius Ward. Fortunately for the historian, the reports of these latter two which provide details of mission activities from 1624 till its end in 1637, have survived. Although there are various mentions of further priests being approved for the mission there is no evidence of any arriving.[94] In effect then, the care of the Catholic flock in the Highlands seems to have been in the hands of just four individuals who, apart from visits to the continent to rally Propaganda, and periods spent in Ireland from where all but Brady operated after 1626, spent another 13 years on the mission.

A. Interaction of the Irish missionaries with the Scottish *fine*

In a land where the instruments of state and government were very firmly in the hands of a religion which proscribed Catholicism, it was essential, for many reasons, to cultivate the friendship of sympathetic clan chiefs and *daoine uaisle* - that is, the clan *fine*. Although this approach was particularly perfected by the Jesuits, nevertheless, most subsequent Catholic missionaries followed the Jesuit guidelines for Counter-Reformation and paid great attention to the social hierarchy in the hope of influencing the general populace. A cooperative clan chief exercised a coercive force which was invaluable in converting his followers. The clan chiefs and tacksmen were also in a position to provide physical assistance, such as feeding and maintaining the missionaries, providing guides and travelling assistants and free passage in their boats.[95] Again and again, the missionaries' letters testify to being kept alive by the hospitality of the Highland nobility.[96] The missionaries' own social background and contacts were of equal significance. In the surviving record material, there are only two priests who appear to have exerted extensive influence on the mission, and who were also copiously productive in their written reports. Both of these came from privileged social backgrounds. The first was Cornelius Ward of the famous Connacht family of poets, the Mac an Bhairds, and who, as Conchobhair Mac an Bhaird, was a poet himself. The second was Fr. Francis MacDonnell, natural son of the first Earl of Antrim. (See fig. 11.2, Genealogy of the extended

Fig. 6.2
FIRST FRANCISCAN MISSION 1624
PRIESTS' ITINERARIES



family of the MacDonnells of Antrim.)

Certainly, Hugh de Burgo, guardian of St. Anthony's, Louvain, instructed the missionaries 'to become friendly with the more important people in the mission territory, and, as occasion offers, they are to help them in writing histories and in other such ways.'[97] Another document from Propaganda, written at the start of the mission, listed those who could be relied upon to help the missionaries:

> in Kintyre, at a place called Carskiey, there dwells a laird named Hector MacNeill who is very well disposed towards catholics; Colla MacDonald, the laird of Colonsay, is a catholic, and he can provide the missionaries with information, and give them directions as to how to visit the other islands; the missionaries are to take advice from MacDonald as well as from the governor of the island; another leading man in the Hebrides is Roderick MacLeod of Harris, who is a catholic; the missionaries can find out from the governor of Colonsay how they are to reach the laird of Harris, who, fervent catholic that he is, will attend to their needs and give them whatever instructions they might want.[98]

The governor of Colonsay referred to is probably Malcolm MacPhee, who was, however, not to prove of much long term assistance to them, for he was killed by Colla MacDonald in February 1623.[99] It was, perhaps, those whose clans had been known as mercenaries in Ireland, or branches of whose families had moved there, who were suggested as likely assisters of the Irish missionaries.[100] Connection with the Clan Donald South, particularly, loomed large in the early days of the Franciscan mission and, perhaps, cannot be separated from that clan's attempts to regain its lost influence and territory. Thus, Cardinal Borghese also wrote from Rome, on 24 March 1618, asking the nuncio in Brussels to try and persuade the Franciscan superiors at Louvain 'to send priests to Scotland under the guidance of a Scottish laird named MacDonald.'[101]

Two pertinent remarks have been made with regard to the role of chiefs during the first Franciscan mission. Attention has been drawn to the piratical voyage of Colla Ciotach and his friends in 1616.[102] The deposition of Robert Williamson, the main source for this voyage of pillage, stated that they went from island to island, stopping in Canna, before sailing to St. Kilda where they took provisions and stayed a month. From there, the party sailed over to inspect the Isle of Boreray, to see if it were practical to construct a fortification there. It is emphasised that 'Coll Ciotach and his friends can hardly have made an extended voyage around the Hebrides in a small hijacked vessel simply for the purpose of visiting St Kilda and inspecting Boreray.' Clearly not! The implication is that they were scouting for a suitable location for a Catholic mission headquarters. This may be a possibility, but pirates have rarely sought an excuse to raid isolated communities or to peruse the seas for plunder, at their leisure, especially in the absence of mercenary employment. The point is

continued: 'It is significant, although one cannot prove the connection, that the islands which he visited in 1616, Texa, Islay, Colonsay, Mull, Canna, North Uist, and Iona were all likewise visited by the Irish Franciscans in 1624 and 1625, and possibly earlier - the mission began in 1619, but earlier reports are lost.' (See figs. 6.2 and 6.3, First Franciscan mission itineraries, 1624 and 1625.) Further evidence given to back up this assumption is that the second wave of missionaries on the first Franciscan mission, were again told by the nuncio in Brussels before they left for the Highlands in 1623 that Colla Ciotach MacDonald, by that time established in Colonsay, was a Catholic leader who could instruct and direct them through all the islands.[103] Neither should the political implications be forgotten. Many of the above-stated islands, excepting Mull, North Uist and Iona, were homelands of the Clan Donald South which had a strong historical connection in Ireland. However, this is not sufficient to prove any absolute commitment by the Clan Donald South to an Irish-staffed mission because of their Irish connection, for when Sir Randal MacDonnell of Dunluce obtained a lease of Islay in 1613, the inhabitants complained of his oppressive Irish exactions, which may have been a method of showing their opposition to the Irish branch of the family and has been seen to have provoked the MacDonald rebellion in 1614. Moreover, Cawdor eventually took over in Islay, obtaining a feu of the island in November 1614, and though there were still MacDonald followers there, Cawdor's conversion to Catholicism in 1624 would probably have created a greater sympathy on the island for Campbells. Therefore, while the MacDonald connection was undoubtedly important, neither should it be over-stated.[104]

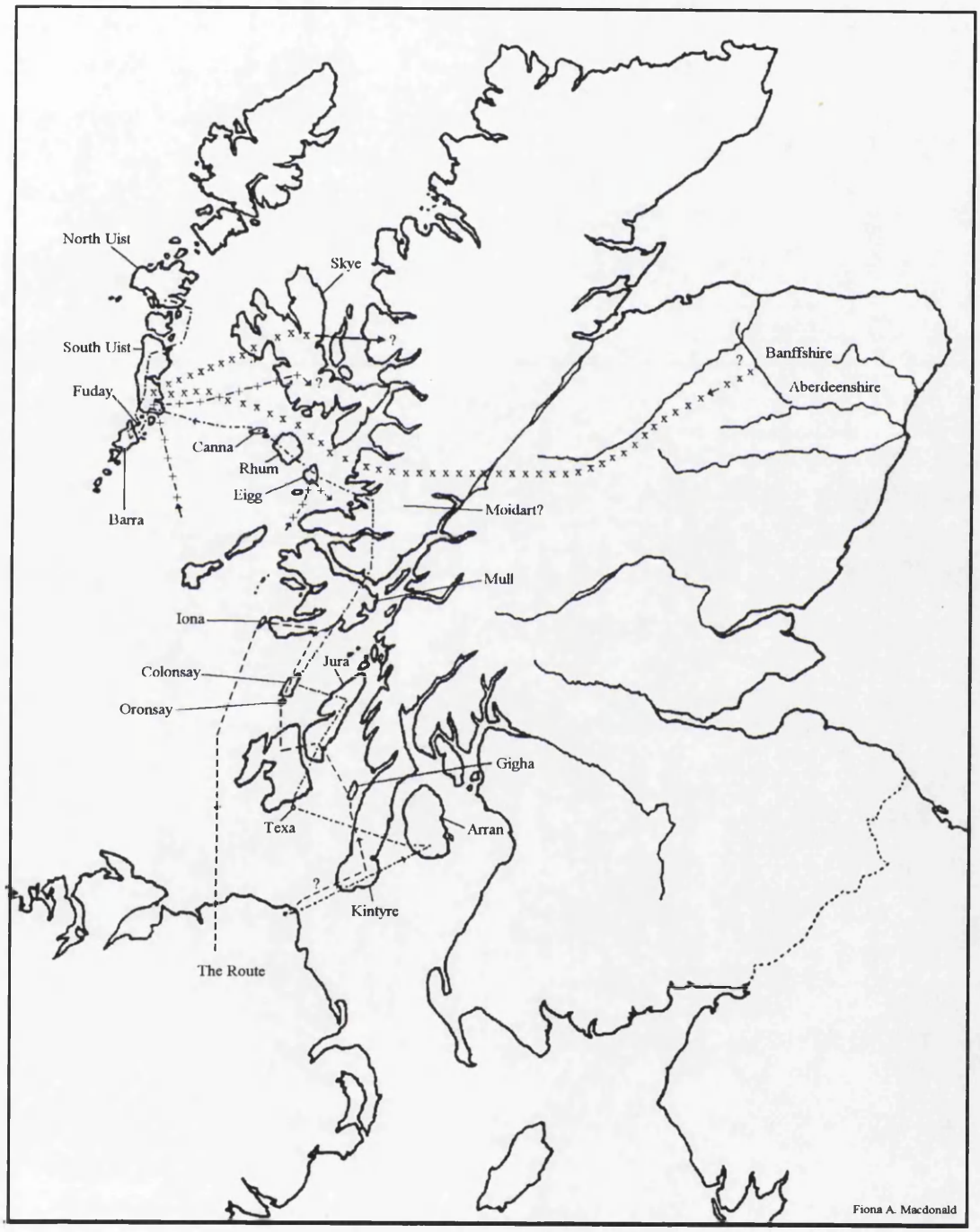
Moreover, though Colla Ciotach has long remained a hero in Highland tradition for his strength and military prowess, and though nominally a Catholic, the fervour here attributed to him in preparing the way for those who promoted the faith, hardly tallies with his treatment of men in the field, of Malcolm MacPhee, or his suspect negotiations in the Islay rebellion. It is doubtful whether Colla Ciotach, for all the retrospective adulation by his own culture, is entitled to such a white-washing. He appears to have assisted the missionaries, he probably even admired them, but he certainly did not emulate them, and such action as he undertook on their behalf was totally in character with his role as a leader of quasi-brigands. For instance, he protected the persons of Ward and O'Neill when they were threatened with attack by a minister in Kintyre for converting one of the local gentry in the summer of 1624. It must be said in his favour that he was consistent in his protection, for in a testimonial which he wrote to Propaganda on 1 April 1629 verifying the achievements of Ward, Hegarty and O'Neill, he referred to another attempt by 'the ministers and heretics' to capture Ward in 1629 which he foiled, but was severely injured in doing so.[105]

The second thing to which attention has been drawn is a potentially more interesting piece of analysis which concerns the polarisation of the traditional clan chiefs. The stance of those chiefs who had subscribed, or more correctly, been forced to subscribe the Statutues of Iona in 1609, is analysed with regard to the Franciscan mission. 'Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg was dead before

the missionaries arrived in Scotland. Clanranald, MacLeod of Harris, and MacLaine of Lochbuie, welcomed them and accepted the Catholic religion. Donald Gorm of Sleat had died in 1617 ... Donald MacPhee of Colonsay's successor Malcolm had been eliminated by Coll Ciotach MacDonald in 1623' who was in *de facto* control of the island even though Argyll had technical superiority, and who favoured Catholicism. So who had disappeared from this list by the time of the mission? Hector Og MacLean, tenth of Duart, and his two brothers, Lachlan and Allan, had signed the Statutes, but by the time Ward visited Mull in the summer of 1625 (see fig. 6.3, First Franciscan mission 1625: priests' itineraries), Hector Mòr MacLean, eleventh of Duart, was stated to be opposed to Catholicism. Also absent from Franciscan reports was any continuation of the line of Gillespie MacQuarrie of Ulva, though Ward visited Ulva in 1624. Donald Gorm Mòr MacDonald, seventh of Sleat, had been succeeded by his son, Donald Gorm Og, who not wishing to antagonise the Lowland government and doubtless content with the teinds of kirk lands which the MacDonalds of Sleat had acquired since the Reformation, did not actively welcome the missionaries, though he appears to have done little to hinder them. Likewise, the Statutes had been signed by Rory MacKinnon of Strath, in Skye, who does not feature in the missionaries' reports. It would appear, therefore, that most of the Skye chieftains were keeping a low profile with regard to the Franciscan mission, but the island was visited on a number of occasions by the missionaries. It was the Trotternish area which appeared most inclined to Catholicism. This area had been acquired by the MacDonalds of Sleat in 1596 after a century of struggle with the MacLeods of Dunvegan, though Sleat had occupied it since 1540.[106]

It might be questioned to what extent MacLeod of Harris and MacLean of Lochbuie welcomed the Franciscans. Certainly, if they did, there is little evidence that the faith was ultimately sustained in their lands. MacLeod of Harris (probably William, thirteenth chief) had been cited as early as 1590 as a commissioner for punishing adversaries of Protestantism, and certainly both Ruaraidh Mòr, fifteenth of MacLeod, and Eachunn Odhar MacLean, ninth of Lochbuie, appeared in person before the Council in Edinburgh in 1622 promising to repair their parishes churches. However, even the inveterate 'papist' MacDonald of Clanranald was cited on occasions during the seventeenth century as a commissioner, so this does not carry a great deal of weight.[107] Ruaraidh Mòr MacLeod was, at the very least, a pragmatist. There appears to be no evidence of MacLeod of Harris being cited before the Privy Council for recusancy.[108] Although he was said in the family memorial to have been a Catholic and he allowed his daughter to marry into the MacDonalds of Clanranald, his children were educated as Protestants, according to government direction, and he appears to have done little to draw attention to himself.[109] It is difficult, ultimately, to know in which camp he stood. Murdoch MacLean, tenth of Lochbuie, on the other hand, was cited in a complaint to the Council in 1631 by Mr. Martin MacIlvory, minister of Killean and Killenachane. The minister stated that he had been provided to both kirks for several years, but that his labours were likely to be ineffectual both because of MacLean's hostility to the Kirk and because, as master and landlord

Fig. 6.3
FIRST FRANCISCAN MISSION 1625
PRIESTS' ITINERARIES



of most of the parishioners, he withdrew them from hearing the gospel.[110]

Is there, however, any conclusion which could be drawn from this? The caucus of those who signed the Statutes of Iona could be said to be a group intent on their own political independence within their clan territories. The majority of them still thought this way two decades later. In a sense, the government was not so very inaccurate when its propaganda stated that adherence to Catholicism was something of a political statement. It was not so much the recognition of a foreign power - such as the papacy, France or Spain - but rather, a firm rejection and renunciation of the present state, or in other words, a rejection of the current status quo by association with the religion which had held sway during a previous period, in the Golden Age of the independent chiefdom. For instance, Iain Muideartach, twelfth of Clanranald, had been somewhat compromised by the rebellion of the Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan in 1624, and, as a Catholic, wrote a letter on 5 February 1626, on his own behalf and that of his principal relations and clan, to Pope Urban VIII, by which he probably sought assistance to restore them as a clan.[111] Although Ruaraidh MacLeod of Harris had also stood surety for the Clan Iain he was not similarly compromised because he did not identify overtly with Catholicism and, thus, proceeded to assist Lord Lorne to suppress the clan.[112] Clanranald stated that his people had long been under the tyranny of the Calvinists who had been "exterminating among our predecessors the holy Catholic faith, the one apostolic Catholic Roman faith." Significantly, in terms of Scoto-Irish MacDonald accord, he claimed that all the septs of the Clan Donald together could easily conquer Scotland "but that they would need the help of four ships and sufficient arms for 7,000 of their men, and the help of the Catholic Kings to hold it."[113] The plea for ships, in particular, supports the suggestion that Clanranald may have been seeking to reinstate the Clan Iain. (For their common descent, see fig. 1.1, Origins of the main branches of the Clan Donald.)

Clanranald had the sense to draw upon the religious argument with the Pope, promising that "If we receive help of this kind we shall easily reduce the whole of Scotland to obedience to the faith of Christ and of your Holiness."[114] However, identification with Catholicism was far more of a political statement of cultural solidarity than a religious commitment, with the same implications for polarisation as in the sister community in the province of Ulster. Clanranald drew on the religious argument in much the same way as the Jacobite Highlanders drew upon the re-establishment theme, after the Revolution, in an attempt to attract foreign aid when, ironically, the Stewarts had been the main persecutors of the Irish and Scots Gaels in the previous century. The prime consideration was always the re-establishment of their own autonomy which, as has been shown from the beginning of this thesis, came above any other kind of loyalty. The plea might also be seen as an attempt to reverse the Stewart policy of driving a wedge between the native Irish and the Highlanders, and the decline of the mercenary trade in Ulster it had encouraged, which had resulted in a shortage of money and available arms for the Gael.

Nonetheless, when he assured the Pope that "All the Gaelic-speaking Scots and the greater part of the Irish chieftains joined to us by ties of friendship, from whom we once received the faith (in which we still glory) from whose stock we first sprang, will begin war each in his own district to the glory of God," Clanranald was indulging in myth-making.[115] For the Gaelic-speaking Scots naturally divided into kinship groups according to territorial affinity and leadership, along the lines of the mercenary alliances of the late sixteenth century, and were too factionalised to fight together. So too, while the MacDonalds undoubtedly had kin in Ireland in the Antrim MacDonnells and long-term Irish allies, such as the O'Cahans, there were difficulties and rivalries even in this closest of blood relationships.[116]

The value of befriending the eminent men on the mission territory is evident in Ward's conversion of John Campbell of Cawdor, highly prized indeed, not only because he was the main landholder in Islay, but also because he had been a Protestant and a member of the prestigious Clan Campbell. According to Ward's account of the mission in 1624 and 1625, it was very difficult to gain access to Cawdor, but knowing that he held poets in high esteem, Ward, a member of an eminent bardic family in Ireland, and under his poetic alter-ego of Conchobhair Mac an Bhaird, composed a eulogy to Cawdor and attired himself in a poet's garb. Then 'accompanied by a singer, carrying a harp, he presented himself before Calder, and was graciously received.' He continued in the guise of a poet for three days, and then disclosed his real identity to Cawdor, pointing out the errors of Protestantism until, after much discussion, the latter was satisfied with Ward's reasoning. Cawdor agreed to receive absolution after the departure from his house of some non-Catholic lairds. Patrick Hegarty visited him later, on Ward's directions, and Cawdor became a Catholic.[117]

Ward reported in August 1626 from Louvain that Hegarty was sure that 'by his example and his outstanding zeal for the catholic religion he [Cawdor] will draw great numbers of the gentry to catholicism.' Already, shortly after Cawdor's conversion, another relative of the Earl of Argyll, Archibald Campbell, laird of Barbreck was said to have become reconciled to Catholicism and Ward, at least, put this down to the force of Cawdor's arguments.[118] However, this may have been just a temporary reconcilement, or one which he was not willing to demonstrate publicly, for there is no mention of Barbreck being persecuted by the Synod of Argyll, nor was he cited before the Privy Council.[119] Archibald Campbell's sister-in-law, married to his elder brother, also converted. In all, Ward said that he converted two of Cawdor's sons and no less than fifty of his relatives.[120] The testimonial letter written from Islay on 17 March 1629, signed by the four Islay Scots and five Irishmen, stated that Ward and Hegarty, who had visited the island thrice and twice respectively, had been so successful 'that Calder and his brother, William, must leave Islay because of the heretics, and that the inhabitants of the island are being wiped out by fines and exile.'[121] The conversion of Cawdor's brother, William Campbell, can be corroborated, for in 1626 an order was given by the Privy Council charging him to appear before the Lords "to answeir to suche thingis as

sall be demandit of him toucheing his ressett of Jesuites, seminarie and messe preistis, the heiring of messe, and toucheing his apostacie and defectioun fra the true religioun, under the pane of rebellioun." Yet, it was surely the political implications for the Campbells of losing an island which had been gained only 15 years previously from the Clan Donald South which encouraged presbyterian persecution of Catholics on Islay.[122]

A letter of Cornelius Ward's from Dublin, of 20 November 1626, noted that a severe persecution of the mission's converts had begun in Scotland. He specifically mentioned that the baron of Cawdor had been imprisoned for openly professing his Catholic faith.[123] Cawdor's confession before the Privy Council in August 1626, stated that "of lait he hes wittinglie and willinglie ressett within his house some Irishe preistis and participat with thame in thair idolatrous worship, and hes thairby maid apostacie and defectioun from the trew religioun." He was, therefore, to be warded in St. Andrews, where he was to remain until the next meeting of Council to meet with the archbishop and other learned men in order to receive instruction and give satisfaction for his doubts in religion. Henceforth, the non-reset of Catholic priests was to be an article in the annual bonds taken by the chiefs for both their own good behaviour and that of their clans.[124] Cawdor was subsequently excommunicated, in March 1629, for being "ane profest and avowed Papist and apostat." However, according to the Privy Council he was still "suppleed and interteanned amongs his familiars and acquaintance in the countrie as if he wer ane free and lawfull subject," and retained possession of "his place and fortalice of Caddell."[125]

In his mission report of 1625 Ward wrote that he had laboured in Glengarry, Mull, Ulva and Kintyre. (See fig. 6.2, First Franciscan mission 1624: priests' itineraries.) He stated that had he converted a man identified by his patronymic as Alexander Mac Iain. However, it is noteworthy that Ward felt constrained to write that he 'was still a catholic' at the time he wrote his report, for this tends to indicate that he did not necessarily have high hopes of his remaining so! The name, combined with Ward's trepidation, probably identifies this alleged convert as the last chief of the MacIains of Ardnamurchan. The element of doubt can be readily explained by the fact that the clan had been in rebellion since September 1624, and by the beginning of 1625 had taken to a piratical life.[126]

In his next report of 17 August 1626 Cornelius Ward wrote that when he visited South Uist in October 1625, he did so in the company of one of the leading men of the island. This was probably Ranald MacDonald, an uncle of Clanranald, who Ward was invited to visit, where he was joined by Paul O'Neill and Patrick Brady. 'The gentry whom Ward had invited to come to hear him preaching said it was difficult to embrace catholicism, seeing that no catholic priest had visited them for about one hundred years, and that there was nobody to instruct the ignorant even if the people decided to become catholics.' This, then, was the Church which Clanranald allegedly

sought to restore, one which had not visited his territory for at least 35 years prior to the Reformation. Ward, stated that he 'converted' only 41 on the island which hardly attests to a wholesale reconciliation, though if this conversion was confined to the clan *fine* about whom he had been speaking, the conversion of 41 tacksmen would have been a significant proportion of the island's gentry. These converts included Ranald MacDonald's eldest son and his household. There was also an initial lack of enthusiasm from another area which has come to be regarded as one of Catholic entrenchment. Though Ward visited Barra in early 1626, converting the rightful heir to the island, who has been identified as Niall Uibhisteach MacNeill (from whom the MacNeills of Vatersay are descended), he stated that he 'was opposed by the laird and many of his subjects.' Having recently usurped the island from Niall Uibhisteach, Niall Og MacNeill may have feared government action if he further allied himself with Catholicism, though it appears that Hegarty was able to convert him on a subsequent visit in 1632.[127]

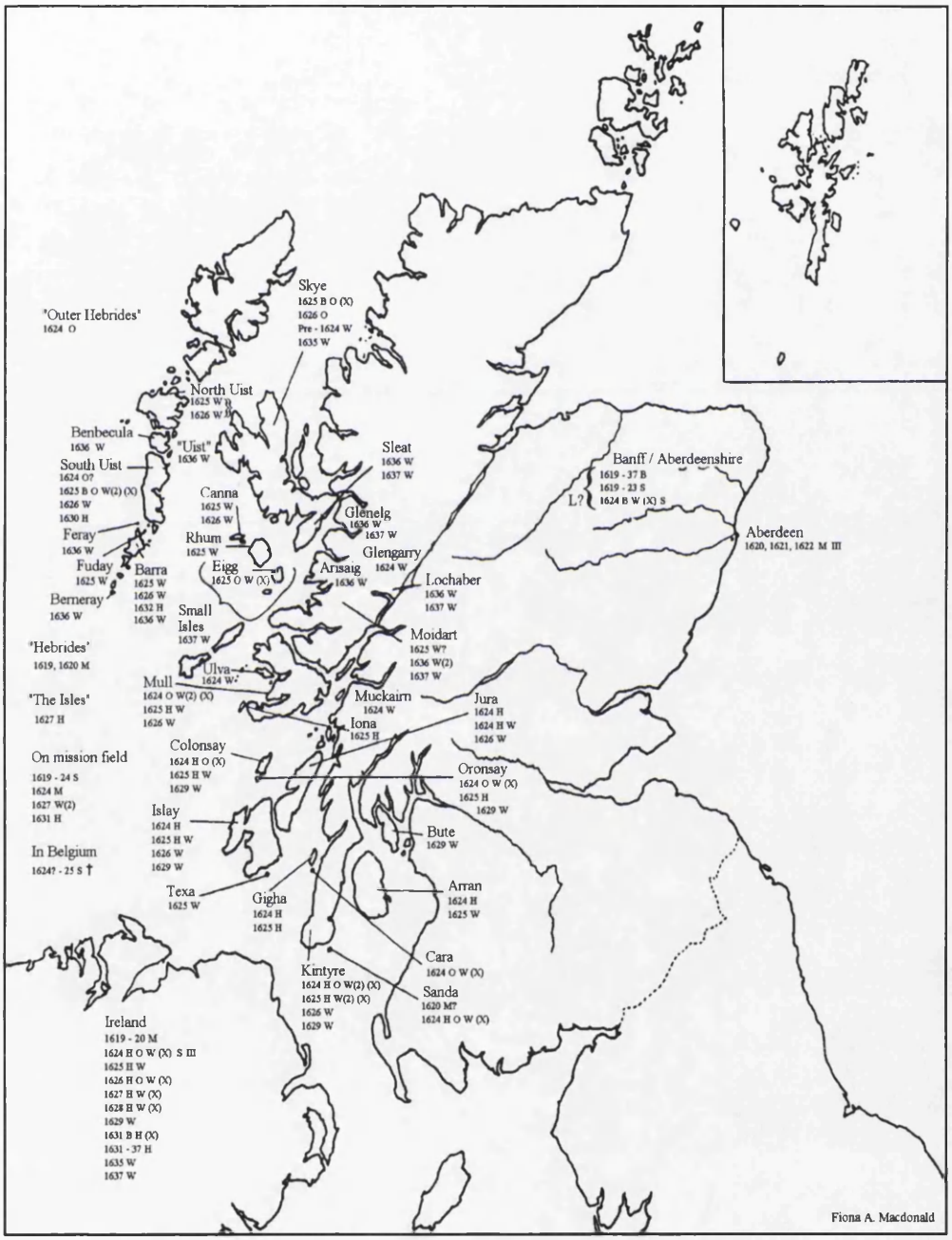
Ward and O'Neill's visit to Eigg in August 1625 shows the results of not receiving the undivided attention and support, particularly the physical presence, of the chief. Ward had been welcomed to Clanranald territory by Iain Muidertach of Clanranald himself, to whose family the sacraments were administered, but the chief seems to have been too busy to receive them personally, and they were administered some days later when O'Neill, who had converted Clanranald, arrived. In addition to this, Ward wrote that 'all the chief men on the island along with their households were won over to the faith, except one, who was a relative of the minister.' Nevertheless, although he claimed that they converted 198 people he stated that 'since Clanranald and his dependants were busy with matters concerning the Scottish court, it was not possible to convert many,' and so he decided to cross over to Rhum with Clanranald's brother and other members of the gentry.[128] Ward and O'Neill had clearly expected to reconcile more on Eigg. The fact that they did not was probably due to the fact that Eigg actually had a minister at this time. This doubtless accounts both for the questioning of the priests by the people, who would, therefore, have been versed in anti-papist controversy, and for the low profile of Clanranald himself, who although he had now been a Catholic for a year and sent, with Ward, a letter to the Pope, would nevertheless have been anxious not to compromise himself before one who was, in essence, an informant for the government. It also tends to reinforce the view that political considerations were, indeed, paramount in Clanranald's 1626 overture to the Pope to lead what amounted to a Gaelic crusade. Even though the support of the chief himself might not be forthcoming, that of the leading tacksmen was often equally useful. For instance, although the laird of Mull, MacLean of Duart, was stated to be a very staunch Protestant, Hegarty converted, in whatever limited sense of the word, 266 people there. Despite the laird's Protestantism, the missionaries built up support from the tacksmen on Mull. For instance, in 1625, Hegarty reconciled Gillean MacLean, Duart's brother.[129]

Some converts amongst the clan élite also seem to have taken the course of fleeing to Ireland. In a testimonial letter, Philip Clery, a clerical student who had been in Ireland, but was then writing from Rome on 31 March 1634, says that he 'spent twenty days in Drogheda with Patrick Hegarty, when Hegarty and three of the gentry, who were converts, had fled from Scotland because of persecution.' This example is also a further testament to the protection provided by some nobles, for Hegarty had been taken prisoner in Scotland and rescued by the gentlemen in question, who were of the Clanranald.[130] Others went to Ireland not out of compulsion but simply to foster contacts there with others of their class. In another testimonial letter written around 1634, Terence Kelly, cleric, wrote that 'within the year just past he saw Louis Macallea and thirty-three Scots in County Donegal; these had all been converted by Hegarty, and had come to Ireland to see other catholic nobles there. Unfortunately, no indication is given as to the origin of Louis Macallea, but the surname is a variant of MacClure, most common in Galloway, which would tend to suggest that he came from one of the more southerly islands, perhaps Arran. The forename Louis further suggests a possible identification with the McLewises (Gaelic MacLughaidh) or MacCloys of Arran. Certainly Arran would also accord with Hegarty's mission field which in 1624 and 1625 covered most of the southern Isles from Arran to Mull, but appeared to go no farther north at this time.[131] (See fig. 6.4, First Franciscan mission 1619-1637: incidence map.) Similarly, Luke Tully, O.F.M. in a letter of 1 April 1634 said that he 'heard that Brady spent about nine continuous years on the mission, and brought over to Ireland a nobleman who disposed of his goods and went into exile rather than allow his faith to be undermined at home.' The same statement also appears in a letter of Roger Ó Duierma of the Irish College in Rome to Propaganda of the same date, so it is likely that this particular piece of information was doing the testimonial rounds.[132]

It was not only Catholic Gaels who were being attracted to Ireland, but also Lowland Catholics on the periphery of the Highlands. The attraction of both Sir Claud Hamilton's and the Earl of Abercorn's estates, in this respect, has already been mentioned. On 13 June 1633, the Jesuit, Fr. Andrew Leslie, also wrote in his report on the Jesuit mission for 1632, that:

> Some of the highest character, both men and women, have resolved to emigrate to Ireland, and some are already gone, for it is quite evident they could not remain long in England, though that would be nearer. Sir Alexander Gordon has crossed the Sodorian sea, and is living quietly at Derry, among the Irish. He did not expect to find the natives very civilised, but he has found them at any rate good Catholics, and although there are many Calvinists among them, they are accustomed to restrain the rude bitterness of controversy, and are not perpetually giving utterance to it. Others are likely to follow him soon, after they have made their peace with God and the Church by penance, for fear they should be shipwrecked on the voyage.[133]

Fig. 6.4
FIRST FRANCISCAN MISSION 1619-1637
INCIDENCE MAP



B = Brady
H = Hegarty
L? = Unspecified location
III Imprisoned.

M = McCann
O = O'Neill
† Died
(2) The missionary which no. follows visited place on 2 separate occasions.

S = Stuart
W = Ward
(X) Priests met together, or worked together.
}} Same visit extending over the change of year.

It seems likely that this convert, who can be identified as Gordon of Cluny, is the nobleman referred to above in reference to Brady. However, it appears that Cluny, 'but a mean gentleman whose estate consists only in a wadset of 7000 merks,' may have gone to Ireland as much to escape financial difficulties as religious persecution.[134] Nonetheless, his comment on the deliberate avoidance of religious debate by the Derry Catholics and presbyterians, is noteworthy. If it is Cluny who is referred to, Giblin's assertion that Brady worked in Sutherland now has to be reviewed.[135] There is no evidence in the mission reports to indicate that he definitely worked in Sutherland. Indeed, an undated report on the mission, probably written in 1628, is quite categoric in its statement that 'Brady is in a district bordering on the Highlands, and stays there permanently, but he very often spends a few days visiting the Highlands; during the past seven years he has not gone to Ireland or England, but spends all his time winning souls for God on the mission.'[136] Given that Sutherland is definitely in, and not bordering on, the Highlands, it seems far more likely that Brady was actually quartered with Gordon of Cluny in Aberdeenshire, and perhaps made forays into Badenoch or Highland Perthshire. However, it must be admitted that very little is known of Brady's mission, and that it is therefore difficult to clarify the matter. The only other mention of his area of mission was made a few years earlier in Ward's report of 1624 and 1625 in which he was said to labour 'in the northern parts of Scotland,' and there is certainly no reason to assume that this applies more to Sutherland than to those areas around Aberdeenshire and Banff, for contemporary Catholic commentators refer more to the north when writing of Huntly's protectorate than to the north-east.[137] Moreover, a list of priests drawn up at the beginning of the reign of Charles I, shows that there were no fewer than 20 priests in the north-east in around 1625. Although they were said to have laboured generally within "the Dyoceis of Aberdene and Murraye," they made frequent incursions into other areas, particularly to the south-west, north and north-west of Scotland.[138]

In 1637, after the mission is regarded as technically having finished in Scotland, both clan *fine* and ordinary Highlanders were still being attracted to Bonamargy. Patrick Hegarty mentioned, in a letter of 4 December 1640, that if Congregation had received the report for the year 1639 they would have learned that:

> within the space of four months 1,000 had been received into the church by Hegarty and his companions, and given the sacrament of confirmation by Magennis; notable among these was Alexander MacDonald, laird of Largie, who died one month after his reception, and by his example drew other leading personages to the true faith.

Bonaventure Magennis was the Franciscan bishop of Down and Connor (1630-1640) in 1639, though by the time of Hegarty's letter he had been dead for seven months.[139] Once again, politics and religion were working hand in hand, for in the first sixth months of 1639 many MacDonalds

fled to Ireland as Argyll tightened his grip in Kintyre and Islay, while in June of the same year, the Campbells invaded Colonsay.[140] However, even before the termination of the mission, the Franciscans had begun to extend their labours to the Irish community on their visits to Ulster, especially after they had been granted Bonamargy in 1626.

B. Missionary interaction with the Ulster élite

Access to the élite in Ireland was important to the missionaries. The tradition of generosity to the Catholic Church was more apparent in Ireland, where the Catholic faith remained relatively strong, than in Scotland. In April 1626, Propaganda granted the missionaries permission to request aid from rich people in Ireland and to give presents to members of the principal families to promote their enthusiasm. The implication is that the Irish gentry and clan élite were more willing to give alms than the Scottish ones, which indicates that although a great many Highland chiefs were reputedly sympathetic to the Catholic cause, the structures of benevolence had survived more intact in Ireland.[141] It also suggests, perhaps, that the long-standing argument for the natural Highland inclination to Catholicism should be tempered. Certainly, when Ward wrote from Louvain, on 19 August 1626, giving an account of recent occurrences in the Hebrides, he stated that he was refused lodging at a village in North Uist which was 3 miles away from the church of the Most Holy Trinity in Carinish, but that 'a woman, whose mother was a native of Ireland, took him in.'[142] This would appear to be an instance of links forged through the mercenary trade in the late sixteenth century having preserved a knowledge, or at least a veneration, of the faith in the Hebrides. However, it should also be remembered that Protestantism had been established in North Uist by this time.[143] Most importantly, financial expediency favoured the missionaries operating from Bonamargy which had been their base since 1626, particularly under the protection of the first Earl of Antrim who was a known harbourer of Catholic priests. In 1621 he had been summoned to Dublin to answer charges in this respect and he was obliged to admit the charge. He was released with a warning.[144]

Indeed, the missionaries had been working in Ulster prior to their official settlement at Bonamargy. Fr. Hegarty completed a tour of the islands in 1625 and 'on his return to Ireland he converted a non-catholic minister and sixty Scots in the Route promontory.' (For the Route, see fig. 1.2, The Glens and the Route of Antrim.) It is unclear from the above statement whether the Scots referred to were English-speaking or Gaelic-speaking. There were, undoubtedly, Lowland and Highland Scots on the Antrim estates, and it is well known from Irish Jesuit commentary in the first decade of the seventeenth century that many of the Jesuit missioners to Ireland, for instance, spoke both languages.[145] As a consequence of the above conversion, Hegarty claimed that the faculties accorded to the missionaries should extend not only to Scotland but to Ireland and England too, that is, that their official permission to evangelize not be limited to one country. By the end of 1627

and beginning of 1628, that is a year after their having been granted Bonamargy, Ireland was Ward's base.[146]

A general report on the Scottish mission for 1627 and 1628 stated that Ward had been in Scotland twice during the past year but that he came back to Bonamargy in Ireland on the advice of some of the Scottish gentry who had been converted. Clearly attempting to justify his staying in Ireland, the report stated that it was 'easier for him to go to the Isles from Bonamargy than from the Scottish mainland, so he stays at Bonamargy, and when he gets a chance goes to Scotland for a few weeks; because of persecution, he cannot stay too long on the mission at one time.' A further report by Ward for the years 1627, 1628 and 1629, reiterated that 'because of persecution, he was compelled to flee to Bonamargy on the Irish coast, and there, in 1628, he and Patrick Hegarty administered to the Scots who flocked to them from Ireland and Scotland; Hegarty won back to the faith about 200 Scots from the Hebrides, and Ward twelve.' Ward embarked upon a further tour of the near Scottish Isles of Islay, Oronsay, Colonsay, Bute and Kintyre in February 1629. This appears to have caused another spate of Scottish pilgrim communicants. By August 1629 the missionaries were requesting that the church at Bonamargy be granted a privileged altar because 'great crowds frequent the place.'[147]

Nor was the Scottish pilgrimage a short-lived phenomenon. In a letter of 20 August 1637, in answer to Propaganda's queries as to why he had not been resident on the mission for so long, Hegarty stated that he had been working just as hard in Ireland since 'the people from the Hebrides flock daily to Bonamargy for spiritual aid, so that the friars resident there are always kept busy.' A clerical student writing later in March 1634 revealed that there was an Irish student, John Cryan 'who, under Ward's direction, used to attend to the ecclesiastical needs of the Scots who had been converted,' so there was provision for their further sustenance in Ireland but not in their own country.[148] In a list of petitions made by the missionaries to Propaganda in August 1629 they asked:

> If it be necessary that one of the missionaries should remain in Ireland for a time, let him, while he is there, act as penitentiary at St Patrick's Purgatory; a missionary might have to go to Ireland for any of the following reasons: to flee from persecution in Scotland, to procure hosts and wine, to send reports on the mission, or to rest from his labours.

However, Propaganda appears never to have been in favour of an Irish base, and replied on 6 November 1629 that it did not see that it was fitting for one of the missionaries to act as penitentiary. Such a move was declared to be 'outside the scope of the mission.'[149]

Unlike Propaganda, the missionaries welcomed the increased stability which the Irish residence afforded them. The mission reports themselves show that mission activity continued to be undertaken in Scotland in the summer months when the weather was more clement, in much the same way as the old mercenary activity used to flow counter-wise in the same season. Of all the missionaries, it was Brady, probably labouring in north-east Scotland and making occasional visits to the Highlands, who least frequently visited Ireland and must be presumed to have had ample protection from the Scottish nobility there. Brady was, however, known to have been in Ireland in May 1631 because Patrick Hegarty mentions that he 'recently came to Ireland because of persecution in Scotland.'[150] This statement, too, would appear to place Brady more in the north-east of Scotland than in Sutherland, for though the episcopal campaign against recusants has been shown to have been discretionary in its implementation rather than draconian, nevertheless, the majority of the 35 members of the landed and commercial classes apprehended and brought before the Privy Council from 1629 to 1631 were from north-east Scotland.[151]

Most significant in terms of the missionaries' contact with the Ulster élite was their relationship with Randal MacDonnell, first Earl of Antrim. When the missionaries originally asked Propaganda to grant them rights to Bonamargy Friary, one of the supporting arguments they gave was that 'the earl of Antrim, on whose land the friary is built, has no objection to the missionaries taking possession of it.' The MacDonnells of Antrim were said to have a magnificent tomb there, and 'usually there are eight or nine priests in the community.' The number of priests is some indication, in itself, of the generosity of Antrim's patronage of the mission.[152] Moreover, Antrim had a personal interest in this work, for his natural son, Francis MacDonnell, O.F.M., had been raised to the priesthood on 20 December 1625, as the likely fruit of his father's patronage of the Catholic faith in earlier years.[153] Francis MacDonnell volunteered for missionary work in Scotland in 1627. He was by this time in the College of Saint Isidore in Rome. When Paul O'Neill withdrew from the mission only two years after entering it, MacDonnell was officially approved by Propaganda on 8 May 1628 to replace him. The appointment of such an eminent person, if only by illegitimate birth, would doubtless have attracted more attention, some of it politically adverse, to the Scottish mission. His desires, thus, went unrealised because the Earl of Antrim refused to allow his son to be a missionary in Scotland. In terms of preserving his own position, Antrim feared that his son ministering as a priest in Scotland would incur disfavour or suspicion with the King.[154] Since the MacDonnells still laid claims on the expropriated MacDonald lands in Kintyre, Antrim probably feared that the presence of Francis in Scotland would compromise his political ambition to secure the MacDonald heritage in Kintyre and Islay. Antrim's lease of Islay had been terminated in 1614 after his non-acceptance there appeared to encourage the Islay rebellion at the hands of the sons of the Angus MacDonald, late chief of Clan Donald South, which subsequently allowed Campbell of Cawdor the feu.[155] Moreover, it is to be remembered that Randal had gone no small way in attracting the favour of the monarch. Having failed with Islay, Antrim's ambition was later pursued

through his son Randal, Viscount Duncluce, who attempted to secure Kintyre, first by purchase in 1635 from Lord Kintyre, and second by conquest, as reward for his support of the Royalist cause from 1638 onwards.[156] As it was, charges of sheltering priests continued to be proffered against him, for example by Lord Lorne. When Antrim attempted to buy Kintyre in 1635, Lorne argued that "the Earle of Antrim would bring in a number of priests, and so make the whole people turn Papistes."[157]

It is amply clear from a perusal of the records that Francis MacDonnell's understanding of the mission, its wants and difficulties, was absolutely unrivalled, certainly in terms of presenting the case to Propaganda. His requests indicate that he had a grasp of the important matters, such as, in 1628, addressing the current practice of giving preference to boys from the non-Gaelic speaking districts of Scotland when allocating places in the Scots colleges abroad. He asked Propaganda to find a way of allowing Gaelic speakers to be accepted into the Scots College at Douai.[158] It is also equally clear that the missionaries themselves, who were still anxious to appoint a designated superior of the mission in the territory itself, wanted this to be Francis MacDonnell. A good deal of energy seems to have been expended on this, with opinion fluctuating between MacDonnell and Brady.[159] The restraining arm appears to have come from members of the Irish congregation at Louvain, but it is likely that they were merely acting under the wishes of the Earl of Antrim.[160] Obviously the Earl had to tread with great care, in a land where many of his countrymen had been but recently deprived of their estates for being Catholic and for intriguing with foreign powers. There were also heavy fines to evade. Unfortunately for Francis MacDonnell, personally, he was sacrificed to his father's caution, but perhaps not unjustly so in the compelling circumstances.[161] Rivalries and jealousies between the religious orders were not the only difficulty under which the mission laboured.

C. Difficulties of the mission

It is clear from the evidence that Catholicism was ultimately established in the Scottish Highlands and Islands only in pockets. This was due to the many difficulties under which the mission struggled.[162] The sheer physical magnitude of the parishes was a considerable problem, and one which continued to be faced where there was a small population scattered over a large geographical area with poor communications. It was, at least, a problem shared by the Protestant ministers, but this did not mitigate it for either faith. As regards the Catholic mission, it was entirely sustained by but a handful of priests until the latter part of the seventeenth century, though numbers expanded as an indigenous Scottish priesthood was revived. It was, perhaps, mainly as a result of this and the consequent difficulty of sustaining the converted, that the Catholic faith simply became entrenched in territorial pockets.[163]

To take their ministrations to as many as possible, the missionaries kept to a gruelling schedule. In a general report from Louvain in August 1626 Ward wrote that 'it happens too that every two or three days the missionaries or their attendants have to travel by sea.' While this was undoubtedly true, the reason for bringing this to Propaganda's attention was predictably because the missionaries 'need money to pay their fares on such occasions.' Three years later their requests had expanded to include the necessity of their own boat, 'As the Scots are forbidden to carry missionaries in their boats under penalty of heavy fines.'[164] Such requests, however, tend only to undermine the credibility of other aspects of the missionaries' reports to Rome, for it is difficult to believe (and there is no feedback from Propaganda on this subject) that the majority of islanders would not take them in their boats.[165]

Perhaps one of the main difficulties the missionaries had to contend with was the lack of understanding of their task by Propaganda, at every level. At its most absurd, it directed the missionaries to meet every three nights to discuss their progress.[166] Again and again, the decisions of Propaganda on various requests indicated that they treated the Highland mission as if it were operating in a country where the Catholic Church was legally established. This presented many problems, particularly regarding functions which could only be executed by a bishop. For instance, the missionaries could have faculties to bless chapels, cemeteries, vestments and chalices, but the water or holy oils used had to have been blessed by a bishop, and the latter did not exist in Scotland.[167] In August 1629, Ward asked in his report that 'a directive be given about the use of faculties on the mission, where there are no prelates, and where the faith has not been practised for ninety or a hundred years.' This, of course, hardly equates with some of the missionaries' previous arguments that the Highlands had remained Catholic, by default, since the time of the Reformation.[168] Moreover, faculties were rarely granted straight away.[169] Ward was still negotiating faculties three years before the official end of the mission in September 1634. He also stated plainly and shrewdly to Cardinal Barberini, at the same time, that:

> the ignorance of the Congregation and of the Inquisition about the state of affairs in the Highlands and the Isles is responsible for the restrictions included in the faculties sent to him; they may be well informed, but they forget what has been told them because there is nobody at Rome to keep the affairs and the needs of the Highlands and the Isles before their minds.[170]

Added to the scarcity of those to administer the Catholic sacraments, was an equally restricting scarcity of the necessary physical resources, which were difficult to replenish in the absence of a bishop.[171] Patrick Hegarty reported on 29 December 1624, that 'he had to send his attendant to Ireland for bread, and wheat can only be got with difficulty from Ireland and the Lowlands of Scotland.' However, it might also be said that the missionaries were seeking excuses for an inability to make converts. For instance, towards the end of 1624, Cornelius Ward reported that he

was labouring in Glengarry, Mull, Ulva and Kintyre, where he 'won' 287 for the faith. He stated that 'he would have done much more if he had sufficient wine, but he was without wine for two months, and could not procure any to say mass even on Christmas Day, 1624; it was only rarely and with great difficulty that wine could be brought to the Highlands from the towns in the Lowlands of Scotland; there were no towns in the Highlands for contracting business....'[172] It surely stretches the bounds of credibility that a missionary could not make converts simply because he lacked wine, though participation in the mass may have been regarded as tenable evidence in authenticating conversions, and in justifying payment according to results.[173]

Those who had personal contact with the missionaries, on the contrary, were well aware of the enormity of the problems and the need for some flexibility. Hugh de Burgo, guardian and apostolic visitator of the Irish province, wrote to Propaganda in 1619 underlining that:

> they should be given faculties also to dispense in certain matrimonial impediments, and should be allowed to ride horses, use money, and leave off the habit; they should be given jurisdiction to decide in matrimonial disputes; it is necessary also that they have a house on the Irish coast nearest Scotland where things needed for the mission might be had, and to which they could go, at times, to rest from their labours.

He said that unless these concessions were granted, the mission could not continue. In such conditions, only the most ardent missionaries persevered. Propaganda seems to have taken exception to the missionaries making occasional visits to Ireland, taking the view that they should reside permanently in the mission territory.[174] Almost a decade later, in August 1628, Francis MacDonnell, O.F.M. still argued that the missionaries should be allowed to escape to Ireland when under threat of capture, otherwise they would have little or no chance of saving themselves.[175] Nonetheless, missionaries did retreat to Ireland in spite of wishes to the contrary. Similarly, with regard to horses, it is clear that the missionaries used them anyway.[176] The restrictions on dispensing marriage impediments however, appear to have remained, being something that the missionaries would be loathe to contravene. Yet, the priests were clearly anxious to record as many souls as possible on their lists.[177] The evidence suggests that the marriage impediments that they felt capable of dispensing were cases where the union had been ratified by a minister, or where divorce had been implemented.[178] Limited concessions were granted on 19 March 1626 of which no details are given, and on 7 April 1626 concerning the bringing of secular priests from Ireland, issuing two dismissorial letters to suitable Scots, under impediment, who wished to become priests, and seeking funds from laymen in Ireland. It is probable that they were granted after the submission of the conversion lists in the previous year.[179]

A major problem for the missionaries was lack of cooperation between the various religious orders, as well as internecine strife among the Franciscans themselves. Although great efforts were made to soften differences between the continental Irish religious, which were to some extent successful, tensions remained. There were difficulties between Old English and Old Irish factions, between the Jesuits, who had a monopoly of the Irish seminaries in the Iberian Peninsula and were criticised for only recommending students likely to become regulars, and other regulars who were prepared to open secular colleges which would also train secular priests, like the Franciscan colleges of Alcalá in Spain and Louvain in the Netherlands. Franciscans in particular looked with disdain upon Jesuits, Capuchins and Discalced Carmelites. Moreover, there was also a good deal of provincialism within each order.[180] 'Within the Franciscan order there was a struggle for control of colleges, almost from the time of foundation of their first college at Louvain.' For instance, Meath Franciscans attempted, without success, to gain control of Louvain which was in Ulster hands.[181] The missionaries also experienced difficulty in the supervision of their work from Ireland and wished to appoint a superior from their own midst. The Congregation of Propaganda Fide decided, on 7 April 1626, that the head of the mission was to have the supervisory status of 'prefect' or administrator. Ward further requested in his 1626 report:

> that the superior of the mission be subject to nobody in the Franciscan order except the minister general and the commissary general; the missionaries state that they cannot easily recur to prelates in the English-speaking parts of Scotland or in Ireland because of the distances separating them and the dangers involved.

However, the situation did not appear to improve. Hugh Ward, the guardian of Louvain, writing in January 1630, further pointed out that 'the missionaries asked also that nobody be made superior of Bonamargy unless approved by them, because others wished to take over that friary which had been granted to the missionaries by the pope.' The others can be identified, by a decree of the Congregation recorded on 18 September 1634, as the friars of Carrickfergus, which ordained that 'in the future nobody was to be made superior at Bonamargy except one of the missionaries, or a friar chosen by them.' The archbishop of Dublin was entrusted to see that this was carried out. In the event, the mission was placed under the wing of Bonaventure Magennis, on whose death in April 1640, Patrick Hegarty was appointed prefect, having laboured solely from Ireland since 1631. Neither was this distinct lack of fraternal feeling restricted to Ireland alone, for when Ward arrived in Rome after two years of imprisonment, he particularly complained, in 1634, that the Franciscans in Rome had not procured an audience for him with the Pope.[182]

Another unfortunate difficulty for the Franciscan mission to Scotland was the jealousy of Lowland Scots on the continent, with better contacts in Rome. This was, perhaps, caused by feelings of inadequacy that Scottish priests, themselves, could not equip a mission to the Highlands or were

uninterested in doing so, or were irked because they had no control over this mission. Moreover, it was possibly just another symptom of a general atmosphere of controversy which existed, at this time, between Scots and Irish ecclesiastics on the continent. A Scots priest, Thomas Dempster, published some histories in which small credit was rendered to the Irish missionaries for the work they did in Scotland. A reply was published in 1621 in the form of the *Hiberniae sive Antiquioris Scotiae vindiciae adversus Thomas Dempsterum* which has been attributed to an Irish priest, Henry Fitzsimon. In the work, he charged the Scots clergy with neglect of the Highlanders and their spiritual welfare, probably in an attempt to shame them into carrying their own cross.[183] Certainly, there appears to have been a distinct lack of cooperation on behalf of Lowland Scots with regard to recruiting Highlanders into the priesthood, and Scots, in the continental colleges, who spoke Gaelic were the exception to the rule. The missionaries made frequent mention of the hostility which existed between English-speaking Scots and Highlanders, both at the level of the layman and the religious, and stated that it was most necessary for their own kind to be trained to lead them. Cornelius Ward wrote in a report from Louvain on 19 August 1626 of the vast cultural divide that he perceived:

> There is a lasting and mutual enmity between the Anglo-Scots and the Gaelic-speaking Scots; furthermore, the Anglo-Scots do not know Gaelic, and there is only one priest among them who has a knowledge of that language; there is as much difference in mode of life and in outlook between the Scots and the Greeks.

He continued, with the poetic satire of his second profession, 'and indeed, the Anglo-Scots would be about as useful as the Greeks in helping the people in the Highlands and Isles!'[184] However, in using Ranald MacDonald, an alleged ex-minister who now wished to become a priest and had been refused admission to a Catholic college, Ward chose a poor example.[185]

The Scots Colleges also appear to have been responsible for most of the poison fed to Propaganda which frequently resulted in the withdrawal of the missionaries' allowances. Propaganda held a meeting on 6 November 1629 which came to certain decisions regarding the Scots mission. It ordered that the nuncio in Belgium 'be asked to verify what was contained in Ward's reports, as their veracity was questioned by some Scots at Rome.' It also drew attention to the testimonials sent in by Ward, which it considered inadequate and general, and more than this 'one of those who had subscribed to a testimonial, on being questioned by a certain Scot, replied that he had given the testimonial in order to please the missionaries.' Similarly, in 1633, someone 'intimated to the congregation that the claim made by Hegarty and his companions of having converted 10,000 in the Hebrides was false.' Hugh Ward was obliged to write from Louvain to Propaganda in January 1630 pointing out that 'the Congregation should be on its guard lest it be wrongly informed, because the Highland Scots have enemies, even among their own people, who on other occasions

showed their ill-will and spite.'[186] Unbelievably, it was even called into question in Rome whether the missionaries had actually laboured in Scotland at all, and Cornelius Ward was obliged to write refuting this claim.[187] The likelihood was that the reporters were Jesuits, for they not only sought to preserve the almost exclusive presence they had established on the Scottish mission, but the society was also in charge of three of the four Scots Colleges on the continent - Douai, Rome and Madrid. Only Paris remained in secular hands.[188] However, their questioning of the missionaries' claims of large numbers of converts was perfectly valid.

Another perennial difficulty, and unfortunately, perhaps the most pertinent to the success or failure of the whole mission, was the consistent lack of finance. The aims set out for the missionaries were full of the necessary and expected platitudes about renunciation, particularly of worldly wealth.[189] Yet, the bare essentials of life were scarcely financed for those who expended so much energy. Ward pointed out in 1626 that 'the people of the Highlands and Isles are poor, but even if they were not, it would not be advisable to quest there, nor would it be possible for the missionaries to do so because of pressure of work and the difficulties of the times.'[190] Only limited financial support was available on the mission field, usually from the clan *fine*. Nonetheless, it is doubtful whether Ward's comment of 1637 that the ordinary people of Uist were compelled to pay teinds to the non-Catholic minister and could not support the Catholic priest as well, carries any weight, for it appears unlikely that John MacKinnon who was appointed rector there in 1633 was actually resident, nor would it necessarily have made any difference if he were.[191]

The historian would, indeed, be hard-pressed to say that the missionaries had interest in doing anything other than stressing the poverty of the mission field. As Propaganda's preliminary remarks to the missionaries' report more poetically put it, they needed more money 'lest the seed which has been sown pine away before it takes root.'[192] Indeed, in general, Propaganda remained more productive of fine poetic expression than of pecuniary aid, though it must be conceded that it did have far-reaching priorities, with mission fields all over the globe. A letter written on 28 August 1637 by Dr. Bonaventure Magennis to the secretary of Propaganda, nevertheless, puts the matter in some kind of perspective regarding the Franciscan mission. He wrote that Cornelius Ward:

> compelled by poverty, which so often stands in the way, returned to his native land, and cannot any longer bear up against the heavy weight. The liberality indeed towards himself of his friends, whom he has lately converted to the faith, if it be not altogether exhausted, is considerably wearied out. On the Scotch he does not wish to be heavy, lest, perhaps, he would frighten the weak by the burthen...."[193]

One of the main reasons that the mission began to operate out of Ireland was probably because it could command greater patronage there.

Propaganda refused to forward the next instalments of money unless it received regular mission reports. From the number of reports extant today, it is obvious that many of them got through, though they perhaps took a long time or required a second draft. From May 1626 the missionaries were directed to send their letters to the archbishop of Dublin and not to a Franciscan superior as Ward had suggested. Moreover, even when Propaganda did send money, the missionaries did not always receive their full complement because the nuncio in Flanders milked some off for other purposes.[194] Complaints regarding the reports seem to have been surprisingly petty. Propaganda objected, for instance, to the missionaries writing their reports in Irish, simply because none of the Roman dignitaries understood the language themselves, and it was an inconvenience to them. It also appears, from Francis MacDonnell's letter in 1628 that because of this, they felt that they could be more easily duped if the letter was in Irish. MacDonnell pointed out that it was a matter of security. Reports written in Latin could easily be read if intercepted, whereas there were few in Lowland Scotland or England who could read and write Irish. He also felt constrained to point out that if the missionaries wished to send false accounts of their endeavours on the mission, they could do so in Irish as readily as in Latin![195] Indeed, the necessity of chasing after funds could become as much a threat to the missionaries' freedom as the vigilance of the Protestant forces. Fr. Ward, for instance, was captured in London in 1630 en route from Belgium where he was going to give an account of the mission and to make a case for more funds and faculties. A priest's emprisonment potentially threatened his converts, Ward being asked to reveal the names of the gentry whom the missionaries had converted to Catholicism, but refusing to do so. He was also accused of coming to Scotland to promote rebellion. Though this was a fairly stock accusation, it indicates how the authorities chose to interpret Catholicism as a political threat.[196] Indeed, although limited progress was made, the missionaries' cries for support remained essentially the same at the end, as at the beginning, of the mission.

D. Achievements of the mission

Ultimately, the sheer lack of support, particularly financial, but also moral and facultative, especially the failure to supply a bishop for the mission, dictated its official downfall. The missionaries could endure no more. Cornelius Ward wrote in the report for 1637 that they:

> are worn out by excess of work and as they are receiving help from nowhere, there is no alternative but to leave the mission; indeed, all of them have already abandoned it, except Patrick Hegarty, who continues his missionary activities at Bonamargy on the coast of Ireland nearest Scotland.

Patrick Hegarty had not been resident on the mission for six years prior to 1637, which was the final year of the first Franciscan mission to the Highlands and Isles. In a letter to Propaganda, written on 26 August 1637, explaining why he had not been resident on the mission for so long, the first reason he gave for this was that he 'did not receive any money allowance from the Congregation after he had sent them the last report of his work on the mission.' However, his assertion that he was impeded from going on the mission because he was definitor of the province and guardian of the friary of Bonamargy is not entirely plausible.[197] The letter was written a month after the first outbreak of religious opposition to the rule of Charles I, on 23 July 1637, at the reading of the service book in St. Giles in Edinburgh, and given that apart from liturgical innovation, fear of popery was the other major concern in Scottish Lowland society, the missionaries' final retreat may not be totally coincidental.[198] However, Hegarty stated that he worked hard at promoting the mission's interests at Bonamargy and added finally, that 'should the pope or the Congregation wish to continue the mission, let the missionaries be given sufficient means to support themselves, as, otherwise, it is impossible for them to reside in Scotland.'[199]

Though the mission proper may be said to have been finished in 1637, in a sense it continued to operate from Ireland under the momentum that had been established over the previous 20 years. In a letter written by Hegarty from Bonamargy on 31 October 1639 to the secretary of Propaganda he stated that:

> This year the God of all consolation has deigned, by means of my so vile labour, to convert to the Catholic faith about 700 Scots, very many of whom belong to the principal families of the Islands and Highlands of Scotland. All these, after confession of their sins, and after reception of holy Communion, the Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor fortified in our monastery of Bunamargy with the holy Sacrament of Confirmation.

A certain amount of deception appears to have been used to engineer the ceremony. The bishop was supposed to be on a visit to see his relative Randal MacDonnell, second Earl of Antrim, while the Highlanders came under the guise of going to the great fair of Ballycastle which, indeed, they may have been just as interested in! Nevertheless, all official suspicion was judged to be allayed thus.[200]

On 4 December 1640, Hegarty complained further that the four other Franciscans who had laboured in Scotland had withdrawn and had left him to work by himself. It grieved him that Propaganda made no effort to remedy this.[201] He requested Propaganda to 'order the superiors of the Irish Franciscans to assign new missionaries to him, or to allow Anthony Hickey and Luke Wadding to name suitable priests for the mission from among the Irish friars at Rome.'[202] Unless this was done, he asked to be relieved of directing the mission.

The reasons for the failure of the mission have already been dealt with. It can be said that the first Franciscan mission kept Catholicism alive, if even in a limited sense, but the extent of its influence in Highland communities, at this time, is doubtful. When Hegarty visited Iona in 1625, for instance, it was apparently the first time mass had been said since the suppression of the Catholic religion there, though the mission had already been operating for six years.[203] Apart from money, perhaps the major reason for the mission not achieving more was the sheer lack of missionaries, and related to this, the failure to produce native missionaries. In a sense, the success of any religious mission can be partially gauged by the numbers of those who wished to emulate their teachers, and, thus, provision for the education of the clan *fine* was most important. Even had there been those who wished to follow, there was absolutely no provision for the training of young Highlanders. The missionaries attempted to get Propaganda to fund 12 bursaries, but to no avail.[204]

Although there were later reports from Hegarty of swarms flocking daily to Bonamargy, when Ward was in Canna in October 1625 he reported that the truths which he preached 'pleased the people, but having to put them into practice did not, for, children of the earth as they were, they were intent on the crops, not their salvation, and, as it was autumn, they paid more attention to the harvest than to their souls.' Yet, it may be that seeing the tenacity and dedication of these priests, although they received only the most cursory of visits each year, at least some of the people came to respect and love them. In his general mission report for 1636 Ward said that he spent a month working in the Isles of Barra, Feray and Berneray. He stated that he preached every day before and after mass and that 'though the people of the Hebrides may be rough and uninstructed, they have not entirely forgotten the traditions of their fathers, as they always show great affection for the mass, and for the old faith of Rome, as they call it.'[205] Comments like this would seem to confirm the survival of a body of oral tradition with a distinct religious flavour, preserved in such collections as the *Carmina Gadelica*, which was 'the common heritage of the whole population, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic.'[206] It would certainly also account for such statements as written by Hegarty in the 1637 report, that he would continue as long as he lived 'to strengthen and preserve what little faith the people have, provided the Congregation gives him an annual allowance.' Indeed, it has been suggested that it was the Franciscans who popularised parts of that body of Gaelic religious lore in the *Carmina Gadelica* which, in verse form, was highly usable in an oral culture.[207] Nonetheless, it is hardly surprising that many did not advance much in spiritual understanding if they were fortunate to see a priest but once a year. Donald MacDonald, a former captain in the army of Spain, wrote in a testimonial letter from Colonsay in March 1629, that 'those converted persevere true to the faith, although they seldom see a priest,' but he also added that 'it is true, however, that some few, through fear of the ministers, have strayed a little from the teachings of the church.'[208]

The lack of sustenance, in terms of priests ministering in one fixed locality, can indeed, be seen as one of the main failings of the first Franciscan mission, for most of the missionaries covered vast distances in order to take Catholicism to as many people as possible. (See priests' itineraries of the First Franciscan mission for 1624 and 1625, figs., 6.2 and 6.3.) Francis MacDonnell asked, in 1628, that Propaganda 'allow him or some of the other missionaries to appoint parish priests among those who have been converted, till such time as there are bishops or vicars apostolic in Scotland.' Understandably, this was not granted, and certainly there is little evidence to show that anyone received sufficient knowledge or reached such a stage of spiritual development during this first mission to be able to fulfil such a role. However, given the restrictions of physical and human resources, the missionaries dealt with the immediate needs of the mission as well as they could. On the whole, the Highlanders seem to have been impressed by the physical presence of Catholicism or the spectacle of the mass. In South Uist in October 1625 Ward baptized in the open, surrounded by a great crowd, 'who were so impressed by the ceremony that they all wished to be baptized by him.'[209]

As a result of the first Franciscan mission vibrant pockets of Catholicism were established, many of which have survived to the present century, for instance, in South Uist, Barra, Eigg, and Moidart, that is, mainly the lands of Clanranald and its cadets and of the MacNeill, Barra having probably been so well served because of its proximity to Clanranald territory. (See fig. 6.4, First Franciscan mission 1619-1637: incidence map.) However, the first foothold that the missionaries took on the mission, according to the evidence which survives from 1624, can be very closely identified with the lands of the expropriated Clan Donald South. These reports also give one earlier indication of activity in a specific part of that area. When Hegarty preached to the people of the Isle of Sanda in July 1624, (for location, see fig. 6.2, First Franciscan mission 1624: priests' itineraries) he stated that 'they had been instructed in the elements of the faith four years before by another Irish Franciscan, but had seen no priest since then.'[210] Most probably, this was McCann, the only one of the priests on the mission in 1619 who is known to have worked in the Hebrides. Nonetheless, although the missionaries laboured from 1624 to 1629, and probably for a few years prior to this, on the old Clan Donald South lands of Sanda, Kintyre, Gigha, Texa, Islay, Colonsay, Oronsay and Jura, with as much regularity as they did in the Outer Hebrides, Skye, Moidart and the Small Isles, the links there did not result in any sustained areas of Catholicism other than on Colonsay and Oronsay. The missionaries' visits to the Ross of Mull from 1624 to 1626 may, on the other hand, have had limited effect. It is worthy of note that when Ward and O'Neill visited the island in 1624, they stayed with a man 'who, though a catholic of long standing, had not seen a priest for twenty years.'[211] This is certainly significant if the last priest he had seen was in Mull itself, which might further define the boundaries of Irish Jesuit missions to the west coast of Scotland in the early decades of the century. It is probable that the missionaries did succeed, as stated, in converting MacLean of Lochbuie, his wife, and another member of his family, but Mull does not seem to have

been visited after this. It is difficult, therefore, to conclude that the faith was sustained there. However, there appear to be later indications of limited survival of Catholicism there, though the island was apparently not visited by any other missionaries in the seventeenth century.[212]

Kintyre and the surrounding islands of Argyll were extensively visited during the 1620s. However, the last Franciscan activity there can be dated to 1629 when Ward visited Kintyre, Islay, Oronsay and Colonsay, as well as Bute. (See fig. 6.4, First Franciscan mission 1619-1637: incidence map.) The question therefore arises, why did the Catholic missionaries virtually abandon what had once been worthy of their extended attention? One reason mentioned by Ward is that 'the missionaries could hope for greater results if they had sufficient means to enable them to stay on in certain places for a while.' He also inferred that the people there were not so hospitable which impeded the missionaries' work, and that 'there is greater hope of doing fruitful work in the Hebrides.' However, the main reason appears to have been the strong efforts of the Protestant Kirk to root out any trace of Catholicism, using whatever influence they could wield. For instance, Hegarty reported that he visited Gigha during the summer of 1624, 'but because of the opposition of the minister and the smallness of the island, he had no success.' When he continued on to Islay, he stated that he worked in danger of capture and of his life, but was saved by a band of 30 Catholics. Moreover, his labours in this area do not appear to have been conducted openly. During the eight weeks which he spent in Kintyre he hid in a cave during the day, and preached, baptised and administered the sacraments by night. Mass was said at two locations, ten miles apart, before the sun rose. So, too, on Arran he was compelled to live in a cave. However, Hegarty made no mention of persecution on Jura or Colonsay.[213] The Protestant authorities also used whatever sanctions were in their own power. Excommunication was one such, which even though it was not always fully effective, was to a limited degree. It is certainly clear that the Kirk followed through on each case of recusancy, particularly making examples of the élite, and this in itself is indicative of the pressure which could be brought to bear on the individual.[214]

However, it was probably the near capture of Cornelius Ward by the Protestant authorities in 1629, when he was rescued by Colla Ciotach MacDonald, that finally dictated the missionaries' abandonment of Kintyre and those islands which were, ironically, closest (and therefore most accessible from Bonamargy) to Ireland.[215] Even though Colla Ciotach's practical occupation of Colonsay was legally recognised in 1633, the cooperation of the Kirk and the house of Argyll effectively banished the missionaries from the southern Isles and ensured that they did not work farther south than the Moidart and Morar region on the mainland or the Small Isles off that coastline, in the future. Moreover, it should be noted that apart from incursions into Argyll with the Royalist army in 1644-45, the Catholic mission to the Highlands and Islands continued to be mainly restricted to those areas until 1760, other than a small Catholic presence in North Lorn, Mull and Ardnamurchan in the early eighteenth century. Similarly, although Skye appears to have

been visited on at least four occasions, twice in Sleat, which is as many times as other parts of the west Highlands and Islands during the course of the mission, the missionaries failed to convert MacDonald of Sleat or to make anything more than a crypto-Catholic of MacLeod of Harris. This, doubtless, had consequences hostile to the survival of Catholicism in Skye.

Conclusion

One of the by-products of the Irish Franciscan mission was that it strengthened west Highland links with Gaelic Ireland, which had been weakened by the plantation of Ulster and the destruction of the Clan Donald South. It has been suggested that the mission was probably under the patronage of the first Earl of Antrim from the start, who may have used it as a method of unifying and boosting the morale of the MacDonalds with a view to reviving their power.[216] More specifically, he probably saw it as a method of extending his own power base. In the final analysis, however, it must be considered just how much interconnection there was between Irish and Scottish Gaels in matters of religion between 1619 and 1637. The evidence is conclusive. Only two Gaelic-speaking Scots clerics appear to have gone to Ireland during this period, one on the basis of previous acquaintance with Bishop Knox of Raphoe, ex-bishop of Isles, and the other, during the Laudian period, to escape a non-conformist congregation. Moreover, although both Irish and Scottish Gaelic speakers ministered to laymen in Knox's diocese, the Scots appear to have been generally accused by the English of provincialism.

Similarly, it must be questioned with regard to the Catholic initiative to the Highlands, just how strong the Scoto-Irish Gaelic bonds really were, since the convent at Louvain had to be coerced by Rome into supplying the Highland mission. The Franciscan missionaries certainly stressed the common historical link between them established by the mission of Saint Columba, and were of the opinion therefore that 'it was only fitting that missionaries from Ireland rather than from any other place were chosen to go to Scotland, so that that faith which was first brought to the Scots from Ireland should be revived by men from the same country....'[217] Nevertheless, it is significant that, like the *seanchaidhean*, they felt obliged to fall back on an ancient link to stress their common heritage. In effect, the links of most of the Highland élite to Catholicism were somewhat tenuous, except in a very few cases, mainly connected with the MacDonalds. This, indeed, amply explains the initial concentration of the Franciscan mission on the lands of the Clan Donald South. However, although some of the clan undoubtedly went on regular pilgrimage to Bonamargy and others ultimately settled in Antrim when the Campbells assumed control of Colonsay in 1639, neither were these links sufficiently powerful, nor the expropriated clan élite sufficiently influential, to sustain and protect the growth of Catholicism in those areas. The results produced by the dedication of so few missionaries are, therefore, some indication of their personal zeal and

enthusiasm. That so many of the Highland and island areas remain Catholic today is a result, not only of the later indigenous ministry, but that of these Irishmen.

NOTES

1. James Kirk, 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands, 1567-1625,' in Loraine MacLean of Dochgarroch (editor), *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands*, (Inverness, 1986), p. 47.
2. J. B. Craven (editor), *Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, 1560-1860*, (Kirkwall, 1907), 'Report by Thomas Knox, Bishop of the Isles, of the state of his diocese, 1626,' pp. 46-49.
3. James Kirk, 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' *Northern Scotland*, 7, no. 1, (1986), pp. 1-22.
4. Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878*, (Montrose, 1970), p. 20.
5. A. Macinnes, 'Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws, 1603-1707,' *RSCHS*, 23, part 1, (1987), pp. 30-31.
6. Anson, p. 28.
7. Macinnes, p. 31.
8. For instance, on 9 September 1656, Murdo M'Conill vic Wurchie vic Conill vic Allister in Torritan and Donald Smyth in Applecross were to be summoned "for sacrificeing of beasts upon the 25 August, as also in poureing of milk upon hills as oblationes." The practice was still current in 1678 when, on 6 August, Hector MacKenzie in Mellan in the parish of Gairloch, and John Murdoch and Duncan, his sons, and Kenneth, his grandson, were all summoned before the presbytery of Dingwall "for sacrificing a bull in ane heathenish manner in the island of St Ruffus, for the recovering of the health of Cristan MacKenzie, spouse to the said Hector." (*Fasti*, pp. 160, 146.) See also William Mackay (editor), *Records of the presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall, 1643-1688*, SHS, 1st series, 24, (Edinburgh, 1896.)
9. Anson, p. 18.
10. See J. L. Campbell, *Canna - The Story of a Hebridean Island*, (Oxford, 1984.)
11. Macinnes, p. 30.
12. Scotland had to wait another 70 years for hers - see Chapter 10, Introduction.
13. Anson, pp. 8, 9, 11.
14. It has already been mentioned how the people of Barra are noted as making pilgrimage by sea to Croagh Patrick in Mayo in 1593. (W. C. Mackenzie, *The Highlands and Isles of Scotland,* (Edinburgh and London, 1937), p. 193.)
15. That is, the Protestant bishop of the Isles.
16. *IFM*, pp. vii-viii, quoting J. R. N. MacPhail (editor), *Highland Papers,* III, SHS, 2nd series, 20, (Edinburgh, 1920), pp. 185-86. Also see above, Chapter 5, section V. The Jesuit missions.
17. David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, (Belfast, 1981), p. 5; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 50-52.
18. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, pp. 6, 8. See also Chapter 2, section III. Antrim's territorial acquisitiveness.
19. Anson, p. 42.
20. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, pp. 13-14.

21. Anson, p. 18.
22. See Chapter 7, section I. The presbyterian sources, for a discussion of these sources.
23. See above, Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant Initiative in the Highlands of Scotland, for a breakdown of the benefices filled in the diocese of Argyll after the Reformation.
24. *Fasti*, IV, pp. 57, 59, 64, 48, 66; Cosmo Innes, James B. Brichan and others (editors), *Origines parochiales Scotiae,* 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1850-55), II, part 1 (Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles), p. 12. This parish went on to become the Gaelic section of the parish of Campbeltown when it was divided in 1655.
25. *Fasti,* IV, pp. 116, 105.
26. *Fasti*, IV, pp. 105, 134, 129, 136, 133, 126, 131, 178, 186-87, 145-47; *Fasti*, VII, p. 149.
27. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 166, 168, 171, 174, 176. Given the geographical proximity, the surname McColgan of 1632 may represent a naturalisation of the earlier documented Irish name O'Colgan .
28. MacDonald of Clanranald was in possession of Canna in 1593, though by 1626, John MacLeod, probably of Dunvegan, was said to be possessor at the time of the bishop of the Isles' report in 1626, though there is no confirmation of this possession. It was also Clanranald who intervened on the Franciscan Ward's behalf in the summer of 1625 when Neil MacKinnon, minister of Sleat, came with soldiers to capture him. (*Canna*, pp. 63, 56.)
29. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 182, 174.
30. See below, section III, The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands.
31. See Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland - Malcolm MacPherson.
32. For whom see Chapter 5, section II.
33. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 185, 188, 191, 194, 199, 208.
34. J. S. Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 3 vols., (Belfast, 1867), I, pp. 92-94.
35. Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'The Ulster Plantation: Scotland's First Colonial Venture,' *Scottish Colloquium Proceedings,* 2, (Guelph, 1969), p. 14.
36. A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' 2 vols., (unpublished typescript, Belfast, 1948), I, p. 503, viewed at Belfast Presbyterian Historical Society; Sister Phil Kilroy, 'Bishops and Ministers in Ulster during the Primacy of Ussher, 1625-1656,' *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 8, no. 2, (1977), pp. 287, 295-96; The Ulster Plantation: Scotland's First Colonial Venture,' p. 14.
37. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections.
38. The secondary sources, both Pearson and M. Perceval-Maxwell, somewhat confound an accurate understanding of the situation by referring to 'Irish reading ministers' and 'reading ministers in Irish,' respectively, which tends to accord readers a status confusing to the Scottish researcher. This has been elucidated by Alan Ford, who indicates that reading ministers were 'clergy who could not preach, but merely read the service book to their parishioners.' In the early seventeenth century, they tended to form an inferior stratum beneath the emigrant settler preachers who had degrees. (Alan Ford, 'The Protestant Reformation in Ireland,' in *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641,'* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 54, 63.)

39. A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Alumni of St. Andrews and the Settlement of Ulster,' *UJA*, 3rd series, 14, (1951), p. 12. There were Rosses who graduated M.A. in 1578, 1579 or 1606 and matriculated in 1611. Possible dates for a John Ross at St. Andrews are M.A. in 1599 or matriculation in 1612, and it is once again difficult to come to a decision as to which one he was.
40. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections.
41. 'Puritan and Presbyterian settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' I, pp. 502-03, 583.
42. Ford, p. 64; 'The Ulster Plantation: Scotland's First Colonial Venture,' p. 13.
43. *Scottish Migration to Ulster,* p. 261.
44. See Chapter 7, section III. Highland ministers in Ireland.
45. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the Plantation of Ulster on religious connections.
46. J. M. Barkley, 'Some Scottish Bishops and Ministers in the Irish Church, 1605-35,' in Duncan Shaw (editor), *Reformation and Revolution. Essays presented to The Very Revd Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt*, (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 153.
47. Barkley, p. 141.
48. S. G. E. Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 1550-1625,* (Edinburgh and London, 1960), pp. 68-69.
49. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 11, 74.
50. Sir James Balfour Paul (editor), *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols., (Edinburgh, 1911), 8, p. 346. For Cluny see below, section III. The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands.
51. Sir William Fraser, *The Sutherland Book,* 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1892), I, p. 207.
52. *The Sutherland Book,* II, (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 154. He had offered the estates to his nephew, the Earl, and appeared to have had considerable debts, but complained at harsh and unnatural treatment by him - "My going north hes hinderit me mutch, and I have done no goode, bot spent my meinis and my tyme iyedillie, for I culd get nothing done with my brother sone, the earll."
53. *The Sutherland Book*, I, p. 207, II, pp. 155, 164; *The Scots Peerage*, 8, p. 346. He wrote again to his brother on 23 May 1636 when he still appeared to have been in possession of his land of Navidale, asking him to speak to one William Dick concerning his debts, "and show him he salbe compleitlie payit off me, principall and interest, at Lambes when I go to Iyrland." Earlier comments suggest that his brother, too, had contacts in Ireland for he wrote to him: "As to that bissines of my Lord of Ormonthis I can wryt nothing of it wntill I go to Irland and try maters as they go. Nather can I end anything wntill my Lord of Thirles be in Iyrland." His brother was to send letters either to Monaghan or Clones, where Sir John Wishart would inform him where to direct them, for Sir Alexander now lived in "Cluincalge," land formerly held by Sir John Wishart. (pp. 155, 164.)
54. This is given as initials only.
55. Perceval-Maxwell, p. 272.
56. *CSPI*, 1625-32, p. 512. Deposition of Thomas Plunkett, reclaimed from popery, before the bishop of Derry, 4 January 1630.

57. Perceval-Maxwell, p. 68.

58. R. J. Hunter, 'Ulster Plantation Towns 1609-41,' in David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd (editors), *The Town in Ireland*, Historical Studies, 13, (1979), p. 60.

59. Kilroy, p. 291.

60. Perceval-Maxwell, p. 272; Barkley, p. 150.

61. Anson, p. 77.

62. SRO CH1/5/1, Royal Bounty Records, 1725-1730, fol. 182.

63. Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1829*, (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 71-72.

64. *IFM*, p. 69.

65. Macinnes, p. 27.

66. *IFM*, p. 33. Concerning the use of Giblin in this thesis, Giblin has pointed out that these documents are 'extended summaries, and although at times are very close to the original, are not intended to be translations.' Inasmuch as these 'summaries' contain all the relevant personal and place names of the original, it has been considered expedient to use the English text in this work. All documents referred to in the book are from the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Since they are not absolute translations, however, where Giblin has been quoted the text has been put in single rather than double quotation marks.

67. *IFM*, p. 55. It has been shown that the Isles had only 19 ministers by 1626. ('The Jacobean Church in the Highlands,' p. 47.) Moreover, Ward's information for the northern Highlands, pointing out the numerical strength of the ministers can be substantiated by evidence from the Protestant accounts of the collectors of the thirds of benefices, the books of assumption and the register of stipends, covering a period from 1561 to 1615. Although there is a ten year period between the last of the Protestant evidence, there is an overall similarity between the picture which Ward painted in 1625 and these sources, and moreover, the *Fasti* confirms this. The conclusion that the Reformation had been fairly vigorously introduced by 1574 to the dioceses of Caithness, Ross and Moray, though less so to the Highland parts of Perthshire covered by the dioceses of Dunblane and Dunkeld, remains valid for this period. ('The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation,' pp. 7-19.) Similarly, those areas of the southern Highlands and the Hebrides identified by Ward in which he felt more confident of making converts can be fairly accurately equated with those not provided with ministers and readers in 1574 in the diocese of Argyll, that is, some of the southern isles such as Islay, Texa, Colonsay, Oronsay and perhaps, Mull before 1630, and in Ardnamurchan, Moidart and Glenelg. (See Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant Initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.) However, Ward's statement did not limit his mission to the southern Hebrides, only to the southern Highlands.

68. For the dean of Limerick, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections, and section IV. The Catholic counter-attack.

69. *IFM*, pp. 63-64, 66, 69.

70. One document included in the Archives of Propaganda for 1625 relates the attempts of Thomas Knox, the Protestant bishop of the Isles, to stop the missionaries' work. The bishop went so far as to appeal to the King, via a friend who was a Royal attendant, about the religious consequences of their infectious idolatry, yet it is more significant that he backed this up with the following statement: '...besides, he pointed out that if the people of Kintyre became catholics, they would have a greater regard for the pope than for the king, and as they were more powerful, they would endanger the state.' The King clearly had the more enlightened political, if patronising perspective on the situation, for it is reported that 'on hearing its contents, the king laughed, and said there was no need to be angry with those who were converting people so wild as the natives of Kintyre to christianity, even if that christianity came from Rome, but that such missionaries deserved to be thanked.' (*IFM*, p. 46.)

71. *IFM*, p. 63.

72. *RPCS*, 1630-1632, p. 391; J. L. Campbell, 'The letter sent by Iain Muideartach twelfth chief of Clanranald, to Pope Urban VIII, in 1626,' *Innes Review*, 4, (1955), pp. 112-13. For the minister of Barra's murder, see Chapter 5, the last page of section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.

73. *RPCS*, 1630-1632, p. 406.

74. *Clan Donald*, II, pp. 310-11, 322. Though much of the persecution was aimed at containment of Catholicism in Clanranald territory, Ward reported on 19 March 1626 that ministers heard of his presence in Kintyre and attacked the house where he was staying with the aid of soldiers. The owner of the house and his brother, who are unspecified, but probably MacDonalds or McNeills, held the attackers off, until a second brother arrived with reinforcements which caused them to flee. (*IFM*, p. 77.) See Hector McNeill of Carskiey below, section III. The First Franciscan Mission to the Highlands.

75. *IFM*, p. 74. This confirms that there were Protestant ministrations in North Uist at this time.

76. D. O. Blundell, *The Catholic Highlands of Scotland. The Western Highlands and Islands.* II, (Edinburgh, 1917), p. 3.

77. Of this delicate issue, Giblin comments as follows: 'In their reports to Rome the missionaries frequently refer to conversions made by them, but it is difficult to determine what exactly they meant by the word "conversion." An examination of their reports leaves the impression that the word was used indiscriminately by them for Calvinists who embraced the catholic faith as a result of their preaching, or for catholics whom they brought back to the practice of their religion, which had been given up through carelessness or ignorance.' (*IFM*, p. xii.) However, the conversion of the 'Anglo-Scot' secretary to MacNeill of Barra, from whose background 'few of whom become catholics,' and who is said to have converted on finding that some holy water which he sprinkled on corn-meal increased its amount by a third, is perhaps more valid. (*IFM*, p. 87.) The sceptic might be tempted to say that if the volume of water were large enough, holy or otherwise, natural absorption would cause this phenomenon!

78. *IFM*, p. xii.

79. *IFM*, pp. 150-51. That it was definitely the work of Lowland Scots is proved by a report of Propaganda in 1633 which states that 'some Scots gave the Congregation to understand that the number of conversions claimed to have been made by the missionaries was not true.'
80. *Canna*, p. 58; *IFM*, pp. 50-78. Ward's mission report from 21 July 1624 to the beginning of 1625 credited him with converting 387, and there is no mention of baptisms, while his mission report for 28 June 1625 to February 1626 credited him with 2,087 conversions and 280 baptisms. Clanranald's figures therefore compare with an attested total of 2,474 conversions and 280 mentioned baptisms over the same two years. Given that the baptisms for the first period are not stated, the figures concur broadly.
81. *IFM*, pp. 148, 122-25.
82. *IFM*, p. ix.
83. Donald Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625*, (Edinburgh, London and Dublin, 1836), pp. 339-41.
84. *Canna*, pp. 53-54.
85. *IFM*, p. ix.
86. See Nicholas Canny, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750,' *Past and Present*, no. 95, (1982), pp. 94-104.
87. In effect, this mission was a subsidiary of the Franciscan mission to Scotland as a whole which had begun in 1612 with the arrival of Fr. John Ogilvie in the Lowlands, a Franciscan who lived in the Irish College of St. Anthony in Louvain. Note that this Ogilvie is distinct from the John Ogilvie, Scottish Jesuit, who was also in Scotland at this time and was martyred in 1613. See *IFM*, p. 1, which makes the distinction.
88. *IFM*, pp. 4-5. Nothing more is known about Stuart's relatives or of his origin.
89. *IFM*, pp. ix, 19.
90. *IFM*, p. x, 4. Unfortunately none of the official reports of this first stage of the Franciscan mission have survived, but such information as exists is gleaned from other letters in the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide.
91. Gregory, pp. 401-02.
92. See above,Chapter 2, section II. Final destruction of the Clan Donald South, and Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.
93. *IFM*, p. x.
94. *IFM*, pp. 59, 98, 101, xi.
95. *IFM*, p. 62. Cornelius Ward wrote that he set out from the Ross of Mull after a visit to MacLean of Lochbuie in 1625 with two attendants, which presumably had been provided by Lochbuie.
96. They continued to refer to the necessity of the mission being terminated if they did not receive their allowances, but this was in an attempt to provide themselves with some financial security.
97. *IFM*, p. 26.
98. *IFM*, p. 24.
99. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 51, 53.

100. See above, Chapter 1 and below, Chapter 12, section II. Mercenary Contraband, and Chapter 14, section I. Settlement during the mercenary period.
101. *IFM*, p. 14.
102. See above, Chapter 3, section III B. Piracy.
103. *Canna,* pp. 52-53.
104. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 31, 38, 40, 49.
105. *IFM*, pp. 51, 125.
106. *Canna*, pp. 56-57, 62, 56; 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands,' p. 31; I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods. The History of a Clan*, (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 94-95, 221-22.
107. 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands,' pp. 31, 47.
108. The bishop of Ross cited the children of Donnald Neilsoun MacLeod of Assynt, on the west coast of Sutherland, to be under suspicion of being corrupted in their religion by remaining in their father's company, though the MacLeods of Assynt were an offshoot of the MacLeods of Lewis rather than Harris. (*RPCS*, 1629-1630, p. 246; Grant, p. 148.)
109. Grant, p. 238.
110. *RPCS*, 1630-1632, p. 176. As there had been scare-mongering on MacDonald of Clanranald's lands, so too, the minister stated that the Sunday prior to the complaint, Murdoch MacLean and some of his accomplices, all armed with swords and other weapons, had come to his kirk (which of the two is unspecified), where he was about to preach, and "thrust him to the doores, locked the same, and vowed if he found him there againe he sould doe worse turne to him." However, this initial antagonism between MacIlvory and MacLean was later rectified, because MacIlvory joined the Royalist MacLean when he fought with Montrose in 1645 to minister to his troops. See Chapter 7, section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.
111. Clanranald was one of the chiefs who was answerable for the Clan Iain to the Privy Council, and when in the summer of 1625 the Clan Iain pirates were pursued from Skye by MacLeod of Harris (also answerable for them) they had taken refuge with Clanranald in Moidart. With the arrival of Lord Lorne many of them were killed or banished, and those who remained identified themselves with the Clanranald and were never again encountered as a separate clan. (Gregory, pp. 410-11.)
112. Gregory, pp. 410-11.
113. *Canna*, p. 58.
114. *Canna*, p. 58.
115. *Canna,* p. 59.
116. See above, Chapter 2, section II. Final destruction of the Clan Donald South.
117. *IFM*, pp. 53-54.
118. *IFM*, p. 80.
119. I am indebted to Professor Allan Macinnes for this point, who made an in depth study of these records for his article 'Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws, 1603-1707,' *RSCHS*, 23, part 1, (1987), pp. 27-63.

120. *IFM*, p. 79.

121. *IFM*, p. 123.

122. *RPCS*, 1625-1627, p. 389.

123. Benignus Millett, O.F.M., 'Catalogue of Irish material in fourteen volumes of the *Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali* in Propaganda Archives,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 11, (1967), p. 10.

124. *RPCS*, 1625-1627, pp. 377-78.

125. *RPCS*, 1629-1630, pp. 177-79. The direct Catholic influence of the family ended with his alleged lunacy. John Campbell of Cawdor (1596-1654) took ill in 1638 and apparently could not be cured. In 1639 he was declared unfit to manage his estates for 18 months and his brother, Colin, was declared Tutor-at-law. John Campbell, 'the fiar,' was declared a lunatic and spent his last years in Islay. Hugh, the eldest son of tutor Colin, became the next laird. (C. Innes (editor), *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, The Spalding Club, 30, (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. xxxi-xxix.) While John Campbell may, indeed, have had lunatic tendencies, his official declaration in 1639 when the house of Argyll faced a Royalist attack from Ireland, cannot be seen as other than politically motivated.

126. *IFM*, p. 56; Gregory, p. 410. For further details of the Clan Iain's piracy, see above, Chapter 3, section III B. Piracy.

127. *IFM*, pp. 69, 72, 76, 83; J. L. Campbell, 'North and South Uist and Barra in Prefect Ballantine's Report,' *Innes Review*, 9, (1958), p. 215.

128. *IFM*, pp. 62-63, 67. This comment is sigificant because it refutes the above assertion that only the east coast élite had truck with court circles. See the first page of this Chapter.

129. *IFM*, p. 81.

130. *IFM*, p. 159. It is as well to note, however, that this Clery is a relation of Cornelius Ward, which he mentions in a letter from Madrid on 1 July 1634. While not invalidating him as a witness, the historian must be aware of his interest in the writing of testimonials. (*IFM*, p. 164.)

131. *IFM*, p. 160; George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland,* (New York, 1946), pp. 450, 471-72. This makes it unlikely that Macallea was one of a number of families who hailed from Sleat who took the English name Maclure, but whose name derived in Gaelic from MacGille dheóradha, a variant of Dewar. Indeed, the Franciscans do not appear to have visited Sleat until 1636. (See fig. 6.4, First Franciscan mission 1619-1637: incidence map.)

132. *IFM*, pp. 160-61.

133. W. Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVII and XVIIIth centuries,* 2 vols., (London, 1909), I, 1627-1649, pp. 129-30.

134. *RPCS*, 1630-1632, p. 391. William Leslie of Ryhill petitioned the Privy Council in 1631 for protection as cautioner to his brother, the Laird of Wardes, having been unjustly excluded from a protection purchased from the Crown by Cluny for himself, his brother and some friends, to the endangerment of Ryhill's estate. Sir Alexander was said to have secured for himself a disposition of his brother's estate (i.e. Sir Alexander's brother) to the prejudice of his creditors, who included Ryhill. Sir Alexander's estate of 7000

merks was all in his brother's hands on a wadset of the petitioner's farm of Ryhill. Sir Alexander's brother was evicted from his estate by the Earl of Mar, who disponed it to Cluny. Cluny "verie craftilie forced the supplicant to give him doun ane great part of the principal soume, and to grant the lands redeemable for payment of a lesse soume, quhilks lands wer, notwithstanding apprysed frome him be his brother's creditours as cautioner for him." The petitioner was granted protection. (pp. 391-92.) It should also be noted that information about the Gordons of Cluny is only given incidentally to that of other families in *The Scots Peerage*. It appears, however, that Sir Alexander was probably the son of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, who was fiar of Cluny in 1581 and whose daughter is found marrying in 1618. If this is so, Sir Alexander Gordon would be fourth of Cluny, following Alexander of Strathoun, the second son of the third Earl of Huntly, the progenitor (1), John Gordon, his brother (2) and Sir Thomas Gordon (3). (*The Scots Peerage,* 4, p. 533; 2, pp. 9, 12; 1, p. 199.)

135. *IFM*, p. xii. Giblin notes that 'Sutherland in the Northern Highlands was Patrick Brady's centre of activity, and except for one or two short visits to the isles or to Ireland his whole eighteen years as a missionary seem to have been spent there.'

136. *IFM*, p. 106.

137. *IFM*, p. 55. For Catholic use of 'the north' see for instance, Donald MacLean, *The Counter-Reformation in Scotland 1560-1930*, (London, 1931), p. 109.

138. MacLean, p. 109.

139. *IFM*, p. 180; E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, *Handbook of British Chronology,* 3rd edition, (London, 1986), p. 424.

140. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 68-72.

141. *IFM*, pp. 92-93. However, Cornelius Ward's Louvain report of August 1626 still sought permission for them 'to quest among the richer people in Ireland in order to provide for their own needs and for the needs of any secular priests who might wish to join them on the mission.' (*IFM*, pp. 86, 97.) So they clearly had not yet received news of the concessions.

142. *IFM*, p. 86.

143. See earlier section I. The Protestant evidence.

144. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 231.

145. See Chapter 5, section V. The Jesuit missions.

146. *IFM*, pp. 81, 120.

147. *IFM*, pp. 105-06, 120, 111. The more significant among those converted were said to be a minister, and 'an Englishman, named Thomas Norton, who is brother-in-law to the earl of Antrim.' (p. 120.) The Earl at this time was Sir Randal MacDonnell, second Earl of Antrim. Hill makes no mention of a Norton in *The MacDonnells of Antrim,* but only names five of the six daughters of the first Earl of Antrim and their husbands. (pp. 247-50.) It may be that Thomas Norton was the husband of this unnamed daughter.

148. *IFM*, pp. 178, 159. So too, Cornelius Ward wrote to Cardinal Barberini in Madrid on the 16 September 1634, requesting, among other things, that they 'be given faculties to accept other Franciscans who are willing to go on the mission.' (p. 168.)

149. *IFM*, pp. 111, 117.

150. *IFM*, p. 129.

151. Macinnes, pp. 43-44.

152. *IFM*, pp. 101, 111.

153. Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M., 'Francis MacDonnell, O.F.M., son of the first Earl of Antrim (d. 1636),' *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 8, (1976), p. 46.

154. 'Francis MacDonnell,' pp. 46-47, 51.

155. *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 38. Among their petitions in 1629 the missionaries mentioned that the Earl of Antrim had not allowed his son to go on the mission 'for political reasons.' (*IFM*, p. 111.)

156. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, pp. 5-22.

157. 'Francis MacDonnell,' pp. 51-52.

158. 'Francis MacDonnell,' p. 48.

159. In July 1628 the guardian of Louvain informed Propaganda that he felt MacDonnell should be prefect, then six days later, after discussion with his senior priests changed his mind and suggested Brady, because he had laboured in Scotland for eight years without setting foot in Ireland. Cornelius Ward was also put forward, but it is clear that the missionaries themselves wanted MacDonnell. From a statement issued on their behalf in answer to doubts expressed by Propaganda subsequent to its meeting on 6 November 1629, they categorically stated that Brady worked at a great distance from the rest of them and it was difficult to gain access to him. 'Because of this, they had asked that Francis MacDonnell be made prefect, but when they found they could not have him, they petitioned Propaganda to appoint the Franciscan provincial, or the bishop of the Irish diocese nearest to the mission.' ('Francis MacDonnell,' pp. 50-51.)

160. 'Francis MacDonnell,' p. 49. MacDonnell, himself, was not unaware of these machinations. In 1628, he requested that he be appointed to work in Scotland by the Congregation itself, so that no Irish Franciscan could prevent his going to that country or have the power to recall him once he had joined the mission. However, the Franciscans could not afford to counter the 'suggestions' of the Earl of Antrim, because it became, as in nearly every case, a matter of financial expediency. He gave very generously to the mission and also gave his protection to the missionaries. However, the immediacy of having a son on the Scottish mission, would indicate a level of involvement that might possibly prove intolerable to the authorities. Financial aid could be given secretly, but it was not so easy to plead ignorance of the presence of his son in Scotland as a missionary. ('Francis MacDonnell,' pp. 49, 51.) The matter seems to have been drawn out for some time, as were most of the decisions related to the Scottish mission, for Ward was still requesting in a letter of 27 August 1629 from Louvain to Fabio de Lagonissa, the nuncio in

Belgium, that 'Francis MacDonnell, O.F.M., son of the earl of Antrim, be appointed superior of the mission.' (*IFM*, p. 114.)

161. MacDonnell had crossed to Ireland by November 1628 to await his transfer to the Scottish mission, but instead had had to adjust to a friar's life in Ireland. He had not long been in Ireland when he was suggested for the Catholic bishopric of Clogher or Derry. Curiously enough, the Earl appears to have agreed to this next possibility and to have been prepared to pay all expenses. (*IFM*, pp. 50, 52.) On 22 July 1632, the Irish Primate and four bishops of Armagh addressed a petition to the Pope, Urban VIII, requesting the advancement of MacDonnell specifically to the See of Clogher. (Rev. James O'Laverty, *The Bishops of Down and Connor*, V, (Dublin, 1895), pp. 417-18.) This and further petitions came to nought. With even the Archbishop supplicating on his behalf and his father's acquiescence, the opposition to MacDonnell must have been powerful. Cornelius Ward, who like MacDonnell himself, was not a man who minced words 'was of the opinion that representations in favour of MacDonnell which had been directed to the Pope by the archbishop of Armagh and by various bishops and vicars general had been intercepted by some persons because of jealousy, and had never reached Rome.' Quite who these persons were is not alluded to, but they must have had good connections in Rome. They were unlikely to have been from Louvain, since MacDonnell was appointed guardian of Saint Anthony's College, Louvain, in August 1635. It is therefore more likely to have been Jesuit intervention or possibly the result of anti-plantation sentiment among Irish Catholics exiled on the continent, since Antrim was towing the planters' line. In the event, Francis died in Louvain on 26 August 1636, pre-deceasing his father by four months. ('Francis MacDonnell,' pp. 52-54.)

162. These pockets will be examined in the next section. Most of the difficulties still concern the Catholic mission to the Highlands during the entire period covered by this thesis, and will therefore not be re-stated in future chapters.

163. *IFM*, pp. 66, 95.

164. *IFM*, pp. 96, 111. Ward continued that since 'it is impossible to move from island to island or to flee from pursuers without a boat, it is necessary that the missionaries acquire a boat of their own.' However, it is obvious that their ideas did not stretch too far beyond their station, for, with the boat, they requested 'two pairs of oars!'

165. It is apparent from the mission report for 1637 that their request was eventually realised, though more probably at the hands of the Earl of Antrim, for Columba Davett, O.F.M. and Patrick Hegarty attest that 'Ward came to Bonamargy from the Hebrides with the above reports, in his own boat, with his own Scottish sailors.' (*IFM*, p. 177.)

166. *IFM*, p. xiii. Clearly, this guideline was completely impracticable and was not merely contravened by days and weeks but by months. When Cornelius Ward met Paul O'Neill in Eigg in August 1624, they had not met each other for a year. At the same time, O'Neill is said not to have seen a priest for ten months, nor Ward for six. (*IFM*, p. 66.)

167. *IFM*, p. xiii. In March 1626 O'Neill and Hegarty are found in Dublin, having crossed from Scotland for holy oils and other requisites. (*IFM*, p. 77.)

168. *IFM*, p. 114. So too, in November 1629 Ward was told that he could apply for those faculties customarily granted to missionaries labouring in England. (*IFM*, pp. 118-19.) However, this still failed to grasp the problem, which was still that these faculties could only work where there was a bishop or the equivalent, as in England.

169. For instance, Cornelius Ward wrote that he was asked in Eigg, which he visited in August 1624, 'to concecrate the church and cemetery on the island, but he had no faculties to do so.' (*IFM*, p. 64.) This it will be noted was six years after the establishment of the mission.

170. *IFM*, p. 166.

171. Although the priests carried with them travelling sets of all the requisites for mass, '... a chalice, chasuble, alb, missal, etc., for saying mass; a ritual for administering the sacraments; three or four books of controversy, and a bible,' the mission reports reveal that the missionaries often ran out of communion wafer and wine. Hugh de Burgo, apostolic visitator of the Irish province, in a letter to Propaganda in 1620, requested that they should have a regular pension of some kind, which amongst other things was to enable them to buy wine and 'an iron for making hosts and such things.' (*IFM*, pp. 29, 22.)

172. *IFM*, p. 56.

173. Similarly, it is stated that 'the Franciscan who laboured for some years in the Hebrides before Hegarty could not say mass for the whole of Lent because he had no wine, and Hegarty himself had to send his attendant from the Hebrides to the Scottish Lowlands to procure wine.' Whilst on Eigg in August 1624, he also had to send to Patrick Brady, who was 150 miles away, for hosts. His attendants took six weeks to return (though quite why they took so long is not addressed) so that Ward could only say mass on feast days. (*IFM*, pp. 35, 66.)

174. *IFM*, p. 22. Nonetheless, it was still more likely that a missionary would return the short distance from Ireland to Scotland, after resting, than that he would return from France.

175. 'Francis MacDonnell,' p. 48. In all likelihood MacDonnell could afford the luxury of making such an honest statement because of the power of his family ties.

176. For instance, Ward reported from Louvain, 17 August 1626, that he sold his chalice and a horse, amongst other items. in order to raise the money for himself and Ranald MacDonald, an alleged converted minister from South Uist, to travel from Ireland to the continent. (*IFM*, p. 78.) For MacDonald who was a total opportunist who changed from Catholic and Protestant no fewer than four times, see below, footnote 180.

177. Ward wrote in August 1629 that 'many of the Scots pay no attention to matrimonial impediments beyond the first degree of kindred, and there are many cases in which people become catholics, but cannot be absolved because the missionaries have not got the necessary faculties.' (*IFM*, p. 114.)

178. For when he visited South Uist in October 1625 Ward stated that he 'dispensed in marriage impediments where possible, and some couples were remarried,' but he also stated that he was unable to dispense the

marriage impediment of the uncle of Clanranald and his wife and suggested that more ample faculties be given to the missionaries to deal with such cases. (*IFM*, pp. 69, 72.)

179. *IFM*, pp. 92-93. The conversion list of Patrick Hegarty, dated 13 June 1625, is printed in *IFM*, pp. 37-45.

180. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 617-28. Interestingly, the College of Alcalá in Spain was founded by Count Jorge de Paz y Sylveira, whose mother was a MacDonnell from Antrim, and thus the college was founded exclusively for Ulstermen. (pp. 618, 627-28.)

181. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 629. Ward asked in 1625 'that the Franciscans in Ireland be instructed in writing to show good will to those working on the mission in the Highlands and Isles.' Significantly, however, he preferred reports sent to Rome from Scotland to go via Ireland, which shows that the missionaries felt more comfortable dealing through this link than through Lowland Scotland. (*IFM*, p. 59.)

182. *IFM*, pp. 100, 94, 127, 170, 164; 'Francis MacDonnell,' p. 51.

183. D. Maclean, 'Catholicism in the Highlands and Isles, 1560-1680,' *Innes Review*, 3, (1952), p. 7.

184. *IFM*, p. 90.

185. Although this man had sufficiently impressed the nuncio in Belgium to provide him with letters of commendation, on his arrival in Douai 'three candidates from the English-speaking parts of Scotland were admitted to the college in preference to him.' Ward feared that because he was receiving no help or filial affection that 'if he goes back he will return to his former religion and be the occasion of drawing some of the recent converts in the Highlands and the Isles away from catholicism.' (*IFM*, pp. 90, 97.) This, it must be said, hardly indicates a state of entrenched Catholicism there. It should also be pointed out that MacDonald subsequently proved to be a most notorious religious turn-coat, and that few men of any perception would have admitted him to a college. Some modern commentators on Catholic ecclesiastical history, for example, Peter Anson, are inclined to believe that MacDonald did have integrity. Anson states that MacDonald was captured twice, once with Ward in London in 1630 and a second time in 1642 when he was taken to Edinburgh, where 'he convinced the authorities that he had been coerced into becoming a priest, which was untrue, and so he was allowed to go back to the Hebrides. Part of the teinds of Snizort in Skye were granted to him for maintenance.' This, however, is a very optimistic view of his character. It seems far more likely that he was a subsidised Highland opportunist. Anson also identifies him as the son of the chief of Clanranald, though this seems to have opened no doors for him, and though the Franciscans refer to him as a man of status, they do not specify this connection. (Anson, p. 24.) But to what extent he was not admitted to the Scots College at Douai because he was from the wrong side of the Highland line, rather than any perceived any duplicity in him, is difficult to prove.

186. *IFM*, pp. 117, 150, 127.

187. *IFM*, p. 151. He claimed that many things contradicted this, from the approval of their letters by the Franciscan chapter in Ireland and letters written by the archbishop of Dublin and the guardian of St. Anthony's, Louvain, to the written testimonies of the Scottish gentry addressed to Luke Wadding which were given to Ingoli, secretary of Propaganda. So too, Ingoli appended a note to a Propaganda report of 1633 offering verification of the missionaries conversions from the provincial of the Irish Dominicans.

188. Anson, pp. 15, 48. The nuncio in Paris had investigated the affairs of the Paris college, the only Scots secular college on the continent, in 1624, and given a poor report to Propaganda. A verbal tradition that Archbishop James Beaton of Glasgow ultimately intended the Jesuits to direct the college, also worked in the Jesuits' favour in their bid to take over this last college. Indeed, they would have been given the reins of the college at this point, had not the principal persuaded the nuncio that the wording of Beaton's will did not allow this. (Anson, p. 49.)

189. '...they are to take care not to give the impression that they seek temporal gain... the missionaries are to show they have no interest in acquiring earthly gain or riches, but that they value poverty above all things....' (*IFM*, pp. 24-26.)

190. *IFM*, p. 96. Similarly, in December 1624, Hegarty wrote to Hugh de Burgo that 'the people are so poor that they cannot give anything to support the missionaries, and the missionaries cannot accept anything in case they might be considered avaricious.' (*IFM*, p. 35.)

191. *IFM*, 174. For Ward continued: 'besides, the people of the islands are so ignorant that they think the priests and all true servants of Christ should work without any recompense.' For John MacKinnon, see section I. The Protestant evidence.

192. *IFM*, p. 47.

193. O'Laverty, p. 423.

194. *IFM*, pp. xiii, 102, 59, 31. For instance, on 10 February 1624, Guidi di Bagno, wrote to Propaganda that he had received 700 florins from Rome and 'has given 600 florins of this amount to Captain Robert O'Donnell, an Irishman residing at Brussels, for the missionaries.' He stated that he had managed to get the superiors of the missionaries to agree to accept sixty 'filippi' per capita instead of a greater amount. What seems unforgivably wretched in the circumstances is that the miserly nuncio had already been forwarded 700 florins specifically for the missionaries, but took delight in informing Propaganda that he managed to get them to accept just 60 florins each, which was the equivalent of the sum allowed to the Dominican missionaries going to Denmark and that 'the 100 florins left over can be used otherwise for the needs of the Congregation.' (*IFM*, p. 31.)

195. 'Francis MacDonnell,' p. 48.

196. *IFM*, pp. 138-39, 140, 142. Ward was finally released to the Polish ambassador in 1632 and eventually reached Rome.

197. *IFM*, pp. 175, 178.

198. Allan I. Macinnes, 'The origin and organisation of the Covenanting Movement during the reign of Charles I, with a particular reference to the west of Scotland,' 2 vols., (PhD thesis, Glasgow, 1987), I, p. 1; Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland James V - James VII*, (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 310.

199. *IFM*, p. 178.

200. O'Laverty, pp. 428-29. O'Laverty points out that 'it is probable that the place where Confirmation was administered and where Father Hegarty resided was not the ancient monastery of Bunamargy, but the *Locus Refugii* of the Franciscans on the banks of Shesk, in the townland of Ardagh... Bunamargy in the

time of Father Hegarty belonged to the Third Order of Franciscans and became a convent of Franciscans *Strictioris Observantioe* only after the General Chapter, August 15th, 1687. Ardagh became the *refugium* of the Franciscans of Carrickfergus and of Bunamargy; it was situated about three miles from the latter at the head of Glenshesk.' (p. 429.)

201. *IFM*, p. 180. In this letter, Hegarty detailed the fate of those who had worked longest on the Scottish mission. Edmund McCann, of the first-stage missionaries could not work any more because he broke his leg in prison in Scotland. He was then living in the friary of Armagh, 50 miles from the Scottish coast. Paul O'Neill, Patrick Brady and Cornelius Ward were advanced in years and worn out by their exertions on the mission and lived in the friaries of Monaghan, Cavan and Donegal respectively.
202. *IFM*, p. 181.
203. *IFM*, p. 81. Other similar examples have been mentioned in the text above.
204. *IFM*, p. 90.
205. *IFM*, pp. 68, 172.
206. Rev. John MacInnes, 'Gaelic Religious Poetry, 1650-1850,' *RSCHS*, 10, (1950), p. 33.
207. Derick S. Thomson (editor), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (Oxford, 1983), p. 36.
208. *IFM*, pp. 175, 122. Donald MacDonald's clan background is unknown, but writing from Colonsay it must be presumed that he was a member of the Clan Donald South. It should be remembered that Sir James MacDonald of that clan and Alasdair MacDonald of Keppoch escaped to Spain after the Islay rebellion of 1615. Therefore, if not a member of the former clan, he is likely to have been a Keppoch MacDonald.
209. *IFM*, pp. 108, 69. It may be that this was the only thing akin to the ceremonial attached to military mobilisation which was very much at the heart of Gaelic society. Ward was forced to reason with them, pointing out that this was not necessary.
210. *IFM*, pp. 32-33.
211. *IFM*, pp. xi, 18.
212. Certainly, the ninth Earl of Argyll claimed that the resistance by the MacLeans of Duart to his expropriation of their chief in 1679, in satisfaction of vast private debts, was a Scottish extension of the Popish Plot. This appears to have been based on the premise that two of the clans who opposed expropriation were allegedly Catholic, that is, the MacDonalds of Glengarry and of Keppoch. (Macinnes, p. 55.) However, the claim may have gained weight from the fact that there was some survival of Catholicism amongst the other Mull MacLeans, the MacLeans of Lochbuie. Moreover, MacLean of Lochbuie's citation before the presbytery of Lorn in 1704, for the employment of a Catholic schoolmaster in his house, may indicate how a limited Catholicism was sustained in Mull. (SRO CH2/557/4, Synod of Argyll, 1701-1707, fols. 113, 119.)
213. *IFM*, pp. 55, 122, 33. No indication is given as to where he said mass.
214. Though the sanction did not appear to work with Cawdor, see below, Chapter 9, section IV. Social interaction among ministerial families: Case studies in opportunism, for the case of the Rev. Duncan MacCalman and the effect of excommunication on his life and subsequent career.

215. *IFM*, p. 125. It is not overtly stated, but appears that the attempt on Ward was made in Colonsay, for Colla Ciotach himself wrote the letter giving this information, and just prior to this statement, Ward is said to have visited Colonsay three times. Colonsay had been technically in Campbell hands since March 1610 when it was included in a grant to Argyll of the barony of Ardnamurchan, and was subsequently feued to Cawdor in 1614. Lord Lorne also received the feudal superiority of Oronsay in 1629. (*Alasdair MacColla*, pp. 35, 52.)

216. *Alasdair MacColla*, pp. 53-54.

217. *IFM*, pp. 94, 48.

CHAPTER 7
PROTESTANT LINKS BETWEEN IRISH AND SCOTTISH GAELS, 1637-1689

Introduction

In a period which observes change from an episcopal form of Protestantism to a presbyterian one in 1638, a restoration of epicopacy in 1660, and finally, a reversion to presbyterianism again in 1690, a definition of terms at the outset of this discussion is advisable. Scottish Protestantism, as ultimately introduced at the Reformation is generally recognised to have been a moderate form of Calvinism in terms of theology and ecclesiastical polity.[1] The reformers believed in an autonomous ecclesiastical jurisdiction which was separate from the State, that is, one which was anti-erastian. Presbyterians had been present in the Kirk from 1560, but they became more conspicuous in the 1570s because their anti-erastian beliefs were challenged by James VI.[2] James sought to exercise control over the Kirk, particularly the presbyterians within it, through strengthening the status of the Protestant bishops, who reappeared in 1572, and through the implementation of the 'Black Acts' of 1584. These Acts aimed to curtail the independence of the church courts or "new pretended presbyteries" and of the General Assembly, which prior to this had operated without licence from the Crown. Though bishops continued to be appointed by James so that they could vote as bishops in parliament, they were largely titular and had little ecclesiastical power, but the thin end of the episcopal wedge was in position.[3] After an early pragmatic retreat,[4] James continued to pursue his policy of recreating a diocesan episcopacy.[5] This recreation of the episcopacy by 1610 was followed by 27 years of episcopal government. Conversely, during this period in Ireland, the Scottish 'prescopalian' faction, that is, presbyterians working within the episcopal Church of Ireland, served to reinforce and keep alive the Calvinist tradition there. However, the 'prescopalians' were under increasing pressure from the mid-1630s.[6] James VI also began his reform of liturgical policy, changes enshrined in the Five Articles of Perth which were passed with difficulty, in 1618, at a General Assembly and ratified by parliament in 1621, but in practice, were widely disregarded.[7]

Under his son, Charles I, who succeeded in 1625, ecclesiastical, administrative and economic reform was taken to an extreme. The Act of Revocation, passed in the same year, sought to cancel grants of Crown property made since 1455 and to rescind sales of ecclesiastical property which had been erected into temporal lordships since 1587. Most importantly, the Crown claimed a right, by it, to the disposal of their teinds. When no voluntary surrenders of church property occurred, it was largely the threats of reduction and deprivation of those holding such temporal lordships, or the lords of erection, that led to discontent among Scottish landholders. This was exacerbated by an unpopular fiscal policy which introduced heavier taxation, constitutional grievance over the King's

manipulation of parliament, and more particularly, Charles's attempts to introduce the English prayer book and liturgy into Scotland, mainly on the strength of his own prerogative. Indeed, there appeared to be widespread fear, especially in the rise of the anti-Calvinist trend in Arminianism with its taste for more flamboyant ceremonial and the exalted status of bishops, that the King was introducing a decided Romanising tendency into the Scottish Church.[8]

The opening of this period, in July 1637, is marked by the introduction of the new, more 'Romish' liturgy into the Church in Edinburgh, which caused uproar amongst presbyterians. This, in turn, led to the formulation of the National Covenant, signed in Edinburgh on 28 February 1638, which ultimately resulted in the establishment of presbyterianism at the Glasgow Assembly of November and December 1638. Presbyterians, backed by civil authority, turned with renewed vigour upon Catholics, as indeed on any individual who refused the compulsory signing of the Covenant in 1640, which was a pledge to disregard "the novations lately introduced in public worship, the corruptions of the public government of the kirk and the civil power and places of churchmen." Some Scottish episcopalians, including incumbents of a Highland parish and bishopric, fled to Ireland. The Covenant was also signed by many Ulster presbyterians during visits to Scotland, so that in May 1639 Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford and Lord Deputy of Ireland, drew up the Black Oath. This was imposed by proclamation on all Scots in Ulster over sixteen except Roman Catholics, by which the signee abjured the Covenant and promised abjectly to defend and maintain the King's power and authority. The consequent exclusion of the Antrim MacDonnells increased presbyterian bitterness against Wentworth. In 1640 England was invaded by the Covenanters (as also in 1644, 1648 and 1651) and with the outbreak of the native Irish rising in Ulster in 1641, to which Scotland sent an army in the spring of 1642, Covenanting resources were deployed in all three kingdoms. In 1643, largely in recognition of the Royalist threat supported by the Earl of Antrim in Ulster, the alliance with the English parliamentarians was drawn up in the Solemn League and Covenant, by which provision was made for the continuation of the reformed faith in Scotland and for the reformation of religion in England and Ireland. In mid-August 1644, failing to attract any support in England for a new invasion of Scotland, Montrose returned to Scotland in disguise in an attempt to organise a new Scottish Royalist rising, or to join the force which the newly created Marquis of Antrim had sent from Ireland. The Royalist cause was temporarily salvaged by this Irish force brought across two months earlier by Alasdair MacColla MacDonald, but ultimately fell to the Covenanters at Philiphaugh on 13 September 1645.[9] The whole decade was one of political, military, religious and economic change, which was characterised by much personal and community upheaval.

Although they had sought to limit his prerogative powers, many presbyterians both in Ireland and Scotland were, nevertheless, shocked by the execution of Charles I on 30 January 1649.[10] With England under his power, Cromwell set about reducing Ireland. He went to Ireland in 1649 where,

in September and October, he attacked Royalist and rebel forces in Drogheda and Wexford and succeeded in breaking the severest resistance, though fighting continued in Ulster and Connacht for another two years. After the failure of the Royalist cause in Ireland, Charles II took refuge with the Scots, and in 1650 disowned the treaty made by Ormond, the lieutenant general of his army in Ireland, with the Catholic Confederates in January 1649. With the King in Scotland, Cromwell was obliged to send an army there to defend the Commonwealth, and the Scottish army suffered defeat in 1650 at the battle of Dunbar. The Kirk subsequently split into Resolutioners and Protesters, the former Royalists and the latter protesting against those who had taken part in the Engagement of 1647-48,[11] fighting in a righteous war against Cromwell. With the battle of Worcester in 1651 and the defeat of Charles II's forces, Cromwell reigned supreme in all three countries. Since it had been a hindrance to the King's cause, the rift in the Kirk was to result in Charles II's association of all presbyterians with subversiveness, and their exclusion from the formulation of the ecclesiastical settlement at the Restoration.[12]

Existence was still difficult for presbyterians in Ireland in the first few years of Cromwellian rule, because many refused to take the Engagement in 1652, which was a somewhat ironically-styled oath of loyalty (in view of the 1647-48 Engagement) to the Commonwealth. As a result of this and the actions of the council of war against the ministers, many ministers were forced to leave Ireland in 1653, though none seem to have ended up in the Highlands.[13] In Scotland, intelligence of a Royalist conspiracy had come to light by February 1653, and Lilburne, acting commander-in-chief of the English army in Scotland, was initially concerned that links might be formed between Royalists in Ulster and the western Isles, as was the Council of State which ordered boats to patrol the sea between them.[14] A plan was even drawn up, in May 1653, to remove "all the popular Scotts" from Ulster, which included those known for their Royalist and presbyterian sympathies, to areas of Munster. The proclamation gave the following reasons for the prospective removal:

> Whereas the right honourable the commissioners of the commonwealth of England have commissioned us, for the settling and securing of these parts from those disturbances which the council of state did intimate unto them were like to arise here through the designs of the neighbouring highlanders in Scotland, and whereas, many persons here have (to our grief) too much confirmed these fears; in discharge of that trust reposed in us, that the good people here of the English and Scottish nation, who have manifested their good affection towards the present government, might receive all due protection and encouragement; we have thought fit, as the most probable expedient for the peace and settlement of this province, to transplant a certain number of such persons as we judge (by reason of their interest and disaffection) to be therein most dangerous, into the province of Leinster and Munster.

The plan gives a possible indication of the underestimation of the extent of Highland emigration to

Ulster during the plantation due to official unwillingness to recognise Highland settlement through denization. The list of these 260 people reveals some Highland names, notably five Campbells, (three of whom have military designations), a MacClee, a M'Kerger, a Corporal MacCormick and an Ensign Cormick, a MacColpin, three Fergusons, (all with military designations), a Captain Macbride, a Lieutenant MacIlroy, three Donnelsons, two MacDougalls, a M'Clelland, a M'Philip and a M'Ferson, but is predominantly Lowland in flavour. The project, however, did not progress beyond sending some leading members of the presbyterian community to look at the land, largely because of the establishment of the Protectorate in the same year, 1653.[15]

In August 1653 the Royalist flag, tentatively supported by some Resolutioners, was again raised by the Earl of Glencairn who landed in the west Highlands and raised a force of 5000 men mainly from Atholl and Lochaber, but though the force was in existence for a year, with one major success at Dumbarton, it ultimately dispersed in the absence of continental aid.[16] With the religious toleration in the Cromwellian period, the number of presbyterian congregations in Ulster grew from 24 in 1653 to 80 just a few years later. The meetings of Down, Antrim, the Route, Lagan and Tyrone, acting by commission of the presbytery, were, therefore, constituted by 1659 to deal with the expansion.[17] In 1655 the presbyterians in Ireland were assisted by Henry Cromwell's implementation of an arrangement first proposed under his predecessor, Lord Deputy Fleetwood, of paying the ministers' salaries direct from the State. At first, the presbyterian ministers declined, stating that they would rather have their parish tithes, yet the arrangement seems ultimately to have worked well and ushered in a period of growth for presbyterianism in Ulster. One Highlander in southern Ireland accepted a State salary, as also did one in Ulster who appears to have been of Highland origin. When it became clear, on the accession of Richard Cromwell as Protector in 1658, that the monarchy must be re-established, it was, ironically, some Scottish Resolutioner ministers who first communicated the idea to principal noblemen and to George Monck, the commander of the parliamentary army in Scotland. Under Monck's protection, many presbyterians returned to parliament and arranged for the erection of a new parliament in April 1660. They duly renewed the Solemn League and Covenant, and set about deciding the terms on which the King might be restored. James Sharp, later archbishop of St. Andrews, was sent to plead the Resolutioner cause to Charles II at Breda in Holland. However, largely due to the machinations of Monck and the Scottish nobles, Charles II was invited to resume the Crown as a hereditary right, in the absence of constitutional limitation, and it became clear that the Covenant would be discarded. Despite their hand in his restoration, conditions under the King did not prove favourable to presbyterianism.[18]

The new parliament showed itself anti-puritan and the nobility indicated their support for an episcopal church. In Scotland, the Earl of Middleton, fired both by political ambition and a desire to destroy a presbyterian system by which he had been publicly humiliated, effected the restoration

of episcopacy and the erastianism so hated by presbyterians. The Act Rescissory was passed on 28 March 1661, withdrawing all legal guarantees of presbytery, and was closely followed by the 'Act Concerning Religion and Church Government' which placed the decision on the form of church government firmly in the King's hands. Moreover, by a series of statutes passed in the summer of 1662, lay patronage was also revived, the Covenants declared unlawful, and conventicles proscribed. Isolated areas of the Highlands continued to be used as a repository for politically suspect, or substandard and rejected presbyterians.[19] In Ireland the King began nominating to the bishoprics in August 1660. By January 1661 the hierarchy was restored and steps were taken to deal with presbyterianism which was now a powerful force in Ulster.[20] Their separate jurisdictional arrangements, in particular, were felt to be a threat to the state. Thus, in January 1661, meetings of presbytery were forbidden, while the bishops soon took action against the ministers for not being ordained by bishops. Sixty-one ministers were deposed, and only seven conformed. Presbyterians in Scotland once again entered the ranks of non-conformists.[21]

Those Scottish ministers who did not accept the indulgences of 1669 and 1672 which allowed dissenting presybterians to continue in their parishes, fuelled the conventicling movement. A Highland Host from outwith the dissenting area was, therefore, quartered on the disaffected western districts in 1678 as a means of repression, while forces were also alerted in England and Ireland because of an alleged fear that the dissenters would rebel. The rising Covenanting dissent, under a progressively more repressive régime, culminated in the battle of Bothwell Brig where they were routed by the Duke of Monmouth in 1679.[22] In Ireland the ministers were more or less left alone, except when Blood's Plot, a revolutionary attempt, in 1663, by some Cromwellians in the south of Ireland, implicated a couple of presbyterian ministers in Ulster with whom the secret had been shared. The ministers were imprisoned and banished from Ulster, bringing renewed suspicion upon the faith.[23] However, from October 1672 the presbyterians became recipients of a £600 sterling grant from the King, the *Regium Donum* which continued to be paid until 1869. The reason for this can be none other than the State's recognition of the economic and social status held by the presbyterians in Ulster. There was, nonetheless, occasional persecution from the bishops. This was particularly notable in Donegal from 1681 to 1684, where presbyterianism had been long established in communities with a recognised Highland element, and was therefore a threat on two counts.[24] This appears to have resulted in the departure of at least one Highland minister to another charge in Ireland. In Scotland, attitudes changed markedly from 1681, under the direction of the Catholic Duke of York who implemented the Act of Succession and the Test Act in the same year. These not only required acceptance of the royal supremacy but implied the ultimate succession of a Catholic. The ninth Earl of Argyll refused to take the Test, rebelled and was ultimately executed, which may have resulted in the departure of some of his supporters to enrich the presybterian communities in Ulster.[25] With the accession of the Duke as James VII and II, in 1685, and his desire to extend toleration to Catholics, presbyterians were effectively released from persecution in

April 1687. Yet, at the same time, they were as alarmed as the Churches of Scotland and Ireland with regard to the power now being wielded by Catholics. They subsequently gave their full support to James' daughter Mary, and her husband, the Protestant William of Orange, when they were invited to take the thrones of England and Scotland, at the end of 1688 and in the spring of 1689, respectively.[26]

I. THE PRESBYTERIAN SOURCES

Such presbytery and Synod records as exist, relating to Highland and Island areas, begin in the 1630s.[27] Inasmuch as these records are not only relevant to this chapter, but are also used for the later discussion of Protestant links from 1690 to 1760 in Chapter 9, as well as for the ecclesiastical evidence in Chapter 15 on social and demographic trends, it is proposed to examine them altogether, rather than discuss the same sources for the next period. The earliest of the relevant records is for an area on the periphery of the mainland Highlands, the presbytery of Strathbogie, but therefore relevant in terms of likely interaction with Gaelic speakers from neighbouring Highland districts. This presbytery book begins in the year 1631, and deals mainly with areas under Gordon control. Presbytery records of a similar vein, dealing with the area next adjacent to the west, are those of Inverness and Dingwall, published jointly from 1643 to 1688, which give some details of Catholic penetration of a largely Protestant area. Another useful source, indeed the most important for the Highland and Island area as a whole, is the *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, the earliest of whose books begins in 1639 and continues to 1760.[28] This Synod covered a vast area, comprising the shire of Argyll, the western mainland of Inverness as far north as Glenelg, the islands of Arran and Bute, and the whole of the Inner and Outer Hebrides.[29] Further information of a general nature, at an institutional level, has been provided through the published records of the Commission of the General Assembly from 1646 to 1652.[30] The presbytery books of Kintyre, a major source, inasmuch as the presbytery covers an area of the Scottish Highlands closest to Ulster, are extant from a little later, beginning in August 1655 and continuing to 1760.[31] Equally, there is relevant information in the presbytery record of Lorn, in Argyll, whose book starts a few years earlier in 1651 and continues to 1681. There is then a gap in the record, the next book beginning in July 1704 and continuing until the time of the second Jacobite rebellion in 1715. The third book begins after another gap in 1729 and is extant to 1760.[32]

Unfortunately, the record of the presbytery of Mull, also on the northern boundary, begins only in 1729, after the most fruitful period for the transfer of Scottish presbyterian Gaels to Ulster, but it includes a few interesting references to the inroads made by Catholicism into the bounds of the presbytery.[33] By the same token, the lower border of Argyll is covered by the record of the presbytery of Dunoon, the first book of which begins in 1639 and continues without gaps to

1760.[34] As for the seaboard boundary, two session books from Bute, those of Kingarth, from 1641 to 1703, and Rothesay, running from 1658 to 1750 with two gaps, include much useful social information in relation to Ireland, but only a few references of religious significance. Another record from the seaboard boundary, which supplements the information provided in the Synod and presbytery of Kintyre records, is the kirk session record of Kilmory in Arran. Although only extant from 1718, the particularised nature of the references to Ireland indicate that there was still a good deal of activity between it and Arran.[35] The record of the presbytery of Inveraray provides information on the final landward boundary of Argyll. It survives from the restoration of presbyterianism at the Revolution, the first volume beginning in 1691 and running to 1702. There is then a gap in the record, the next volume covering the period from April 1715 to November 1744 and the third continuing to 1760.[36] These records, thus, provide fairly comprehensive information for that part of the Argyll coast closest to Ulster, from which the majority of presbyterian stalwarts left to support their sister communities in Ireland. Moreover, '...the Presbyteries of Inveraray, Cowal (later Dunoon) and Kintyre ... from their central position, had a natural dominating influence in the Synod.'[37]

As for Ireland, although the majority of the early presbytery records have disappeared in the various military and civil upheavals throughout the centuries, some copies of a few extant manuscripts were made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which have preserved the little that remained for posterity. Fortunately, given the extent of Scottish migration there, the earliest surviving presbytery or 'Meeting' copy record is for Antrim from 1654 to 1658. Minutes of the same meeting also exist from 1671 to 1691.[38] So too, copy records exist for the presbytery of Lagan, which comprised Counties Londonderry and Donegal, from 1672 to 1695, where the earliest 'prescopalian' ministers settled under Knox, who implemented a vigorous vernacular drive, and were responsible for introducing the Scottish presbyterian ethic into Ulster.[39] Here it is interesting to note that Gaelic-speaking Highlanders were still being introduced, as in the early decades of the century, to minister to the native Irish. Another copy manuscript of the records of the Route presbytery survives from the period 1701 to 1705.[40] While it could be expected, in view of the numbers of Highlanders who are known to have gone to the Route, that there might be some very interesting material in this, it must be said (as indeed the modern transcriber noted in the margin) that there is very little social material in it, but the minutes instead concern themselves with the minutiae of administration and the role of the ministers. However, only a very small period is covered by this particular volume. Nonetheless, it must been noted, in general, that the Irish records contain much less social material. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Irish congregations and presbyteries were more concerned with fighting for their very survival as non-conformists, and in inducing ministers to come and settle in their midst, than in a detailed record of the flight of fugitives from justice or any general social movement.

The type of information contained in the Scottish records particularly, (with the occasional, corroborative glimpse being given in the Irish records) spans most aspects of seventeenth and eighteenth society, reflecting all the minor social problems and elements, from aspects of the 1640s Irish civil war and the Jacobite rebellions, to information on the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The information included in this chapter has, thus, been limited specifically to religious contacts of clergy and laymen, because the wealth of social material from the religious records constitutes, in itself, enough material for the foundation of a specific chapter on social contacts.[41]

Particularly notable in the study of religion in the Highlands was the tendency of the hereditary Gaelic learned families, in their gradual demise during the early seventeenth century, to concentrate their learned energies in the clerical area. Hereditary ecclesiastical families during this period included the MacQueens in Skye, the MacLachlans of Kilbride and the MacCalmans in Lorn, the Omeys of Kintyre and Lorn, the Martins or MacMartins and the MacArthurs, both from Skye, most of whom are on record from the fifteenth century. It could also be said that the Beatons of Skye, latterly a medical family, were also transferring to and infiltrating the Kirk by this period. By the mid-seventeenth century the MacLachlans had a particularly good representation, with six ministers in Argyll, and elders in a similar number of congregations. However, in terms of inter-relations between Irish and Scottish Gaels, the family about whom most evidence survives is the MacCalmans of Lorn.[42]

II. THE IRISH IN SCOTLAND

A. Aspects related to the civil war of the 1640s

The civil war in Ireland had quite a significant effect on the southern Highlands, particularly Argyll. There were substantial military levies from the lay peoples of Argyll, as well as the removal of numbers of their ministers to act as chaplains to these forces. This extra burden on a Kirk which was still struggling to fill its own vacancies, only goes to show the importance of the success of the Covenanting forces both to the Kirk and to the house of Argyll. The fear of a Royalist invasion from Ireland had been very real in Argyll as early as the summer of 1638, when Lord Lorne had called a meeting of the barons and gentlemen of the shire, on 2 August, to arrange for musters and wapinshaws. A Campbell dominated committee of defence emerged. Ultimately, both the King's encouragement of Antrim's plans for a Royalist alliance in the western Highlands and the death of Archibald Campbell, seventh Earl of Argyll, in the autumn of 1638 resulted in Lorne, now the eighth Earl of Argyll, declaring for the Covenanters against his clan's traditional enemies. He continued to fortify his defences, buying a fully armed frigate and others weapons in the Netherlands, to the same end.[43] Equally, the Royalists in Ireland feared a Covenanting invasion

from Scotland. Thus, in 1639, the Irish Lord Deputy, the Earl of Strafford, disarmed the Scots as well as the puritans in general, by forbidding them to keep powder or arms in their houses, except what was permitted them from the King's stores in Dublin. In 1640 he considered the extreme action of banishing all Scots from Ulster. He planned, at the reassembly of parliament, to recommend the transportation of all Scots in case they joined with the Covenanters in Scotland or lest Argyll invade Ireland, put himself at the head of the presbyterians there, and organise an insurrection - "and God forbid they should tarry there till the Earl of Argyle brings them armies to cut our throats, to our apparent disturbance, if not certain ruin."[44]

In the event, neither side's fears were to prove groundless. Moreover, the records amply show the extent to which traditional MacDonald/Campbell antagonism was a factor in the devastation wrought by Alasdair MacColla's Irish and Highland contingents on the lands of Argyll between 1644 and 1647. Justified Protestant apprehension of military reprisal is illustrated in Argyll by a Remonstrance "concerning the oppressed people of Argyle to be presented to the Committee of Estates," minuted on 22 September 1646. After referring to the presence of Irish priests and friars in the Isles, it recorded that:

> we do easily believe that quhen they (the Romish party) have seen their hopes cut off amongst the more understanding that they have thought best to dryve their designe in these places quhair there is les knowledge and zeale, and from thence by their means to propagat it southward, untill they have made a prey of us quhom they have long hunted for.[45]

Solidarity was also sought from the Ulster presbytery, as evidenced in a letter to the brethren in Ireland from the Commission of the General Assembly, acquainting them with the proceedings for August and September 1647:

> We also exhort yow, dear brethren, to keip good correspondence with the army there, sieing they are scarse of ministers to attend them. Wherever they have any randevouse, or wher officers meitt for publick consultations, it wer fitt some of your number be present to blesse their meitings, consultations, and proceidings.[46]

Within Scotland itself, back-up missionary action seems to have been taken within those areas thought likely to be sympathetic to the native Irish. Thus, at the meeting of the Synod of Argyll which began on 26 May 1642, Mr. Alan Clerk was "injoyned to serve in preacheing and celebrating the sacraments and especially in catechising in Knudort," there having been no previous mention of missionary work in that area from the beginning of the record in 1639. In the following year, Mr. Neill Cameron spent the "summer season in preaching to the men of Lochabber."[47] However, here it must also be said that there were some presbyterian ministers who were more naturally inclined

to the Royalist cause. Indeed, there seems little doubt that those ministers who administered to Gaelic-speaking congregations were, in general, both more sympathetic to the Royalist cause, and alternatively likely to receive a more generous attitude from the 'rebels.'[48]

Moral support was also exhorted from the well-affected who remained at home. Given that obstacles and general social difficulties were definitely regarded by the presbyterians as signals of the wrath of God, the records therefore make frequent mention of fasts to atone for their misdeeds and for the related success of their cause in Ireland. In May 1644 the Synod of Argyll

> ordained that throw this whole province shall be keept a publict humiliation and fast for the procureing of Gods blessing and assistance as to all our armies abroad both in England and Ireland, so for a good and happy success to my Lord Marquesse of Argyll in this his expedition against those who made insurrection in the north pairts of his kingdome.[49]

It has been seen as significant that the army presbytery in Ulster did not authorise any fasts between 1645 and 1648, nor did any other body do so on its behalf. Given that the army there was not blessed with overwhelming success, this seems somewhat strange. It has resulted in the conclusion that 'the ministers, who were responsible for setting fast, saw Ireland as peripheral to the concerns of the Covenanters.'[50] However, while the immediacy of invasion from Ireland was not as great then as it had seemed at the time of the Bishop's Wars, or even in January 1642, when the Covenanters learned that two sons of Colla Ciotach and many of the Antrim MacDonnells had joined in the Ulster rising, it could scarcely be implied, with the continuation of Royalist resistance under MacColla until the summer of 1647, that they viewed Ireland as a backwater.[51]

B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland

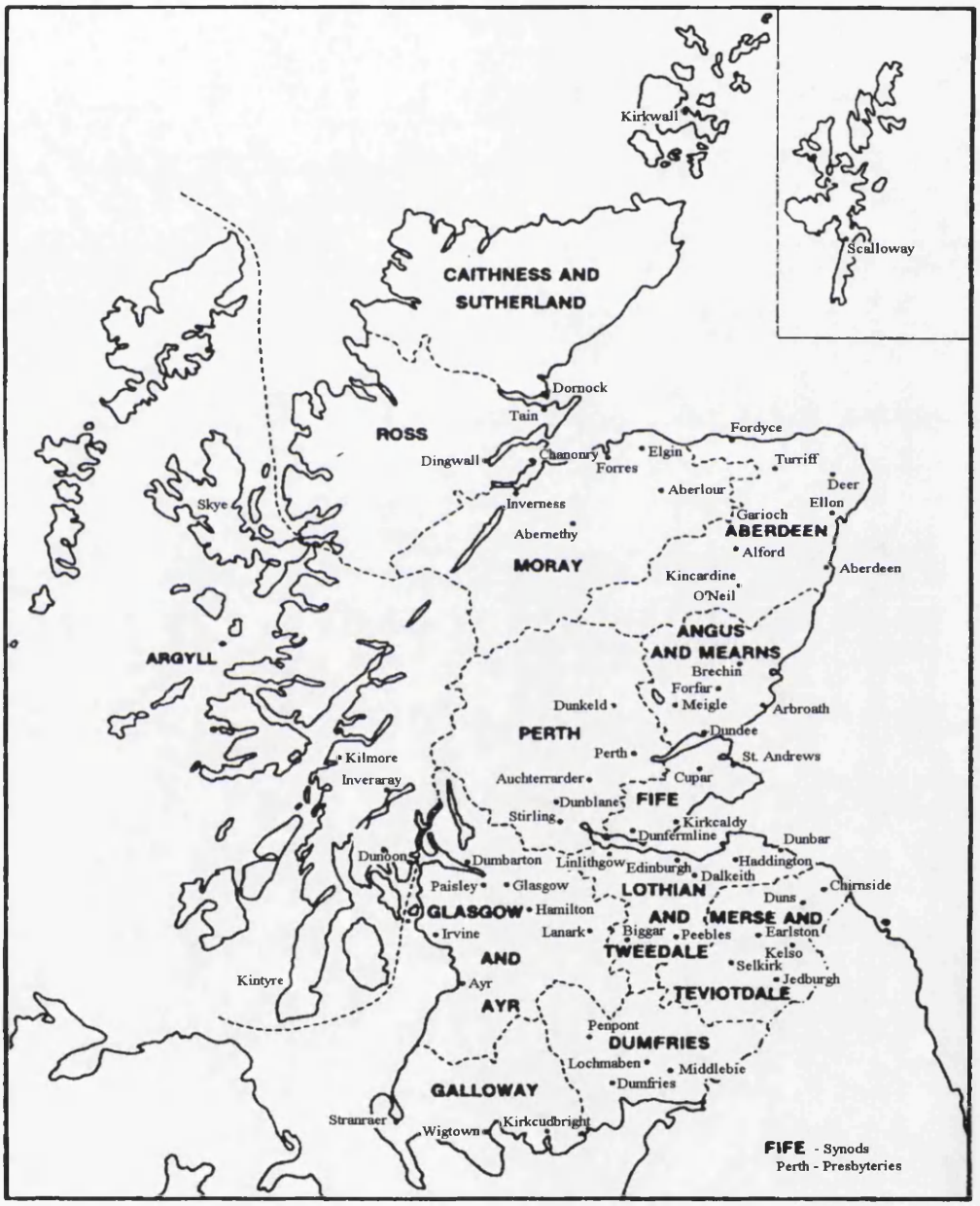
There are several instances, in the Scottish records, of Gaelic ministers who exhibited an obvious cultural, even political, affinity for the native Irish and Royalist cause during the civil war.[52] Their very existence is important in that it shows that it was not just Catholic priests who ministered to the Irish and Gaelic-speaking Royalist populations. It also raises the point that there may have been people of unsure religious affiliation who simply required spiritual succour of some description, or more clearly, that there were numbers of Gaelic-speaking nominal presbyterians in the Montrose army who were less interested in the vagaries of religion than in the maintenance and acquisition of territory and power, in politics, and in a common cultural affiliation. This takes on greater significance when considering that the army actually travelled with its own Irish Catholic priests, and also acquired the services of some Jesuits already on the north-east mission in Scotland.[53] Clearly then, Protestant ministers were specifically called for. Certainly, the Synod of Argyll addressed itself in 1646 to the excommunication of various Islesmen who had aligned "themselves

in actuall rebellion with these cruell, insolent and barbarous enemies of this Kirk and Kingdom under the command of these bluidy and excommunicat traitors James Graham and Alexander McDonald."[54] (For the extent of the Synod's jurisdiction and location of the few presbyteries operating there in the 1640s, see fig. 7.1, Synods and presbyteries in the 1640s.)

About half of the culturally sympathetic ministers seem to have come from those areas reclaimed for Catholicism by the first Franciscan mission, the rest came from Sutherland and Caithness. Thus, the minister of Ardnamurchan and Eilean Finnan, Duncan MacCalman, was deposed in 1644 for complicity with Alasdair MacColla and subsequently was excommunicated on 1 May 1650, though this sentence was rescinded after 10 July 1672 and he was restored to the parish.[55] However, the length of the period of excommunication in comparison with others who had their sentences rescinded within the same decade, is indicative of the suspicion under which he was held. Here, the way in which he conducted himself in his early ministry gives a clue to his subsequent behaviour. He initially ingratiated himself with the surrounding people, none of whom came to his kirk when he first arrived, by joining in with a crowd who had congregated at the end of the church to "putt the stane." Thus, he used his athletic build to appeal to traditional Celtic esteem for the strong man, soon gaining their respect and ultimately filling his church.[56] His attitude was one of accommodation and cultural integration.

The details of MacCalman's case are recorded in the presbyterian record as follows. In May 1650 the presbytery of Lorn drew the Synod's attention to a "Mr Duncan mc Calman, sometyme minister of Ardinmurchan" who had also been excommunicated "for complyance with and preacheing to the rebells" when Alasdair MacColla landed from Ireland in July 1644. The fact that this ecclesiastical sanction mattered little to the people among whom he ministered is attested to, in that he continued "dayly in the barbarouse and remote highlands [to] baptize children and mary pairties comeing to him for that effect."[57] As in the majority of cases where the Synod was simply unable to do anything to inhibit behaviour, it appealed to the Marquess of Argyll to apprehend and punish him, declaring in the passing, that any services performed by MacCalman were to be regarded as invalid, and that those knowingly resorting to him were to also be excommunicated. Whether or not Argyll stayed his hand deliberately, as the introduction to the Synod minutes suggests, or whether he simply did not consider the man of much import, MacCalman remained on the run. Indeed, the Synod's somewhat puerile insistence that all services performed by him were to be declared invalid, only served to lay up difficulties for themselves. For, some couples who had been married by MacCalman and since repented the action, now saw a perfectly legal redress for their mistake.[58] Consequently, the Synod had to send visiting ministers to the areas where MacCalman had ministered, in order to remedy the situation by ratifying marriages. Having carried out their duty and responsibility they then minuted their abhorrence of MacCalman and of "his scandalous cariage as being a drunkard and runagat excommunicat non-minister," and subsequently called on the civil

Fig. 7.1
SYNODS AND PRESBYTERIES IN THE 1640S



Reproduced from David Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland 1644-1651*, (London, 1977), p. 260.

authorities to deal with him.[59]

It must be wondered whether MacCalman's main crime was not simply the exercising of "ministeriall dewties in Lochabour, Ardgour, Shunart and Ardnamurchy, and in thes places where the word is not preached." The minutes reveal nothing to indicate that he had visited the Irish army in any other capacity than that of ministering to people in need of spiritual succour. Certainly, in May 1656, in a minute concerning the advances of the Vincentian priests, which stated that the chief men were trying to recover those "perverted" by them, MacCalman was classed along with adherents to Catholicism: "As also because there are in the Iles severall excommunicat persones, such as Captans Clanrannald elder and younger, and Mr Duncane mc Calman with divers others."[60] In the same year, MacCalman's ministerial duties were apparently so constrained by his excommunication that he supplicated to be relaxed "from that fearfull sentence," which hardly attests to Catholic sympathies on his part. By way of redress, and doubtless to engineer his future obedience to their authority on such matters, it was ordained that:

> he goe and repaire to the severall ministers of Argyll and Lorn who are to confer with him and bring him to farther lenth of his sence of his horrid guiltenes and sins and to bring along with him ane testimoniall from one minister to another of his cariage and obedience, and to have all thes to be presented to the next synod be himself.[61]

That he had the humility to accomplish this, and that the ministers were willing to write these letters, is indicative both of his worthiness and/or their shared cultural sympathies. Moreover, that MacCalman should have tested his steadfastness to the cause over more than twenty years of trial, is surely proof enough that he inherently considered himself a Calvinist, though not necessarily a presbyterian, but one who was able to tolerate the traditional values of Gaelic society. Ultimately, it is the arrogance of the Synod which is the least attractive.

Others deposed for complicity with the rebels include John Darroch, admitted to the parish of Jura or Kilearnadail in 1635, and who was minister there at the erection of the Synod of Argyll on 24 April 1639. He was later deposed on 1 September 1646 "for preaching to and gross compliance with the rebels." Archibald MacAllister, the minister of Kilchoman in Islay, was suspended on 11 October 1648 for having conversed with the Royalists. It was stated in his favour that since he was on an island distant from the mainland that "he was evidently surprised by the enemies coming, and was forced to converse with them" and "that his whole congregation turned rebels." He remained in Islay for the duration of the rebellion other than two spells when he was away. He confessed in the following year, 1649, to having had contact with the rebels and also informed that an attempt had been made by the Campbells to regain Islay when Matthew Campbell, Captain of Skipness, had come there from Ireland. This attempt can probably be dated to April and May of 1646, but it

failed when MacDonald of Clanranald landed and drove the Campbells out.[62] Farquhar Fraser, minister of Tiree (which comprised the three parishes of Kirkapool, Sorobie and Coll), was also debarred from his charge and stipend for becoming a preacher in Sir Lachlan MacLean's regiment under Montrose in 1645. This had resulted in his being plundered by Campbell of Ardnamurchan.[63]

The Argyll Synod, sitting from 11 October 1648, recorded the confession of Mr. Martin MacIlvory, who was guilty of providing services to MacLean of Duart's regiment, probably because of connections made during his previous incumbencies in Mull. He had generally administered, from 1626, in Gaelic-speaking areas such as Tiree and Coll, Killean or Torosay, and Kilfinichen, both in Mull, and is finally known to have transferred to Iona in November 1643. He retraced events from three years previously, confessing that when Sir Lachlan MacLean had decided to join Montrose and MacColla, and had raised all his men in arms to march to Lochaber to meet Montrose, in April 1645, that he "went along with the people, being threatened to go by Sir Lachlan." The Synod added very wryly, and probably with no small degree of justification - "as he alleadges!" He was obviously excommunicated at the time for this action, but this did not curb his ministrations, for he further confessed "that he preached and prayed to Sir Lachlan two severall tymes after he was excommunicat, once in Icollumkill and Rodill in the north yles." He pleaded that he was subject to further compulsion by Sir Lachlan, in being forced to come out of Mull to attend to the rebel army when MacColla was in Kilmore in Lorn, in December 1645. On this occasion, he "remained three nights with them and took Alister be the hand." He was then asked a very pertinent question, that is, "how it cam to passe that mc Claines and their men, being all on the course of the rebellion against the Covenant, religion and the kingdome, did suffer this deponent peaceably to dwell at home and possesse his goods and lands, whillas they burnt and destroyed their neighbour ministers of that presbyterie and province?" The answer came, somewhat naively, "that it was God's good providence and the love they had to have the gospell continued within their bounds."[64]

In the summer of 1647 MacIlvory was still ministering to Sir Lachlan with whom he went to the north isles, "being long before excommunicat, and did eat and drink and said grace to him for the space of fifteine dayes." He was clearly in the close confidence of the Royalist forces for he confessed to seeing the "Earle of Antrom and Alister mc Donald at Dowart after their return from yland Tirim and conversed with them." In the light of such evidence, MacIlvory's pleas that he did all these actions under compulsion pulled little weight, and he was deposed from his office and benefice, on 11 November 1648, for complying with the rebels.[65] However, he cannot have been a subject for heinous concern since this sentence was reponed by the General Assembly in August 1649. Nonetheless, he was kept outwith the true presbyterian pale, returning in 1650 as minister for Ardnamurchan, which was an unpopular marginal parish.[66] Cases such as these are interesting for the light they throw on the sometimes irreconcilable marriage of religious, political and cultural

stances in this period. MacIlvory and such as he, may indeed have been committed Calvinists, but it was regarded as untenable by the presbyterian government establishment that they could also associate with their traditionalist Gaelic countrymen, because that was automatically equated with Royalism rather than an exercise in presbyterian evangelism.

Yet another cultural collaborator, who can be specifically identified with particular rebels, is the ministerial agent of the Earl of Seaforth, Mr. Murdo MacKenzie. A postscript to a letter to the General Assembly from the Synod of Argyll, on 21 September 1646, stated that:

> We ar certanly informed from the rebellis quarters, by diverse reports and letters, that there is one Mr. Murdoch M'Keinyie hes latlie come towards Antrum from the North, and, as is reported, is negotiating with him and Alester M'Donald in name of the Earle of Seafort.

There is no evidence within this that MacKenzie is a minister, but a reference elsewhere in the same record refers to the deposition of "Mr. Murdo M'Kenyie, minister at Suddie and Mr. Coline M'Kenyie, minister at Contoun [Contin]," in the presbyteries of Chanonry and Dingwall in Ross, for fraternising with the rebels.[67] The postscript further indicated that the Synod had received a letter:

> shewing that the rebellis were to remove, if not already removed, towards Ila, quhair ther is a great feast prepared for them, and thence intends for Ardnimurchan; quhairas they make the people that ar joyned with them persuaded that Seafort, M'Laine, Captane of Clan Ronald, and Sir James M'Donald ar to meit them.

The Synod singled out MacKenzie for the crime of cajoling: "...and Mr. Murdoch M'Keinyies being with them does confirme the people the more to believe the same, so that many that wer of purpose to come off ar resolved to adhere to them."[68]

Another minister, Ewen Cameron, of Dunoon parish, is an example of the preferential treatment received by some Gaelic-speaking ministers at the hands of the Royalists. This minister, who was later, in 1649, to be one of translators of the "Shorter Catechism" and "A Brief Sum of Christian Doctrine" into Gaelic, had a promise of protection from Montrose, dated 20 August 1645. He was compelled to leave his parish during the rebellion, "having neither congregation or maintenance," though he returned there in October 1648.[69]

Supreme among the collaborators of this period was Ranald MacDonald who, according to the Catholic evidence, was the ex-minister of South Uist.[70] He is first mentioned in the presbyterian records at the provincial Synod of Argyll held in May 1643. The minute records that "Ronald

mcRonald, priest," had been apprehended at the hands of the Marquess of Argyll and brought, at its request, to the General Assembly in Edinburgh. It is noteworthy that the Assembly had found him "so grossly ignorant that they cannot accept of any acknowledgment and confession from him untill he be bettir informed, And therefore does ordaine him to study diligently to understand the errors of his bygone profession." It is, therefore, to be wondered what level of Calvinist knowledge he had attained prior to his 'conversion' by the Franciscans, or was the Synod simply referring to the error of his current Catholic conviction? The Marquess of Argyll, himself, stood caution for his next appearance at the Synod of Argyll, at which "...he was fund not to be strongly grounded in his profession, neither very able to cleare himselfe to the satisfaction of others that he was resolved of his doubts as he alleadged."[71] Most indicative of his character, perhaps, is the statement that the brethren appointed to talk with and assess him said that:

> Neither did they perceive that ever he had any considerable measure of knowledge or affection to the religion he professed formerly, but that the weightiest principle that did allure him from the beginning to the renunceing of his own religion, and embraceing of popery, was the want of maintenance, being out of this countrey and the Colledge of Douai offering him free sustentation, and now he was come to a compunction of heart for that that principall should have prevailed so strongly with him....[72]

MacDonald was clearly an outright opportunist.

That he received sustenance from the Scots College at Douai, according to the Protestant record, is worthy of note, for the Catholic record indicates that MacDonald was refused a place there.[73] Even according to the Catholic record he does not appear to have been as active, or as in demand, as the Irish missionaries. Ward wrote in 1637 that many of the Catholics had to go without confession until he visited them, because they had no priest of their own except Ranald MacDonald. MacDonald was said sometimes to visit the islanders to strengthen them in the faith, 'and now and again administers the sacraments to them in secret.' However, he was greatly constrained by his poverty and 'the islanders are so poor that they cannot support MacDonald as well as the non-catholic minister, to whom they are compelled to pay tithes.' Indeed, surprisingly little seems to have come of 'the patrimony of a well-born relative,' that is, MacDonald of Clanranald, which he was supposed to enjoy after his ordination.[74] Although it might be argued that Ward may have stressed MacDonald's poverty in order to get more money for the mission, MacDonald's subsequent re-conversion to Protestantism, for the second time, does not necessarily support this interpretation.

At the same Argyll Synod, in 1643, it was ordained that a third part of the rent of the kirk at Snizort in Skye was to be given to MacDonald. However, MacDonald was clearly sympathetic to the Royalist cause in the civil war, and by the Synod of 1 May 1650, he had once again changed his

allegiance. Indeed, MacDonald may have reverted to Catholicism through contact with the chaplains accompanying Montrose's troops, or the Synod may simply have regarded his political position to be so untenable that it considered itself unable to support him.[75] The Assembly ordained "Ranald mc Ranald, who hes diverse tymes before jugled in his religion and profession, and now since the late rebellion is become apostate and a preist, to be sumarily excommunicat be the presbyterie of Sky." Later, in the same Synod, a summary was made of his fickle career. Not only had he previously renounced papacy, but had even subscribed to the Covenant! The wording of the minute intimates that he was in some way actively involved in the civil war, "being also in the late rebellion," perhaps only in a ministerial capacity, but considering his singular character, very possibly bearing arms. Yet, like many dispossessed ministers he continued his spiritual administrations, albeit next under a Catholic guise, and notwithstanding the excommunication was "still laboureing to pervert poore ignorant people in the pairts where he hants in the yle of Uist and other pairts of the farre yles to the dishonour of God and ruine of poore soules."[76]

C. Irish ministers in Scotland from the civil war to the Restoration

It was not only Irish priests who came to Scotland, there being some evidence of a movement, though only partially expedited, of Irish-speaking ministers to Scotland. With the large degree of social upheaval and reorganisation which occurred during the Irish civil war, ministers found themselves having to find new parishes, as both they and their parishioners were compelled to flee. On 20 August 1646 the Commissioners of the General Assembly dealt with a question from the Synod of Moray, which had jurisdiction over a significant Highland area. It obediently requested guidance regarding the influx of ministers from Ireland, asking: "What sall be done with ministers coming from Ireland, who having the testimoniall of tuo ministers coming from thence at the same time, that they were actuall ministers ther and forced to flie, in regaird of the persecutione, that they could bring no further testimoniall with them." They asked whether they should consider them to be expectants or actual ministers. The Assembly wisely advocated caution, in recognition of those who might use the upheaval to seek gratuitous employment, ruling that: "The Presbitrie may admitt such to preach as expectants, and therafter according to the order of the Kirk upon lawfull calling and due tryell they may be admitted actually to the ministrie."[77] There is no indication as to whether those who came were Gaelic-speaking, but if they chose to make the more awkward journey to the north-east rather than the geographically proximate Ayrshire, it is perhaps likely that at least some of them were.[78]

Conversely, in October 1649, the Synod of Argyll was "considereing the pitifull condition of thir bounds for want of ministers" and had extended a search abroad for those with the Irish language. The list of six ministers and expectants which they came up with included "Mr Jeremie O Queine" (or O'Queen, Aquin, O'Cronie, O'Quin, O'Cahan and Ognitie), the Irish presbyterian minister of

Billy.[79] He is the more noteworthy because his conduct was brought before the Commission of the General Assembly, on 1 June 1649, by the presbytery of Carrickfergus, because of his republican, that is, Cromwellian, sympathies.

O'Quin was a Gaelic-speaking, native Irishman who had graduated in Glasgow in 1644.[80] Having studied at Glasgow, he was continuing a tradition established by several Protestant ministers in the first decade of the seventeenth century, particularly those with presbyterian tendencies, at the time of George Montgomery's survey of the bishoprics of Derry and Raphoe.[81] He is of further note as a convert from Roman Catholicism and as being 'one of the first-fruits of Irish Presbyterianism.' He appears to have been brought up at Templepatrick in Antrim as the protégé of Mr. Upton of Castle Upton. On 31 October 1646 O'Quin was still an expectant when it was recorded that he attended the ordination of Anthony Kennedy to the parish of Templepatrick, although he was, by that time, already preaching in Billy. It was probably late in 1646 or early in 1647 that O'Quin was ordained to his charge.[82] Just a few years later, he was sufficiently well-established to be known in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands.[83]

Regarding its search for Gaelic-speaking ministers, the Synod of Argyll stipulated in October 1649 that all the ministers and expectants were to be written to and "invited to this province," but O'Quin was singled out for a special mention - "in particular that Mr Jeremie O Queen may be pleased to answer the call of Inneraray."[84] That he was being offered the prize of Inveraray is not only a testament to his bilingualism, but also reveals that the Synod cannot have felt his views to be overly threatening. O'Quin would undoubtedly have been known to many of the ministers who had accompanied the Argyll companies to Ireland, and it would appear from this request that the members of the Synod, at least, were far more interested in his ability to speak Irish than in his political affiliations, and certainly less so than the presbytery of Carrickfergus. Indeed, knowing that Mr. O'Quin was unpopular with his presbytery probably encouraged them. In any case, the puritan sectarianism of the Cromwellians was marginally more acceptable than Roman Catholicism or Royalism, and O'Quin was nominally a presbyterian.

The General Assembly of June 1649 received letters in May from the Carrickfergus presbytery, from O'Quin and from a Mr. James Ker, who was minister of Ballymoney and a graduate of Edinburgh University.[85] The presbytery had seen fit to send a representative, Mr. Thomas Hall, to Scotland which serves to underline the dependent and symbiotic relationship of the Irish presbyterians to the Scottish Kirk.[86] The letter from the offending minister and his colleague, Ker, was recorded by the General Assembly on 5 May 1649, in a minute in which they plainly related the cause of the presbytery's displeasure to their failure to read a representation from the presbytery "because of severall objections, which we had against severall things therein contained." The things objected to were the condemnation of the excesses of the English army, the 'purging' of the

House of Commons, and the 'judicial murder' of the King.[87] The Assembly upheld the Ulster presbytery's censure, but declared that on their submission, the ministers were to be permitted to continue their ministry. It called attention to the minister's political responsibility, however, by urging them to pray in order that they "be enabled to discerne the times," so that "as faithfull watchmen, yee may give warning of all dangers."[88] Although both O'Quin and Ker had been suspended by the Carrickfergus presbytery, there is no evidence to suggest that O'Quin ever took up the position at Inveraray.[89]

Just as on occasion Scottish presbyterian ministers found it easier to exercise their ministry in Ireland, or were fleeing from some difficult personal or administrative problem, in the same way, there was some traffic in the other direction. On 5 May 1658, the presbytery of Kintyre:

> being crediblie informed that Mr Adam Ritchie was deposed at leist suspended by the presbitrie quhairin he lived in Irland, from exercing the ministeriall function, and that because of his scandalous cariage of tipling drinking & otherwayes, and sieing that now constantlie he resideth within yla exercing all the pairts of the ministeriall calling The presbrie therfor appoynteth that the said Mr Adam Ritchie be suspended fra the exercise of the ministrie in yla or any other pairt within their bounds, ay and quhill [until] he bring a sufficient testimoniall.[90]

The name Ritchie is, in some cases, a curtailment of MacRitchie as is probable here, and though it is a common border name, it is also a Highland border name particularly associated with Perthshire.[91] Ritchie's main reason for choosing Islay was its probable appeal as a relative social backwater, where anyone prepared to administer to an island with a large, traditionally-inclined, Gaelic-speaking population, might be welcomed. As it has been more graphically put in relation to the Established Church's position in 1690 'the Highland area in general was for the presbyterians something of a *damnosa hereditas.*'[92] Though the Kirk was back in presbyterian hands at this time, there is little to show that this had been any less the view of the episcopalians. Indeed, the introduction of low-calibre Gaelic ministers during the episcopal period may have paved the way for the Highland region's emergence as a presbyterian dumping ground both for the Restoration and post-Revolution churches. It is, however, unlikely that Ritchie would have been tolerated in Islay without the Gaelic language.[93] Finally, it should be noted that there is no evidence to suggest that there were any further incursions into the Highlands of Irish Protestant ministers who had been displaced from Ulster, during the Restoration period. Conversely, there was notable movement to Ireland by Highland ministers both during and after the civil war.

III. HIGHLAND MINISTERS IN IRELAND

A. Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism

With the establishment of a presbyterian régime in Scotland at the end of 1638 and the implementation of the Covenant, the question arises of what happened to those episcopal clerics who did not conform. At least eight fled to the sanctuary of the episcopal Church of Ireland.[94] It was almost inevitable that John Maxwell, as a presentee of Charles I to the bishopric of Ross in 1633, and a close friend of Archbishop Laud, should be forced to flee to England for protection from the King in March 1639. He did not return to Scotland and was deposed, excommunicated, and indicted for treason before parliament. The King, however, promoted him to the bishopric of Killala and Achenry in Connacht, in Ireland, on 12 October 1640. Having escaped the Covenanters, providence ultimately caught up with Maxwell when he was attacked by Catholics during the rebellion in 1641, and was left for dead. He recovered and was later appointed archbishop of the adjacent, southerly bishopric of Tuam, also in Connacht, in August 1645, in which capacity he remained until his death in Dublin, in February 1647. So too, John MacKenzie, minister of Urray and Tarradale in the recently raised presbytery of Dingwall in Ross, was deposed for opposition to the Covenant in 1639. He also fled first to England, but transferred to Ireland from which he fled at the civil war. He was ultimately reponed by the Synod of Ross in April 1643 and became minister in the parish of Suddie in 1644.[95] Yet, if the effect of ousted Highland clergy was minimal in the Church of Ireland, the impact of Highland clergy on the growth of presbyterianism in Ulster was more significant.

B. Presbyterian ministers during the Irish campaign, 1642-1648

The revitalisation, if not the re-establishment, of presbyterianism in Ulster must be firmly laid at the Covenanting army's door. It was under their auspices, in 1642, that the "General Eldership" or "Common Ecclesiastic-Judicatory," that is, the first (albeit army) presbytery was established in Carrickfergus, County Antrim, which was subject to the jurisdiction of the Scottish General Assembly. For though at least sixteen crypto-presbyterian or 'prescopalian' ministers, who had conformed, remained in Ulster at the beginning of the rising, they had all come to Scotland by the Spring of 1642. The army played a vital role protecting presbyterianism, though it exacted heavy tolls in quartering. The army created a safe zone for the ministers to work in by pressing the Irish into isolated garrisons at a distance from previous presbyterian parishes in Antrim and Down, and by quartering outwith those counties. Moreover, the administering of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1644, and the apparent repentance of many episcopal ministers, as well as those who had taken the Black Oath in 1639, brought new enthusiasm to the cause, resulting in an extension of jurisdiction. In 1645, presbyterian authority was given official sanction when the English

parliamentary Commissioners allowed the presbyterian clergy the tithes of their parishes, and also gave the Carrickfergus army presbytery jurisdiction over all Ulster, including civilians (that is, basically settlers) in Antrim and Down. Indeed, the success of Scots clergy, significant among whom in Ulster were Argyll ministers, in using the army presbytery to establish and expand presbyterianism from 1642 to 1649 'is unique in the annals of early modern Europe.'[96]

Nevertheless, there was still a problem in obtaining ministers for Ulster, so much so that in 1642, after the departure of the presbyterian ministers to Ireland, the Scottish General Assembly instituted the appointment of itinerant supply ministers in three groups of two.[97] There were regular requests, either to the Synod of Argyll or the General Assembly. In August 1646, the Commissioners of the General Assembly, after considering "the petitioners from Irland for certaine brethren to repair ther for exercising ministeriall duties in a settled charge of the ministrie in some congregations of that kingdome," replied as they had done in 1642, that "in regaird of the present conditione of this Kirk, they cannot at this time advyse any to embrace a settled constant charge ther."[98] Once again, it ordained that two ministers were to visit there for three months each. Fortunately, by 1648, there were sufficient resident prebyterian ministers in Ulster.[99]

During the First and Second Bishops' Wars, in 1639 and 1640, chaplains frequently came from the same geographical area as their regiments. Thus, when the Earl of Argyll raised between 800 and 900 men, in 1639, to counter the feared invasion from Ireland, the presbytery of Inveraray provided fifteen ministers, and in 1640, the threat continuing, it provided five. By the same token it also played a prominent role in staffing the Ulster chaplaincy from 1642, where it appointed over a third of the known ministers who went there, sending eighteen ministers to Ireland. Given the number of Gaelic-speaking troops who went to Ulster in the Argyll regiments, it was a necessity, apart from political expediency, that there were Gaelic-speaking ministers to attend them. Conversely, the presbyterian presence in Ireland resulted in fear, unrest and hatred among the Irish, in 1641, of "the Scottismens frequent brags in the North, that General Leslie wold come over ere long, and make a general reformation," which fuelled reprisals against presbyterians in the ensuing civil war. The Synod also, perhaps, hoped that there would be opportunities to minister to Highland settlers or even to convert Irish Gaels to presbyterianism. The locality could exert its influence either through the pressure of patronage or fear of the church courts. There was also considerable financial incentive for regimental service since remuneration was paid in addition to that for the parochial charge, besides which many also had a strong ideological commitment to presbyterianism.[100] Though a tour of duty as chaplain was set at three months, in practice, a tour of duty in Ulster often lasted for much longer. Indeed, it has been calculated that tours of duty with the Ulster army were the longest of those in any Covenanting army, at 5.4 months, whereas many in the other armies served only 2½ months or three at the most.[101] It was to the Synod, presumably as overseers of poor relief, rather than to the civil authorities, that a considerable sum of money was given for the

restitution of Argyll following the Montrose raids.[102] When ministers were away on such legitimate business, neighbouring ministers were always appointed to preach in the absent ministers' churches every second Sunday. However, with individual parishes of such a size that scarcely one minister could handle it by himself, this must have had social implications for the parishioners during the rest of the week, in terms of the general spiritual social work undertaken by a minister.[103]

Mr. Dugald Campbell: Case study

On 26 May 1642, the Synod of Argyll approved the going of Mr. Dugald Campbell, minister of the parish of Knapdale, to Ireland, "and [he] is appoynted to serve the regment till the next provinciall, at which tyme one shall be chosen." Even though Synods were being held every five or six months in Argyll during the early 1640s because of the political situation, they were certainly not held every three months.[104] At the next provincial Synod, on 7 October 1642, a minute observed that "Mr Dugald Campbell is continued with my Lord Marquesse of Argyll his regiment in Ireland for the next halfe yeare, and his place is ordained to be supplied once every fourteen dayes dureing his absence." In the following year, on 27 May 1643, a similar minute provided for the relief of Dugald Campbell's Irish charge by Mr. Archibald MacCallum, who was appointed to go to Ireland to preach to the Marquess's regiment there. The appointment was specified until 1 September 1643, with ministerial locums assigned for Knapdale until that date.[105]

Dugald Campbell was administering to Argyll troops in Ireland, probably those under command of his great-uncle, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, who was the chief heritor in Knapdale. If, indeed, this was so, then he can be traced to the Route, where this particular regiment was stationed. In personal terms, Dugald Campbell has been called 'One of the ablest ministers who served in the Knapdale parish.' Certainly, he had every social advantage, being born into the landed gentry as the eldest son of Patrick Campbell of Stuck, and a grandson of Donald Campbell, first of Kilmory. Moreover, he was, in his own right, the proprietor of Barchuil in Glassary.[106] His three great-uncles were also well represented in the Campbell hierarchy, being the fourth laird of Auchinbreck, the above mentioned Duncan Campbell of Castle Sween and later of Auchinbreck, and Archibald Campbell of Danna.[107] He was also distantly related to the house of Argyll itself.[108] Thus, as a politically sanitised, well connected and able presbyterian, he would have been just the sort of minister chosen to boost the morale of the Campbell regiments.[109]

In connection with Dugald Campbell's probable stationing in the Route, it should be noted that many Lowland, and in all probability some Highland, presbyterians had been settled on the good agricultural lands of the Route, in the early seventeenth-century plantation, by the Earl of Antrim. The Scottish presbyterian settlements were strongest in the western part of the Route. (For the

Route, see fig. 1.2.) However, more information survives relating to presbyters than laymen. No information has come to light in terms of a Highland dimension to presbyterian congregations there.[110] Moreover, information about Highland ministers' missions to Ireland, undertaken within the body of the Church of Ireland, shows that these were exclusively carried out in the diocese of Raphoe earlier in the century.[111] The Route seems not to have become a bastion of radical presbyterianism, in clerical terms at least, and proved a test of the Ulster presbytery's authority. The Route meeting was erected in about September 1644, and appears to have been an attempt at an alternative presbytery. Although the Route clergy had subscribed to the Covenant, they did not have the unqualified support of their congregations because they had been conformists to the Church of Ireland, and it was felt that they had "generally come in upon these parishes at their own hand, with the consent of a few not well inclined people." Understandably, the Ulster presbytery did not recognise its jurisdiction. The Route meeting went as far as to complain to the English Commissioners, in October 1645, calling the Ulster assembly an illegal and foreign body. The Commissioners were obviously sensible of the importance of the army and rejected the petition. The result is also indicative of the presbytery's monopoly on ecclesiastical power there.[112]

Presbyterianism in the Route is said to have made a notable advance, in 1646, when three presbyterian ministers were admitted to parishes there. Nonetheless, to what extent is questionable, because two of these ministers were also taken to task for their republican, that is Commonwealth, sympathies by the presbytery. Ker and O'Quin had, as licentiates,[113] been called by the majority of the parishioners of Ballymoney and Billy. Significantly, opposition to their calls came from those of apparent Highland extraction, namely, the well-known Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy[114] who had interest in the first parish, and from Donald McNeill in Billy. Presbyterians stood firm both against Royalists and Republicans, and those in opposition are said to have objected to the doctrine of the licentiates called.[115]

It is clear that Mr. Dugald Campbell was particularly prized as a regimental chaplain, for several years later the Commission of the General Assembly received a petition from the Marquess of Argyll, himself, and on 17 February 1647 appointed "Mr. Dougal Campbell to attend his regiment in Irland for the space of thrie moneths, to performe ministeriall duty unto them, and that his Presbyterie be carefull of supplying his place during his absence."[116] Campbell's experience, as well as his Gaelic, were probably in demand. It should also be noted that the appointment of both probationers and expectants continued to be a marked feature of presbyterian expansion in Ulster well into the eighteenth century, which might be seen to contradict previous arguments that it was not regarded as a marginal area.[117] Once again, Campbell did not return after his allotted span but, by the Argyll Synod of 11 October 1648, had been in Ireland for one and a half years, therefore, "seeing he hath a considerable congregation in his own paroach at home, They appoynt Mr Dugald Darroch to wryte to him that he return home to his charge against the 1 of January next, otherwayes

his kirk shal be declared vacand."[118]

In Campbell's absence, Knapdale had been supplied temporarily by two other ministers. The Synod of Argyll reported in October 1648:

> In regard that Marteine mc Lachlan was forced to escape with his lyfe out of Yla to the continent, and left all that he had, and hes served for Mr Dugald Campbell, now in Yreland, at the kirk of Kilmichael in Knapdaill, The assembly thinks it expedient that the said Marteine should have twentie bolls victuall for his service at the said kirk whill the first of November, and from that tyme proportionably so long as he serves till Mr Dugald return.

On Campbell's return, McLachlan was to remove to Kilberrie which was vacant, receiving what teinds the parish could afford, other than the eight bolls reserved for Mr. Archibald MacAllister who had served at the said kirk throughout the summer quarter.[119] The reference is interesting in that it links attitudes to presbyterian ministers in Islay at the time, to the clear, anti-Campbell stance of the long-standing inhabitants of the island. Though they were in predominantly Campbell regiments, George Campbell's complaint in 1642 to his brother, Colin of Ardesier, tutor of Cawdor, about the Islay troops reflects a similar ambivalence on their part towards the Campbell feu holders - "ther is noe wrong done in Ireland bot onli that quhilk is done be those men that comes out of Illa."[120]

Concerning the minister for whom they were deputising, it has been suggested that Dugald Campbell's 1647 visit to Ireland was not in a ministerial capacity, and that he 'does not appear to have been engaged on chaplaincy duties.'[121] In view of the preceding petition, this is clearly not so, but may evidence a partial truth. For, active fighting having come to an end in the previous year, the Scottish army was kept in Ireland, in 1647, more as an occupying force, with consequent arguments about payment of their arrears.[122] The most likely cause of Campbell's procrastination was that he stayed on in Ulster during the birth pangs of presbyterianism there. Given that the presbytery of the army undertook extensive duties in the civilian sphere, he may latterly have been administering to the civilian population rather than the military one. This explanation would certainly justify the Synod's stance.

This is, of course, only enlightened surmise but it is likely that in these circumstances Campbell either served in the Route because of his previous connection there, or in the Irish bedrock of early Highland presbyterianism, the Lagan region, which included west Tyrone, east Donegal and south-west Londonderry and came largely under the jurisdiction of the Protestant diocese of Raphoe.[123] (See fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) The information linking Campbell to the Donegal area of this region is tenuous, but supported by a network of circumstantial evidence. It is clear that he had

family connections in Ulster, in the form of Mr. Dugald Campbell, parson of Letterkenny, his cousin, and one of the original 'prescopalian' ministers in the Church of Ireland, who had been in Ireland since 1611.[124]

Ties between the two Campbell families seem to have been quite close, and were undoubtedly furthered when the parson returned to Scotland some time before 1653. The parson had a astoundingly large family, comprising nine daughters and twenty-one sons, a noteworthy number of whom married in Scotland, maintaining their Argyll presbyterian and Scottish Gaelic contacts. There was even a marriage between Dugald Campbell, the minister's, third daughter Mary, widow of Archibald Campbell of Ormsary, and William, the second son of Dugald Campbell, the parson of Letterkenny.[125] This provides social evidence to support the existence of a vibrant Highland community in Donegal, which was serviced by a significant number of Scottish, Gaelic-speaking ministers and also intermarried with Highlanders. Moreover, the parson's eldest daughter married John Lindsay, who was successively minister at Clachan Dysart, Lochgoilhead, Glenaray, and Kilchrenan and Dalavich, in Scotland, from 1666 to 1692. Giles, the third of the parson's daughters, married Robert Duncanson, initially minister of Dalavich, who supervised the printing of the Irish metrical version of the psalms in 1658, and after July 1681, was minister of Campbeltown. He was also allocated the first book of Samuel in the translation of the scriptures into Gaelic in 1660.[126] Though Duncanson left no issue by the parson's daughter, there would seem, nonetheless, to be some justification for making a seventeenth century addition of the Campbells of Knapdale and Letterkenny to the list of hereditary ecclesiastical families in the Highlands and Islands![127]

It was the parson of Letterkenny who was referred to at the Synod of Argyll beginning 25 May 1653, who, not surprisingly in view of the size of his family, could not meet his financial commitments. "The synod, taking to consideratione the indegent conditione of Mr Dougall Campbell, lait minister at Laterkenzie in Irland, hes appoynted him to get that which rests of the allowence appoynted him by the last synod owt of the vaccansies of Jura and Ila."[128] So too, one of his sons was mentioned by the Argyll Synod of May 1657 when it received "the supplicatione of John Campbell, sone to Mr Dougall Campbell, sometyme minister at Letterkenizie in Ireland, intending and promiseing to follow furth his studies according as he hath made a good deall of proficiency alreadie in a short tyme."[129] John Campbell was enrolled among the list of those boys to be selected as probationers.

Capitalising on his Irish experience and his knowledge of Gaelic his cousin, Dugald Campbell the Knapdale minister, continued the fight against the disaffected Gaels. He visited Skye in 1655 which was under threat from Vincentian missionaries, spent two months in Ardgour and Lochaber in 1656, and was finally transported to the outpost of Lochaber in 1658, to be minister there.

However, the area was not yet ripe for such a mission. Problems were encountered with ministerial maintenance, and the planting was unsuccessful. Campbell spent the remaining years of his ministry translating religious works into Gaelic during the winter, and going on temporary missions into the ill-provided, Gaelic-speaking areas in the summer. Both of these tasks can be seen as an extension of his work with the Ulster army, as an attempted exercise in civilising the natives. The catechism in Gaelic, which he worked on jointly with Ewen Cameron of Dunoon, was published in 1653. The same pair were also responsible for the translation of the first fifty metrical psalms into Gaelic, which were ready by May 1658, and were on sale by 1659 in a book which, because of the number, became known as the *Caogad.* This completed, the Synod arranged for the translation of the final 100 psalms, the last fifty of which were entrusted to Dugald Campbell.[130]

C. Highland ministers in Ireland from the Cromwellian occupation to the Revolution, 1650-1689

Although most of the presbyterian ministers served in Ulster, there were a few who served in the south of Ireland. During the Cromwellian period and especially under the Lord Deputyship of Henry Cromwell, the Protector's son, who arrived in Ireland on 2 July 1655, their presence can again be seen as a means of civilising or controlling the Irish. As well as a number of Huguenots, a minister has been traced with an apparently Scottish Highland name, one "Murdogh McKenzy," who appears on a list of state clerical allowances for 1655, under the precinct of Athy, in County Kildare in Leinster, at the salary of £80 "to preach in Irish."[131] Although there is no irrefutable evidence to support the connection, this might surely be none other than Murdo MacKenzie, late minister of Suddie, in the presbytery of Dingwall, who was deposed in 1646? He certainly negotiated with Antrim during the civil war period, and the fact that the ministry of this Cromwellian minister was confined to the south of Ireland, might be an indication that, as a Royalist, he simply was not acceptable to the vast majority of staunch presbyterians in Ulster. Nevertheless, in the same way as ill-endowed parishes in Gaelic-speaking areas of the Highlands were largely the preserve of ill-connected, inadequate, or morally or doctrinally-suspect ministers, so Murdo MacKenzie would have been perfectly acceptable in a missionary capacity to the native Irish.

First engaged in September 1653, MacKenzie was appointed to preach in Irish and English in the precinct of Athy. He was employed as part of largely unsuccessful Cromwellian drive to bring Protestantism to the native Irish in the vernacular. Previous attempts had been made by Bishop Knox, Bishop Bedell and others, but none were sufficiently extensive to have been of much import and would need to have been implemented in the sixteenth century to be of long-standing effect. A year earlier, in 1652, a book entitled "The Christian Doctrine gathered into Six Principles necessary for every ignorant man to learn," had been printed in Dublin by William Bladen and translated into

Irish by Godfrey Daniel. The two languages appeared together in double columns. So, clearly, some attempt was also being made to provide back-up literature, however inadequate.[132]

With relations easing between the Cromwellian government in Ireland and the Ulster presbyterians by 1654, the resumption of general intercourse between the Ulster and Scots presbyterians is evidenced in the Kirk records. Thus, on 7 September 1654, on consideration "that thair is a dor open to irland, and that people may repair thither and returne safe," Mr. James Johnestoune was licensed by the presbytery of Dunoon to go to Ireland "for some civill bussiness," though he stated that he would return. Johnston has not been identified as a minister and was, perhaps, a kirk elder.[133] Mr. John Stewart, a minister from the presbytery of Dunoon, was in Ireland in the following year, though the reason is not specified. It was brought to the presbytery's attention because of his having failed to follow through a summons against a Mr. Pat Stewart "by reason of his being in irland."[134] Nevertheless, in spite of the eased relations between the Protectorate and the presbyterians, the years of persecution had obviously left the Church with a deficiency of ministers. The minutes of the Antrim meeting, held at Belliclare on 4 December 1656, amply reveal this. They appointed the keeping of a fast for Wednesday 17 December, and amongst the reasons given for it were "The unfruitfullnes of the Gospell, though the Lord hath contrived to be more & more liberall in offering it to the land, through many sadd evils which are either as causes or accompanying sins thereof," as well as "The many desolate Congregations through the land being as sheep without a sheepheard, in whose behalf the Lord is more then ordinar to be supplicat."[135]

On 27 May 1657, the Synod of Argyll minuted the report of a Mr. James Garner, probably a church elder, who had been asked to speak with Mr. John Thomson, "now gon to Irland." From early references, Thomson can be identified as a student in the "Colledge of Glasgow" whom the Synod wished to join the ministry and engage in the Synod's work. Thomson was leaving his options open, for he was said to have given "no sure answer in reference to that that was required of him."[136] Shortly afterwards, the period of presbyterian government drew to a close and though the presbyterians were able to continue with their worship in relative peace after 1664, since they were no longer recipients of state salaries, there were severe problems in maintaining the ministry. It was perhaps this drive for survival that accounts for another small contingent of Highland ministers in Ulster.[137] On 27 April 1670, at the meeting of the presbytery of Dunoon, "Mr Aeneas M.Leane declared that Mr Alexander Cameron went to ireland." Cameron had returned by 13 July 1670 when he delivered an exercise on Ephesians at the presbytery held at Dunoon, though, like James Johnston above, he has not been identified as a minister. In the absence of any corroborating evidence, it can probably be assumed that this was simply a social visit.[138]

Not just one of the parson of Letterkenny's sons (John above), but also another called Duncan,

became a probationer in Scotland.[139] Duncan Campbell, the son, was apparently visiting in the bounds of the presbytery of Lagan during the early part of 1674, and received a call to Killybegs, Killachli and Inver. The meeting held on 17 March 1674 noted that:

> Mr Duncan Campbell being desired to declare what clearness he had anent that people's desire, declareth that he can settle no where, being to return shortly to Scotland; but that while he is in the countrey he is willing to visit such places as the M. doth appoint; and that place particularly about Killibegs, Killachhee, and Inver. The brethren renew their desire to Mr Duncan Campbell, that seeing God hath shutt the door on him to labour in Scotland, and that that people hes given him such an invitation, that he would remain among these people till God open a door to him in Scotland, or whiles he continues in this Countrey: which he condescended unto.

The 'shutting of the door' probably indicates that Campbell was a non-conformist, but he still seems to have preferred Scotland to Ireland.[140]

i. Mr. James Tailzeur, first minister of Enniskillen: Case study

One of the more interesting examples of Scottish ministers in Ireland is Mr. James Tailzeur, the first known minister of Enniskillen, who came not from Argyll like most of the Highland ministers in Ireland during this period, but from the north-east in Morayshire in the mid-1670s. (For Enniskillen see fig. 14.1, Counties and baronies of Ulster.) A connection might even be posited here between the complaint made by the Synod of Moray concerning the influx of ministers from Ireland in 1646. This may have established a connection between the two areas (or built upon an older one) which is again revealed here. Throughout much of the seventeenth century the presbyterian church in Ireland suffered from a lack of personnel. It was in response to such a deficiency in the bounds of the Lagan presbytery that, on 10 November 1674, Mr. Robert Rule had been "again desired to write to Scotland for some Godly young men of his acquaintance whom he named to the Meeting to come over and supply Fermanagh and other vacancies amongst us." It was consequent on this request that the Lagan meeting of 2 February 1675 referred to one young man having been dissuaded by the Scottish brethren, but that there was hope that a Mr. James Tailzeur, then still a probationer, would come. Reluctant to believe that Tailzeur was coming until he actually materialised, the next meeting appointed that "if Mr James Tailzor (who is expected from Scotland) doe come, he shall supply vacant and desolate congregations" until the following meeting.[141]

It was recorded that Tailzeur came on the recommendation of Mr. Thomas Hogge, the renowned Covenanting minister of Kiltearn, who wrote in 1675 to Mr. Robert Rule giving testimony concerning Tailzeur, indicating that his "testificats" were coming "from the North of Scotland."[142]

Tailzeur had, perhaps, been working in Ross and Cromarty, since Hogg had technically been ejected from Kiltearn in 1662 and was a conventicler.[143] The seriousness of the ministerial dearth in Ulster can be estimated, once again, by the profusion of calls presented to this one man. On 31 May 1675 a call was recorded from the people of Letterkenny, while in June there was reference to another two calls from Fermanagh and Urny. The meeting of 6 July 1675 were ready "to propose Mr. James Tailzour to the Committee, in reference to Ordination," and requested any objections against this.[144]

On 17 August 1675, the Lagan meeting, which covered an area where there was known Highland settlement, recorded the same profusion of calls from commissioners of the above-mentioned three areas. However, only the Fermanagh representative was prepared to assign a monetary value to a prospective stipend, reporting that in "Monnae, Iniskilling, & Derryvallan, some considerable share of these parishes ... have engaged to give £30 with a great probability of more yearly Maintenance, if once they had a Minister." Mr. James Tailzeur was asked to indicate his inclination in the matter but with all due humility, or perhaps with a degree of pragmatism, he answered that he left it to the meeting to determine the matter, "because he knowes not how to doe it." After much deliberation, Fermanagh was decided upon. Being on the losing end of the decision, the commissioners from Urny, nevertheless, decided to look for a minister from the same source, desiring "the concurrence and assistance of the Meeting in naming some Ministers whom they may seek out of Scotland. So also the Elders & Commissioners from Letterkenny."[145] Thus, it seems that even towards the end of the seventeenth century, the presbyterian church in Ulster was still heavily dependent on support from Scotland.

The next day, 18 August 1675, the meeting decided that Tailzeur "because of his urgent affairs hastening him back to Scotland," was to be ordained a fortnight hence. A minister was to be dispatched to Fermanagh, to help and advise them in their preparation for their new minister.[146] By 14 September 1675 Tailzeur had still not been ordained nor gone to Scotland. On the same day, the people of Fermanagh appear to have decided on the particulars of Tailzeur's maintenance, then promising £40 p.a., that is, an extra £10.[147] The meeting, being satisfied with his trials, cleared Tailzeur for ordination on the following day, with the curious addendum "theire being severall things in his case, singular, which require dispatch." Subsequently, on 15 September 1675, Tailzeur was "with fasting & prayer & imposition of hands Ordained & set apart for the work of the Ministry amongst that people of Fermanagh who called him," in the joint charge of Monea, Enniskillen and Derryvullen.[148]

By the meeting of 11 January 1676 both James Tailzeur and Robert Rule, ministers, were in Scotland. Tailzeur does not seem to have returned to Ulster until around 28 November 1676 when he kept an appointment to supply "Ballick."[149] In the summer of 1677, it appears that he may have

overheard information about a prospective foreign invasion, information which was, a year later, discovered by Titus Oates and came to be known as the 'Popish Plot.' Three ministers from the presbytery of Lagan, John Hart, Robert Craighead and William Traill, wrote a letter dated at Taboin, 10 August 1677, to Sir Arthur Forbes, Viscount Granard, privy councillor in Ireland. They drew to his attention that:

> One Mr. James Taylor, a faithful and godly minister in the county of Fermanagh living within two miles of Inniskilling and one of our number, having revealed unto him a matter of very dangerous consequence to his majesty's government, if real, and being but a stranger unacquainted with the law in this country, and not knowing what might be the fittest way to discover the same,

nonetheless divulged the matter to them, his brethren. A gentleman who had been a captain abroad, revealed to him nothing less than the "heading of a party to be furnished with money and ammunition from foreign parts." Although Tailzeur was given ten guineas by the Lord Lieutenant, the information was clearly not taken further at the time.[150] It should be noted that Titus Oates did not make his first revelations until September 1678.[151]

The information concerning Tailzeur arose in the course of the examination of William Trail, minister of Lifford, before the Privy Council in June 1681. Following the battle of Bothwell Brig in Scotland, in June 1679, which sought to contain Covenanting dissent, the Government in Ireland were anxious to avoid a similar insurrection there. Although many of the meetings adopted declarations of loyalty, the authorities remained somewhat in awe of public gatherings of presbyterians. Thus, when the Lagan meeting had decided to hold a fast and publicly intimated it a week before it was to be held, the magistrates of the district, 'intolerant prelatists,' pressed the oath of supremacy on the officers and soldiers in the Lagan district.[152] Some of them, who were presbyterian, refused this because they did not recognise the absolute supremacy of the King in ecclesiastical matters. Consequently four local ministers, William Trail of Lifford, James Alexander of Raphoe, Robert Campbell of Ray, and John Hart of Taughboyne, were called to appear before the magistrates in Raphoe, and then in Dublin, where they were closely examined. They were indicted for holding the fast, found guilty by a packed jury and imprisoned for eight months. Following their release from prison, at least two of these ministers decided to cut their losses and returned to Scotland.[153] The departure of the ministers appears to have been the signal for a renewal of persecution against non-conformists which continued for two years, particularly in Derry and Donegal, two of the densest areas of Highland presbyterian settlement in Ulster. Indeed, the ministers comprising the presbytery of Lagan intimated to the other presbyteries, their intention to emigrate to America. It seems that 10 Highland infantry soldiers noted in the muster on the arrival of the Earl of Dunbarton's regiment at Kinsale in April 1679, which formed a part of the standing army in Ireland, also scrupled to take the oath of supremacy. Probably presbyterians, they

were conveniently excused on account of their alleged inability to speak English. Account was given "of the companies to which certain Highlanders do belong who did not take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, by reason they understand not English." Thus, it appears that the unfortunate combination of prebyterian and Highland origin, the latter of which was tantamount to native Irish in establishment terms, was intolerable.[154]

James Tailzeur continued on the sederunts through to 27 March 1678, when he appears to have offended the ministers of the neighbouring county of Tyrone, probably by preaching outwith his own bounds. On the said date, the Lagan meeting appointed their correspondent, Mr. William Trail, "to deall effectually with the Meeting of Tyrone for clearing thair brother Mr James Talzor of all these things that they seem to charg him with." The charges seem to have arisen as a result of Mr. Tailzeur's possible translation to a Tyrone parish, in which he was not supported by the Tyrone meeting. The Lagan meeting, thus, appointed that:

> the Call presented to them by Thomas Greg and John Pickins Commissioners from M^{C}Guiers bridg for the said Mr James Talzor to settle amongst them as their minister should be presented to the Meeting of Tyron by the said Mr William Traill, to show what pains this Meeting hath been att to gett that people supplyed with a settled ministry, & withall to show them that they did deny thair concurrence to so good a work, in as far as they were concerned in it the desolation of (that) Countrysyd would be left at thair door, and that he bring back the said call.

Although the Lagan meeting of 3 July 1678 had received a letter from the meeting of Tyrone about the planting of McGuire's bridge, in the probable light of what had happened they decided to lay it aside, "and advysed Mr. James Tailzeor to continue as yet where he is."[155]

At the meeting of 28 August 1678 Tailzeur was chosen as moderator for the next quarter year. The correspondence with the meeting of Tyrone continued, but the Lagan Meeting declined to release him into Tyrone, to reside and preach "at the Fyvemyltoun [Fivemiletown]." It is not until the minutes of the Lagan meeting of 2 October 1678, that the particulars of his offence against the ministers of Tyrone become apparent. "Mr James Tailzior gives an account of his affair with the Meeting of Tyrone: & Mr Robert Rule did write to them according to appointment, desiring them not to hinder Mr Tailzior's preaching there." Thus, it appears that Tailzeur had been preaching outwith his jurisdiction, and without permission of the Tyrone meeting, possibly preaching to the Irish on the borders of the county neighbouring his charge. While the Lagan meeting were awaiting a reply to their letter, in the meantime, Tailzeur was asked "to forbear any further meddling in this affair, except he have advice from this Meeting."[156] In April 1679 he was imprisoned at Enniskillen and on the pretence of his lacking a written certificate that he was an ordained minister, he was fined £5.[157] The whole justification for the controversy surrounding him

and indeed, of his need to show his loyalty to the government by feeding them anti-Catholic information, was perhaps a fear of his connection with the conventicling movement, through Thomas Hogg, the conventicler, who had written his original testimonial.

A year later, in July 1680, and in the month after the remnant of Covenanting dissent in Scotland had disowned the King in the Sanquhar Declaration, the presbytery, due to complaints from his congregation of his frequent absence, intriguingly discharged Tailzeur "from meddling any more with the practice of physic or medicine."[158] His vocational zeal was clearly waning! More seriously, this appears to be evidence of a Gaelic-speaking minister consigned to a marginal parish, where it was necessary to supplement his income in other ways. On 11 August 1680 the minutes record that he received and, in the absence of a desire to be imprisoned again, doubtless accepted the call of Glendermott in County Londonderry, which, like Donegal, was another county where there had been a high degree of Highland settlement throughout the century. There is no account of his having been installed there, but this was not unusual. He resigned in 1683 and returned to Scotland where he was admitted to the parish of Kinnettles in Forfarshire some time prior to 1689. He was present at the battle of Killiecrankie on 22 July 1689.[159]

It is also worthy of note that the number of presbyterian callings to Ulster, in general, increased in the few years prior to the '89. Undoubtedly this was facilitated by the King's general extension of religious toleration, but those who went may also have felt called to mitigate against the concomitant encouragement of Catholics there.

ii. Mr. John Darroch, minister of Glenarm and Cushendall: Case study

One Gaelic speaker who went from the presbytery of Kintyre to Ireland at this time, was Mr. John Darroch. It is clear that the move occurred at a time which was personally opportune for Darroch, against whom a process had been begun. Born in Argyll, he had been educated at Glasgow University and licensed by Dunoon presbytery. He was ordained at Kilcalmonell and Kilberry in Argyll in 1669. However, he was deprived in 1681, probably because of a failure to subscribe to the Test Act. What occurred to him for the next six years is open to question.[160]

Certainly, wherever Darroch was from 1681 to 1687 he was back in Southend on 9 November 1687, when a letter was commissioned by the moderator of the presbytery of Kintyre in name of the meeting "to the heretors and others concerned in the parishes of Kilcolmanell and Kilbervie To the intent that they call home Mr John darroch there former minister, (who having deserted prelacy)" had reasserted himself to the presbyterian interest. On 14 December he was to supply the vacancy until their further consideration. Yet, it is perfectly probable that he had been in Ireland, which was so close to the parishes in Southend, and this accords with the presbytery's reference to

his desertion of prelacy. However, his ministry in Kilcalmonell and Kilberry seems to have come to an end (as in many other instances throughout this period), because of notification of their inability, on 7 March 1688, "to afford a dutiful supplie of maintenance." Moreover, a request from the Lowland congregation of Campbeltown for him to preach "in such corners of the lowland parish of Campbeltown as lyes next adjacent to the southend" was also denied, on 4 April 1688, because of certain unspecified objections by William Hamilton of Briminor. Darroch therefore renounced the call given by the parishioners of Southend, stating his intention to leave with his family at the earliest convenience, "declareing that his parteing on the discussing of the foresaids reasons keeps him from a visit he designs to Ireland."[161]

Darroch asked for certification from the presbytery, which wrote "signifieing the meetings Consent to him to make a visit out of this countrey until the next dyet of the Synod of Argyle, where he is to be present." On 22 May 1688 Darroch asked that the process against him be suspended "in regard that (as he declares) he is on wing to go to Ireland."[162] On 9 June 1688 the Synod of Argyll recorded that he had gone to Ireland for a season, and appointed the presbytery of Kintyre "to proceid to the discussing of the reasons, and objections given in against him at the forme [sic] synod, if he continue within the kuntrey." The objections, it appears, had centred round his supposed reversion to presbyterianism, but Darroch had been called to subscribe to the act of renunciation and submission, that is a subscription to the Test and Succession Acts, which he had done at the last Synod.[163]

Darroch received a call to Glenarm and Cushendall, in County Antrim, in September 1688 which he decided to pursue.[164] It is clear that his relations with his own congregation of Kilcalmonell and Kilberry were not good, and thus, there must have been little incentive for him to stay in Scotland. He also received a call from Ballymena, recorded in the minutes of the Antrim Meeting for 1 October 1688, whose commissioners supplicated "the meetings concurrence for settling John Darrogh there, & presenting their Call to him, and giving it in to this meeting there being only about six persons who dissent from the said Call."[165] The meeting, however, were only prepared to take him with the consent of his own presbytery, informing:

> that he is now upon his journey thither to see his family, the meeting will expect that he bring in a full & clear Testimoniall, together with a full & free liberty from the Church of Scotland, in order to his settlement here in Ireland. And if he can obtain this, & return to this country, and be any Sabbath here before our meeting, Then the meeting thinks it fitt to appoint that he may supply Laid and Cushedall one Sabbath & and rest in Glenarm, till he appear before this meeting with the said Testimoniall.[166]

Darroch was to supply those places specified because the Glenarm call had been entered prior to

the others, but the meeting would later determine whether he should accept the call of Glenarm or Ballymena. It appears, however, that they had already made their ultimate choice, for they wrote that the meeting "only allows him to keep the Calls of Glenarm & Cushendall under his consideration till he appears again before us."[167]

On 6 February 1689 the Synod of Argyll recorded Darroch's progress, "particularlie That the said Mr John having come over in harvest last from Ireland to Kintyre presented to his brethren there a call which he had from the paroch of Glenarm."[168] Obviously having been in Ireland to reconnoitre the situation, Darroch came to the presbytery of Kintyre in October 1688 and "desired a testificate from them, bearing their consent for him to engadge with the said paroch, for ane Interim untill he have a clearer accesse unto some paroch within the Synod of Argyll." The presbytery of Kintyre recorded, on 1 January 1689, that endeavours by the ministers of the presbytery to call him back to his old ministry "did prove uneffectuall throw want of a competent maintenance." Moreover, "his own old paroch being possessed by a curate was not inviteing him, nor giveing him any encouradgement."[169]

The presbytery ministers stated that since the situation had not changed since last May when they gave him permission to go to Ireland, and considering that "he hath encouragements offered to him in Ireland As also that the forsaid dyet of the Synod is elapsed, it being too tedious for him to attend here till the next dyet of the Synod Wee do for ourselves continue our former Consent and allowance given to him to serve in the Gospell within the kingdom of Ireland or elsewhere."[170] Ultimately, on 6 February, this was endorsed by the Synod who:

> Did grant to him a qualified testificate for the meane tyme with severall restrictions And particularie astricting (sic) him both in the acceptance of the said call of Glenarm, or any other call in Ireland, And in the exercise of his ministrie there To depend on the meettings of the presbiterian brethren there And reserveing the interest which the church of Scotland, and namelie the Synod of Argyll have in him etc.[171]

It is clear from the Kintyre and Antrim presbytery minutes that Darroch had returned to Ireland at the end of 1688. The Antrim book recorded that:

> Mr John Darragh Supply'd Glenarm and Cushendall only since his return from Scotland, and hath brought hither a Testimoniall subscribed by Mr Duncanson and Mr Cunison allowing his continuance in Ireland to serve in the work of the Ministry, with this reservation that the Church of Scotland, and particularly the Presbytery of Kintyre may have access to call him again when Providence opens up a door for his return.

Another Scottish minister, Mr. John Campbell, sent to test the call, reported to the Antrim meeting of 5 February that the call was "unanimous with the proviso therein," and that £24 maintenance was promised.[172] However, the only details of Darroch's ministry in Ireland that remain are that he was one of several designated to supply Antrim for one sabbath by the February meeting, and that he was not in the sederunt for 5 March 1689, having been excused.[173]

Compelled to return home by the troubles of the Revolution in Ireland, Darroch was again present in his old parish in Scotland by the Synodal meeting at Kilmichael, on 2 October 1689, when the Synod appointed Mr. Robert Duncanson to write to the Captain of Skipness and to Angus Campbell of Kilberry "for encourageing Mr John Darroch the present Minister in the mater of his accomodatione and other maters new full."[174] At the Antrim meeting of 26 November 1689, Darroch was neither on the sederunt nor mentioned among the list of absents. The meeting recorded, with reference to Glenarm, that:

> Mr. William Hallyday commissionat from thence, desiring advice in order to their settlement with Gospel ordinances (Mr. John Darragh not returning, neither any appearance of it): however, the meeting finding that the people are ready to endeavour his return, they allow them to do their utmost diligence for his return, and report to be made.[175]

Darroch did not return to his Irish ministry.

The Kintyre minutes record, on 25 February 1690, that John Darroch returned from Glenarm in Ireland, "being called home by his old parishioners of Kilcollmanell and Kilberrie." There then being three ministers in the presbytery again "the meeting is put in a greater capacitie to acte in the capacitie of a fixed presbyterie."[176] Nevertheless, it is clear that the financial situation had not greatly eased for Darroch in his old parish.[177] By the presbytery meeting of 21 January 1691 he had received a call from the parish of Southend, from John McNeill of Tirfergus, a family which had ample connections in Ireland.[178] Darroch refused it but McNeill also refused to take back the call, so that Darroch was obliged to request the insertion of his refusal in the presbytery book. When the presbytery met in Darroch's parish at Kilcalmonell, on 20 May 1692, Darroch actually presented his grievances to the meeting, the greatest of which was "his want of a pastoral relation to the said parish, in regard he never had a Call to from the parishioners, all the relation he had being founded onely upon the presentation & collation which he had, quhill he was under prelacy."[179] However, Darroch's conforming to prelacy must necessarily have been of a very nominal nature, since he appears not to have subscribed to the Test Act initially, and moreover, went as a minister to Ireland where episcopacy was not esteemed in presbyterian communities there, though it dominated the Irish Church. Nonetheless, the ability to speak Irish probably mitigated the desirability of these other considerations.

On this occasion, the presbytery concurred with his grievances, which also included lack of a church, gleib, and manse, and declared that if they were not removed, "the said Mr John darroch shall be declared transportable."[180] Although Darroch never returned to Ireland as a minister, he was occasionally employed in Scotland, until his death on 6 July 1730, as an itinerant evangelist for the remote, mainly Catholic, Gaelic-speaking areas, during the summer months. He was, for instance, employed on a visitation to the Isles for the summer of 1696, and was generally consulted on all matters pertaining to the welfare of the Gaelic presbyterian community.[181]

Yet, Darroch was not the only presbyterian minister from Argyll in Ireland, or in Antrim, in the 1680s. Having been ordained to the parish of Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich in 1683, in the following year John Monro went to Ireland, where he was subsequently placed at Carnmoney, in County Antrim, in 1685. On 9 June 1688 the presbytery recorded the receipt of a letter from Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass:

> showing that the paroch of Lochgoyle, and Kilmaglass are to send ane Invitation to Mr John Monro for present in Ireland To return to them as his proper charge And desireing this meettings concurrence with the said invitation And particularie [sic] that a letter be written to the meetting of Antrum in Ireland for looseing him from his present charge there.

A letter was also to be written to Monro himself to try and hasten his return to Lochgoil.[182] He was duly called back to his original charge in August 1688, and in the November James Wylie, an elder at Carnmoney, reported that "the dealing of the landlords pursuing after rent occasions little done to M., and that in three years they are in arrear, £48."[183] However, the first Jacobite rebellion induced his return to Scotland, where he was readmitted in his old parish sometime in 1689 but transferred to Rothesay in March 1691.

Conclusion

This period exhibits a fairly small, but constant flow of Gaelic-speaking presbyterians to Ulster, beginning with two episcopal non-conformists to the presbyterian regime established in 1638. This flow became more constant with the supply of the Ulster army chaplaincy from 1642 to 1648. The marked lack of ministers for the presbyterian church in Ireland in the next three decades resulted in a continuing supply of Scottish presbyterian ministers from Scotland. A Gaelic-speaking contingent formed a distinct part of this mission. In terms of Gaelic and Irish-speaking ministers, at least, (though this was not so of presbyterians ministers in general), the movement was largely one-sided, from the Highlands to Ulster. Although the Synod of Moray noted a general influx of

ministers from Ireland in 1646, there is, nonetheless, only one instance of a named Irish minister working in the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd* in this period. He did so as a refugee from presbyterial sanction, that is, as a social rather than a political inadequate. Moreover, there is no incontrovertible evidence to prove that this Irishman was a Gaelic speaker, nor have any other Irish Protestant incursions into the Highlands and Islands been noted during the Restoration period. Indeed, throughout this period, the Irish ministry was not sufficiently extensive to cope efficiently with even its English-speaking congregations, let alone run an effective mission in the vernacular. It, therefore, sought help from its Scottish brethren, being willing to rely upon a disproportionately large number of expectants and probationers which it duly ordained within its own bounds. However, in truth, it seems that the Kirk was only particularly concerned to send assistance when it was necessary to bolster any political instability in Ireland which might threaten the presbyterian establishment in Scotland. It, therefore, gave priority to sending ministers to Ireland during the civil war, even though there were still vacancies in the Highlands and Islands during that period in noted Royalist areas, such as the parish of Kilmallie in Inverness-shire. This parish did not have any reformed services until the advent of Dugald Campbell, minister of Knapdale, in 1651, and even then there was no kirk.[184] On the other hand, the Irish experience of ministers such as Dugald Campbell seemed not only to provide the impetus for missions into neglected and disaffected areas of the Highlands and Islands, but also for translation of the scriptures into Gaelic.

During this period, only one alleged Gaelic-speaking minister converted to Catholicism, and Ronald MacDonald was neither a man renowned for his integrity, nor his Protestantism ever clearly demonstrated. In comparison, this serves to highlight the political significance of the noteworthy number of ministers cited for collusion with Montrose's force in 1644-45. This suggests that Royalism was not synonymous with Catholicism as has, on occasion, been proposed. In the same way, Catholicism was not necessarily synonymous with anti-presbyterianism but can be seen to have been more of a political statement against a culturally alien, Lowland government and the expansion of the Protestant Clan Campbell on the western seaboard. After the civil war, however, there is nothing to suggest that those few Highland ministers who went to Ireland did so with the approval of the Kirk. They appear to have done so more to seek refuge and out of expediency, firstly as Protestant Royalists, secondly as probationers who envisaged greater prospects of a fruitful benefice in Ireland compared to a poorly endowed, marginal parish in the Highlands, and thirdly and coterminously, as presbyterian non-conformists to the episcopal régime. Although small, the relocation of Gaelic-speaking clerics to Ireland may have exacerbated the problems for the Kirk in the Highlands in terms of filling vacancies in Gaelic-speaking parishes, both during the Restoration and post-Revolution periods. Yet, apart from the period of the Ulster chaplaincy, this small but notable movement of Highland clerics to Ireland appears, hitherto, to have been unappreciated, obscured by the comparative abundance of documentation which survives about Irish Catholic penetration of the Highlands and Islands. It seems less that Highland ministers were

going to Ireland to simply evangelise the Irish, than to minister to established Gaelic-speaking communities, particularly in Donegal and Antrim. Moreover, there was an element of counterbalance between Catholic and Protestant missions in the two countries, with Irish-speaking priests in the Highlands and Islands and Highland ministers in Ireland, particularly Ulster, though the latter were accorded a greater degree of mobility because their faith was not proscribed. Numbers on both missions were only significant when there was also political backing from the State. Thus, while the Irish Catholic mission in Scotland reached its numerical zenith of ten Irish priests in the Highlands in 1688[185] during James VII's extension of toleration to Catholics, during the civil war the Synod of Argyll is said to have sent no fewer than eighteen ministers to Ulster.

NOTES

1. James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 70. Protestantism in general, including both episcopal and presbyterian strains, was characterised by emphasis on the preaching of the gospel, particularly in the vernacular language, the importance of the teachings of the Bible, and the exclusive mediation of Christ. Furthermore, the Scottish reformers believed that it was through faith that believers were raised heavenwards to receive what Christ offered in the sacrament, rejecting Roman doctrines of transubstantiation and Lutheran belief in consubstantiation. So too, in respect of ecclesiastical organisation they adopted a form of government of the church, at a congregational level, which was entrusted to a consistory of one or more ministers and a number of elected elders and deacons, as financial officers. All of these were essentially Calvinist features. (Kirk, pp. xii, 74, 78.)
2. Kirk, pp. 80-88, xx-xxii. Presbyterians believed that the church should be governed not by bishops or superintendents but by presbyteries or committees of ministers, and that the General Assembly should consist only of ecclesiastical persons, which included elders, but not nobles, lairds and burgesses. (Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland James V to James VII*, (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 149; Kirk, p. 85.)
3. Kirk, pp. 344, 356-57, 361, 429-30, 435; Donaldson, p. 181.
4. Ultimately the movement proved too strong to quell, and a statute of 1592 authorised a presbyterian system which had effectively been operating since 1586. (Donaldson, pp. 198-99.)
5. The bishops received financial endowment in 1606, status as permanent moderators of Synods in 1607, and their jurisdiction was restored in 1609 and 1610. (Kirk, p. 430.)
6. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections, and Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.
7. Donaldson, pp. 208-10.
8. Allan I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641*, (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 56-57; Donaldson, pp. 296-311.
9. Edward Mackie Furgol, *The Religious Aspects of the Scottish Covenanting Armies, 1639-1651*, (D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1982), pp. 3, 17, 22-23; Donaldson, p. 314, 331, 333-34; J. C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923*, (London, 1969), p. 75; James Seaton Reid, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 3 vols., (1837), II, pp. 245-49; *Fasti*, VII, pp. 49, 355; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 120-21. see the subsequently published Edward M. Furgol, *A regimental history of the Covenanting Armies, 1639-1651,* (Edinburgh, 1990.)
10. Donaldson, p. 340; Reid, II, (1937), pp. 170-74. In Ireland, Belfast presbyterians drafted a document known as the 'Representation' which protested against both the execution and "the insolent and presumptuous practices of that sectarian army in England," and subsequently sent it to parliament. (Reid, p. 174.)
11. The Engagement was a secret agreement drawn up by three Scottish Commissioners and the King.
12. Beckett, pp. 101-03; Julia Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland 1660-1681*, (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 2, 7-9; *Fasti*, VII, p. 116.
13. A. C. Anderson, *The Story of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* (Newcastle, Co. Down, 1965), pp. 45-46;

Reid, II, (1837), pp. 236-38.

14. F. D. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660,* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 80.

15. Reid, II, (1837), pp. 272-75, and for a list of names of these 260 people, Reid, II, (1837) appendix No. 13, pp. 492-96. It should, however, be noted that a Highland origin cannot necessarily be imputed for some of these names. Thus 'MacClee' may represent either the MacLeays of Easter and Wester Ross and Argyll, the McOnleas of Lunga, Rothesay and Islay or the MacLeas of Banffshire. So too, Macilroy is an old surname in Ballantrae, Ayrshire and in Ayr, but is also found in Rothesay in Bute, Perth and Inverness. Macclellan is found in Galloway, but also in Morar in Inverness-shire, and in Aberfeldy in Perthshire. Ferguson is found in Atholl, but also in Aberdeenshire and Ayrshire. Moreover, it is difficult to know the derivation of M'Kerger, though it could conceivably be Macerchar (MacKerchar and other variations) from 'Mac Fhearachair,' 'son of Farochar,' a name found in Kintyre in Argyll, and in Glenorchy, Inverness and Moray. The nearest form of the name to M'Kerger noted is M'Kerquhar which appears in Caithness in 1662. (George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, (New York, 1946), pp. 533-36, 514-15, 470, 260, 490-91.)

16. Donaldson, p. 346; Buckroyd, pp. 10-11.

17. Anderson, p. 46; Reid, II, (1837), p. 288; Beckett, p. 114.

18. Reid, II, (1837), pp. 292-96, 318-24, 497, 499; Anderson, pp. 46-47; Buckroyd, pp. 12, 15.

19. This policy had been evident from the early seventeenth century with the banishment of Robert Bruce of Kinnaird to Inverness. See Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.

20. The establishment was still intimidated by the presbyterians' connection with kinsmen in Scotland, as well as the fact that in 1656, an enemy of presbyterianism, Major Morgan had stated that "In the north, the Scotch keep up an interest distinct in garb and all formalities; and are able to raise 40,000 fighting men at any time." (Reid, II, (1837), footnote to p. 308.)

21. Anderson, pp. 48-49; Buckroyd, pp. 3-4, 20, 33-34; Donaldson, pp. 362-63, 365; Reid, II, (1837), pp. 337, 350-54.

22. Buckroyd, pp. 124-25; Donaldson, pp. 369-71.

23. On 7 October 1663 it became necessary for the Scottish Estates to legislate against these "many seditious and turbulent persons, Ministers and others in the Kingdom of Ireland" who could not comply with the Government there and who "were coming over, expecting shelter here." (British Library Add. Ms. 23120, Lauderdale Papers, miscellaneous correspondence, 8, fol. 112, September - December 1663, Proclamations against ministers coming from Ireland, 1663.) To date, however, none of these ministers has been proved to have gone to the Highlands or to have been Gaelic-speaking.

24. Anderson, pp. 50-51.

25. See Chapter 14, section IV. Settlement from the Restoration to the Revolution.

26. Buckroyd, pp. 136, 6; Donaldson, pp. 379-80; Anderson, p. 51.

27. It has been pointed out that 'only slightly more than one out of ten kirk session records survive.' (Furgol, p.162.)

28. Duncan C. Mactavish (editor), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639-1651*, SHS, 3rd series, 37, (Edinburgh,

1943); Duncan C. Mactavish (editor), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1652-1661*, SHS, 3rd series, 38, (Edinburgh, 1944); SRO CH2/557/3-7, Synod book of Argyll, 1687-1700, 1701-1707, 1708-1727, 1728-1755, 1756-1775.

29. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. xii.
30. A. F. Mitchell and J. Christie (editors), *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-47,* SHS, 1st series, 11, (Edinburgh, 1892); A. F. Mitchell and J. Christie (editors), *General Assembly Commission Records, II, 1648-1649,* SHS, 1st series, 25, (Edinburgh, 1896); J. Christie (editor), *General Assembly Commission Records, III, 1650-52,* SHS, 1st series, 58, (Edinburgh, 1909.)
31. SRO CH2/1153/1-4, Presbytery books of Kintyre, 1655-1706, 1707-1723, 1723-1748, 1749-1794.
32. SRO CH2/984/1-3, Lorn presbytery records, 1651-1681, 1704-1715, 1729-1771.
33. SRO CH2/273/1, Mull presbytery records, 1729-1762.
34. SRO CH2/111/1-5, Presbytery records of Dunoon, 1639-1686 (volume 2 is a transcription of volume 1 which covers the same period 1639-1686), 1689-1707, 1707-1716, 1737-61.
35. SRO CH2/214/1, Kilmory (Isle of Arran) kirk session records, 1718-1723.
36. SRO CH2/190/1-3, Inveraray presbytery records, 1691-1702, 1715-1744, 1745-1763.
37. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. xiii.
38. PRONI D1759/1A/1 & 2, Presbytery of Antrim, 1654-1658, 1671-1691.
39. PRONI D1759/1E/1 & 2, Presbytery of Lagan, 1672-1679, 1679-1695. As previously noted in Chapter 5, 'prescopalian' is a word coined to describe Scots employed in the Church of Ireland who cherished presbyterianism within an episcopal fold. (Rev. Professor A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland, 1560-1660,' II, (Belfast, 1948), p. 582.)
40. PRONI D1759/2A/13, Route presbytery, 1701-1705.
41. See below, Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.
42. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. xiii; Derick Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' *Scottish Studies*, 12, (1968), pp. 67-68.
43. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 67-68.
44. James Seaton Reid, *The Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* I, (Belfast, 1867, 2nd edition,) pp. 273-74, footnote to p. 311.
45. *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-47,* pp. 70-71.
46. *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-47*, p. 323.
47. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-51*, pp. 37, 88-89.
48. Case studies of those disciplined for complicity follow later in this chapter. See below, section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.
49. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-51*, p. 92.
50. Furgol, pp. 249-50.
51. David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, (Belfast, 1981), p. 61.
52. Also see below, section III A. Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism.
53. See Chapter 8, section II. The post-Franciscan initiative and the Irish priests with Alasdair MacColla

MacDonald.

54. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651,* p. 100.

55. Duncan MacCalman is the likely father of the infamous John MacCalman, minister in Morvern, who had ample connection with Ireland. See Chapter 9, section IV. Social interaction among ministerial families - the MacCalmans: A case study in opportunism.

56. *Fasti*, IV, p. 105. This is in marked contrast to the treatment of the earlier incumbent of the parish. See Donald Omey in Chapter 6, section I A. The Highlands and Islands.

57. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651,* p. 171.

58. See Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant Initiative, and Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.

59. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661,* SHS, 3rd series, 38, pp. xx, xxi, 121.

60. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 122. It should be noted that in the previous decade, some time after October 1642 (date unspecified) Archibald MacQueen, minister of Snizort and Uig, was deposed for the great sin of conducting the marriage ceremony of MacDonald of Clanranald, though this was reponed before 28 October 1657. (*Fasti*, VII, p. 179.)

61. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, pp. xxii.

62. *Fasti*, IV, pp. 70, 73; *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 221. Although no connection is noted in the *Fasti*, it seems more than probable, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that this is the father of his namesake, John Darroch, minister of Kilcalmonell and Kilberry who served briefly in Glenarm in Ireland in the 1680s, before returning to his own parish and subsequently translating to Craignish. For the son, refer to the final section of this chapter, III C. ii. Mr. John Darroch minister of Glenarm and Cushendall: Case study. One of Archibald MacAllister's two spells away from Islay seems to have been spent at Kilberry. For which, see section III B. Mr. Dugald Campbell: Case study. For further details of Clanranald on Islay, see Chapter 3, section IV. Covenanting period.

63. *Fasti*, IV, p. 119.

64. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-51*, p. 120.

65. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-51*, p. 120.

66. *Fasti*, IV, p. 114.

67. See also Murdo MacKenzie of Achilty in Wester Ross who in 1651 'drew consolation from the fact that Charles II in exile would be protected from the "barbarous flock" who had gained a position of political dominance "by hatred and deceit," and who is probably one and the same. (Allan Macinnes, 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (editors), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 83.)

68. *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-1647*, pp. 68, 265. Other ministers were deposed in the more northerly parishes, after 1649, for subscribing to Montrose's articles, but were not directly associated with the Montrose/MacColla Royalist campaign of 1644-47. These included David Monro from the parish of Latheron, presbytery of Dornoch, and more pertinently, the whole of the presbytery of Caithness, except William Smyth. For such a sin of omission, the latter was taken to Thurso, put on board ship and towed

for two miles, where he eventually lay in irons until Montrose was executed in May 1650. Those who were deposed in about 1650 from the presbytery of Caithness, for compliance with Montrose, include a namesake, William Smith, from the parish of Dunnet, John Smart, minister of Wick, in all probability also David Allardyce from the parish of Olrig, John Munro of Reay, and William Abernethy, minister of Thurso. (*Fasti*, VII, pp. 92, 113, 119, 129, 132, 136.) This hearty identification with the Royalists probably reflects the general attitude of the area, where 'in general, few men were raised in northern Scotland' for the Covenanters, though Captain George Gordon, brother of the fourteenth Earl of Sutherland raised a company in Sutherland for the Earl of Leven. (David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, (Belfast, 1981), p. 75.)

69. *Fasti*, IV, p. 23. See final paragraph of case study of Mr. Dugald Campbell for further reference to Cameron.
70. He has been referred to previously in Chapter 6, section II C. Difficulties of the mission.
71. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639-51*, pp. 69, 71. It is interesting to note Argyll's tacit compliance in the cases of MacCalman and MacDonald.
72. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-51*, p. 72.
73. See Chapter 6, footnote 180. He may, however, have stayed there for a while for a trial. According to the Catholic record Ranald MacDonald resided at the Irish College in Louvain for some months in January 1627. (*IFM*, p. 104.)
74. *IFM*, pp. 174-75, 104.
75. It may even be that he had been communicating with the Irish Franciscan missionaries who officially had their mission to the Highlands and Islands renewed in 1647, though no records of the mission remain. Three of these missionaries were simply re-appointed at the end of the first mission and MacDonald would doubtless have been friendly with them, while the fourth was a Daniel McNeill, whose surname indicates that he might have had connections with Barra and South Uist, to where MacDonald had, by this time, returned, or perhaps with Cowal, Knapdale or Kintyre.
76. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-51*, pp. 74, 172, 185. As always when they had little means of effecting a change, the matter was to be left in the hands of the Marquis of Argyll, as Justice of the region, who was to be written to.
77. *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-47,* p. 38.
78. Some were, perhaps, related to the large number of Scots said to have left the region between Inverness and Aberdeen in the 1630s. See Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.
79. For more of O'Queine and his religious stance see below, section II C. Irish ministers in Scotland from the civil war to the Restoration.
80. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-51,* footnote to p. 153.
81. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections.
82. Pearson, I, pp. 80-81.
83. For on 24 April 1649, when the Kingarth session ordained Janet Crawford to satisfy for her fornication with ".....M'Kamy," it was revealed that: "The man is dwelling in the rout in Irland and the minister is desyred to

wryt to Mr. Jeremiah O'Cronie about him, quhilk was accordingly done." (Henry Paton (editor), *The Session Book of Kingarth 1641-1703,* (Edinburgh, 1932), p. 9.)

84. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. 153.

85. Ker graduated in 1646. (Pearson, I, p. 84.)

86. *General Assembly Commission Records, II, 1648-1649*, pp. 275-76.

87. *General Assembly Commission Records, II, 1648-1649*, p. 277, footnotes to same. They asked for advice from the General Assembly and for affirmation "whither or not those things, which we object against in your Representation, be all true. "

88. *General Assembly Commission Records, II, 1648-1649*, pp. 278-79, footnote to p. 279. Since they do not directly pertain to relations between Scottish and Irish Gaels the particular details of their case, though relevant in a broad sense, have been confined to this footnote. By the time of the General Assembly held in June, Mr. Hall had already forwarded some papers referring to the dealings of the Irish presbytery with O'Quin and Ker. The Assembly upheld the presbytery's censure and notified it "that the grounds and way of their dissenting from yow have bein unsufficient." Though the ministers were to "be authorized againe to exercise their Ministry," it urged a closing of ranks against "the enemies," that is, the malignants or those who opposed the Covenants. To the two dissenting ministers themselves, the Assembly was more forthright, making it clear that it did not agree with their persistence in their scruples "some quherof yourselves, after more mature deliberation, will easily judge with us to be very freevolous, (that we say no more), others of them of dangerous consequence, and such as do declare that yee steere not a steedy course, betuixt rocks on all hands, or that yee see through all the evills of the time; and none of them of any moment to infringe the truth of what the Presbyterie hath asserted." The Assembly also thought ill of the public divulgence by the two ministers of the papers from the presbytery. 'These papers had been communicated to the commanders of the Commonwealth's forces in Down and Antrim, and were ultimately published in London, with the view of shewing "the pitifull slavery they lie under where a presbytery is established.'" It also asserted that in further papers they had lain "the whole weight of your refuseing to joyne with the Presbyterie upon other grounds and jealousies, then yee expresse in your papers to them." Clearly then, these two ministers exhibited more self-determination than was felt healthy within presbyterianism. (pp. 278-79, footnote to p. 279.)

89. In Ireland, however, O'Quin's sterling work of evangelisation in the Gaelic language was appreciated, retrospectively, by Synod of Ulster on 21 June 1710 who referred back to the missionary successes of Mr. Gabriel Cornwall and Mr. Jeremy O'Quin. (The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I, 1691-1720,* (Belfast, 1890), p. 211.) Both Ker and O'Quin were restored as ministers in about 1652, and like many others, at this juncture, subsequently took their salaries from the Protectorate. O'Quin was first appointed, on 30 March 1654, at £40 sterling p.a. It is, however, an estimation of his worth as an Irish missionary, that he appeared on another list for 1654, as well as the list for 1655, with the grossly inflated salary of £100. As with the Scottish ministers who went as chaplains to the army, O'Quin's ministry in Billy, in the precinct of Belfast, was continually interrupted by his mission work to the south and west of Ireland. In 1654 he was sent to Athy, to Connacht and to Athlone and

Loughrea to preach. On 23 October 1657, in the records of the Inquisition taken at Antrim, he is described as "Mr Jeremy Quinn, a preaching minister in salary." He died on 31 January 1658. (Pearson, I, pp. 82-84, footnote to p. 82.).)

90. SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, fol. 22. Martin McLachlan was appointed to inform him and to announce this publicly to the congregation.

91. Black, pp. 694, 562. MacRitchie appears in Glenshee in the late sixteenth century and some MacRitchies have been connected with the parishes of Clunie and Caputh in Perthshire since 1683. Originally the MacRitchies were Macintoshes descended from Richard Macintosh. (p. 562.)

92. William Ferguson, 'The Problems of the Established Church in the West Highlands and Islands in the Eighteenth Century,' *RSCHS*, 17, (1969), p. 16.

93. Before leaving this topic, the case of William Davidson is also worthy of mention for purposes of clarification, since he worked in Caithness. Davidson was said to have been a native of Ireland, where he was ordained to a charge, but fled Ireland in 1641 during the height of reprisals against the Protestants, going first to England, and afterwards to Scotland. During the Cromwellian occupation, in 1652, he worked in Caithness where he began ministering in the parish of Canisbay on 21 March. It should be noted that Canisbay was one of six parishes on the north-eastern tip of Caithness which were not Gaelic-speaking. That Davidson was not Gaelic-speaking is further confirmed by his transfer to the joint parish of Harray and Birsay in Orkney in October 1666. (*Fasti*, VII, pp. 116, 239-40; W. J. Withers, 'Education & Anglicisation: The Policy of the SSPCK toward the Education of the Highlander, 1709-1825,' *Scottish Studies*, 26, (1982), pp. 53-54.) See fig. 9.1, Highland parishes of the eighteenth century.

94. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, p. 20.

95. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 49, 355. He translated from Suddie after a year, his place being taken by the Royalist sympathiser Murdo MacKenzie, for whom, see above and below. Thus, as with Ardnamurchan, the establishment of Suddie as a peripheral repository for suspect ministers can be seen.

96. Furgol, pp. 73, 323, 326-27, 335. From 1642 to 1644 the army was basically quartered in what has been called a 'coastal crescent' stretching from Limavady, to the south-west of Coleraine, to the Lecale, south of Strangford Lough with outlying representations at Dungannon, in Tyrone, Mountjoy, in Armagh, and Newry in Down. The outposts were abandoned in the winter of 1643-44. (p. 324.)

97. Furgol, pp. 328-29.

98. *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-47*, p. 33.

99. Furgol, pp. 329-30. The presbytery even went as far as to depose Church of Ireland clergy, which indicates not only the extent of their power, but illustrates the way in which presbyterian clergy could be brought in and kirk sessions established.

100. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, p. 31; Furgol, pp. 83, 100-01, 39. Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden, who had blue-printed the concept of the Godly army had recognised that ministers from the same geographical area as a regiment could best inspire them, and Leven, having fought under him, drew on and was well aware of his military formulations. Yet, while Adolphus had recommended two chaplains per regiment, the Covenanters found their task sufficiently difficult in supplying one, though it must be said that

no Covenanter army, from 1639 to 1651, ever took to the field without a chaplain. (Furgol, pp. 83, 85.)

101. Furgol, pp. 94, 108, 112.

102. Alexander Fraser, *North Knapdale in the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries,* (Oban, 1964), p. 117.

103. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, pp. 43, 66, 90-91.

104. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. 36.

105. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639-1651*, pp. 43, 66, 90-91. Mr. MacCallum, Campbell's relief, also remained in Ireland at least a year, for the Synod is found providing for the bi-monthly services to his parish at its Synod held in May 1644.

106. Fraser, p. 107, quoting J. R. N. Macphail (editor), *Highland Papers, II*, SHS, 2nd series, 12, (Edinburgh, 1916), p. 217; *Fasti*, IV, p. 15.

107. See Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence - citation of Campbell of Danna for adultery.

108. Fraser, p. 107, quoting J. R. N. Macphail (editor), *Highland Papers, IV*, SHS, 3rd series, 22, (Edinburgh, 1934), p. 68.

109. Indeed, prior to his visit to Ireland he had, in 1640, accompanied an Argyll expedition to the North. 'In this capacity he may have witnessed the harrying of Badenoch, Lochaber and Rannoch, and the burning of the "Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie",' as part of an expedition which Argyll led during the Second Bishops' War to ravage the lands of the Earl of Atholl and the Farquharsons. (Fraser, p. 113.)

110. Pearson, I, pp. 45, 86, 91.

111. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections, and Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster. Note that the one possible Highland appointment in the bishopric of Derry appears to have been an absentee.

112. Pearson, I, pp. 73-75; Furgol, p. 331.

113. That is, licensed to minister, but without a charge.

114. For whom see Chapter 11, section I C. ix. Stewarts of Ballintoy.

115. Little further information can be gleaned, but Archibald Stewart may, therefore, have been holding out for an uncompromising presbyterian. (Pearson, I, p. 77.) McNeill, on the other hand, may have been protecting his own interests, or have been spurred into counteraction, for he was presumably the "Daniel MacNeile," minister in Ballycastle, who was in receipt of an £80 sterling salary from the Commonwealth in 1655, and almost definitely the "Daniel M'Neale" who by 12 September 1661 was vicar of Billy, Culfeightrin and Loughguile, and thus, most ironically, had conformed himself! (Reid, II, (1837), footnote to p. 354, appendix no. 14, p. 499.)

116. *General Assembly Commission Records, I,* 1646-47, p. 203. It has been pointed out that the Ulster chaplains were the least experienced of those in any of the Covenanting armies, having only a joint average of five years' experience between them, whereas those in the First Bishop's War, for instance, had thirteen. (Furgol, p. 123.)

117. See the rest of this chapter and Chapter 9, section III. Highland ministers and probationers in Ireland.

118. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. 118.

119. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639-1651*, p. 123. Here it should be noted that the 'continent' simply

means the mainland Highlands. It was a short journey from Islay to Knapdale. For previous mention of Archibald MacAllister refer back to section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.

120. Furgol, p. 211, quoting Cosmo Innes (editor), *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor,* Spalding Club, 30, (Edinburgh, 1859), p. 286. For further reference to this letter see Chapter 14, section III. Settlement during the civil war and Cromwellian period. The particular stance of Islay can be explained by the fact that it was traditional Clan Donald South territory, and though it had been in Campbell of Cawdor's hands since 1614, and relations between Cawdor and the old MacDonald tenants had probably been partially mitigated by Cawdor's conversion to Catholicism in 1624, the attitude of the old MacDonald commonalty was still virulently anti-Campbell. (*Alasdair MacColla*, p. 40; *IFM*, pp. 53-54.) It is not necessarily enlightening, however, to equate Catholicism with a hatred of presbyterianism amongst the Royalist clans, though there would appear to have been a distrust of Protestantism as the religion of Lowlanders. (David Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland, 1644-1651*, (London, 1977), p. 24; David Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution, 1637-1644*, (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 26.) Here it must be agreed that: 'An aversion towards Presbyterianism was essentially an important unifying element in Royalist efforts to create a common front among the clans on the western seaboard who were opposed to the influence of the Campbells and fearful of the prominence of the Marquis of Argyle within the Covenanting Movement.' Only in relation to the MacDonald branches of the Clan Donald South and Clanranald at this time, though not to Sleat had anti-presbyterianism become associated with Catholicism, for under the episcopal direction of the Church from 1610 to 1637 most of the other Highland clans had acquired a 'semblance' of Protestantism. (Allan I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651: The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (editors), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 83.) It was rather that, as certain Royalist clans utilised Catholicism to make a political statement, so too presbyterianism had taken on redolent, political dimensions under the Earl of Argyll. When Alasdair MacColla and his Highland contingent had left Montrose in the summer of 1645, MacColla had returned to southern Argyll apparently motivated by hatred of the Campbells and eager to rally survivors of the Clan Donald South. He had control of Islay by December 1645. Having defied the King's order to disband in 1646, the rebels were still based in the old Clan Donald South lands of Kintyre and Islay over the winter of 1646-47. However, on 24 May 1647, David Leslie's Covenanting army entered Kintyre and MacColla decided to flee to Islay and possibly thereafter to Ireland, a retreat which he may have started to implement already. Following the slaughter of about 300 rebels at Dunaverty in early June 1647, Leslie landed on Islay on the 24th. MacColla had already fled to Ireland with the clan *fine*, some of the 'countrie' people and 100 Irish. Dunyveg surrendered on 4 July, and to crown the MacDonald humiliation, Coll Ciotach, who had been taken prisoner was sentenced by Argyll and duely hung, according to tradition, from the mast of his own galley in the September or October. (*Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 207-08, 215, 228, 232-40.) Nonetheless, it seems that McLachlan, the minister, was not compelled to flee until the summer of 1648. It was, perhaps, not until this time that the end of the Clan Donald South as a territorial clan was fully realised.

121. Fraser, p. 116.

122. *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, p. 237.

123. Furgol, p. 321, and also refer to Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections, and 5, section I B. Ulster. For the geographical location of the Lagan, see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.

124. A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Alumni of St. Andrews and the Settlement of Ulster,' *UJA*, 3rd series, 14, (1951), p. 12; Pearson, II, p. 503; Rev. David Stewart, 'The History of the Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1641-1760,' (unpublished typescript, Belfast, 1948), footnote to p. 74. Dugald Campbell, the parson, had been introduced as parson of the parish of Conwal, in Donegal, in 1615, though he appears to have been in Ireland since September 1611, when he was ordained in the diocese of Raphoe. The parish church in Conwal was ruined, and a new one was built at Letterkenny in the same parish. It should be noted that the Rev. David Stewart's footnote is exceptionally inaccurate and tries to piece together several bits of disparate information on different people, as if they referred to the same person. The author has combined the lives of the parson of Letterkenny, his cousin Dugald who attended Argyll's regiment, as well as the former's son Duncan, into one composite person, citing (in justification of this composite!) that this Campbell was 'called variously Dugald and Duncan.' This appears to be sheer conjecture in order to make sense of the evidence. He then states that this 'Campbell fled at the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641, and the following year he was acting as chaplain to the regiment of the Earl of Argyle in Ireland.' The early part of the statement probably refers to the parson, since most of the presbyterian ministers had fled by this time. It certainly appears that he had ample connections in Scotland and several members of his family ended up there, but no direct evidence has been found to support his removal at the rebellion. However, the latter reference is to Dugald Campbell from the presbytery of Inveraray. The next statement in the footnote is that 'In 1644 he was living in Dunoon in poor circumstances when the synod of Argyle made him a grant of £16.' This probably refers to a totally separate individual. The reference in the Synod minutes is simply to "Duncan Campbell" without the 'Mr.,' who is said to have fled from the rebels in Ireland in fear of his life. This is likely to be the parson's son Duncan, but may even refer to a layman, of whom there must have been many with the same name. (*Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. 90.) Certainly no connection is drawn between him and the parson of Letterkenny. The footnote then notes that Campbell returned to County Donegal in 1673, where on 4 November, he was welcomed back by the Lagan presbytery and appointed to visit the people beyond the mountains of Barnesmore. The people of Killybegs, Killachli and Inver presented him with a call. Now, the first factor that comes to mind is that if this Campbell had really first been minister in Conwall in 1615, he would probably be in his late eighties - hardly a time to be changing countries after having lived in Scotland for two decades. (He appears to have returned to Scotland in 1653, see below, main text.) This surely refers to the parson's son, Duncan, for whom, see final section of this chapter, II C. *Highland ministers in Ireland from the Cromwellian occupation to the Revolution, 1650-1689*. Stewart quotes his sources as the Visitation of Raphoe, 1622, the transactions of the Synod of Argyll, and the Minutes of Lagan Meeting.

125. Fraser, pp. 116, 128, quoting *Highland Papers, IV,* p. 69. Interestingly, there is no mention amongst this

total of any of the parson's children having died in childhood, though some may have done.

126. Several of his wife's Scottish Campbell relations were also involved in this mammoth task. See below.

127. *Fasti*, IV, pp. 91-92, 49. John Lindsay had three sons by the parson's eldest daughter, two of whom, Dugald, minister of Glenorchy, and Colin, minister of Kilbrandon, continued to foster presbyterianism within Argyll.

128. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 37. Having been in Ireland since 1611, Campbell would probably have been in his late sixties, possibly even early seventies by this point and seems to have decided to retire permanently in Scotland.

129. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 152.

130. Fraser, pp. 122-27. Campbell was now joined in this work by his son, Duncan Campbell, new incumbent of the parish of Glenorchy. The translation is thought to have been finished in 1662 but the manuscript appears to have disappeared. Campbell was also given the book of Ecclesiastes to translate when plans were underway to translate the bible into Gaelic, but whatever work was completed on this task, it seems not to have come to fruition by 1689.

131. Reid, II, (1837), appendix, p. 497 - Extracts from "The Civil Establishment of the Commonwealth for Ireland for the year 1655. "

132. Pearson, I, pp. 45-47. Jeremy O'Quin, parish minister of Billy, was also a part of this Cromwellian vernacular missionary drive. In 1655, he took part in a mission in Connacht and Clare with James Wallace of Urney, with Wallace conducting the preaching in English and O'Quin in Irish.

133. SRO CH2/111/2, Presbytery of Dunoon, 1639-1686, fol. 148. Johnston does not appear as a minister in the *Fasti.*

134. SRO CH2/111/2, fol. 165. Mr. Patrick Stewart was a minister charged with swearing and sabbath breaking. (SRO CH2/111/2, fol. 187.)

135. PRONI D1759/1A/1, Presbytery of Antrim, 1654-1658, fols. 175-76.

136. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 145. Note that James Garner is not listed as a minister in *Fasti*, IV.

137. A minute in the records of the Antrim meeting for 2 February 1675 amply expresses the church's concern. Although there is no Gaelic content alluded to in this minute, it is significant in that the strickened circumstances it points to the church being in, coincide with the next influx of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders: "Whereas the meeting of Downe by their correspondent have overtured to us, viz: Consideration being had that the brethren are all under Great Straites for want of maintainance, and that the Gospel Ministry in Ireland is like to cease upon the accompt that there is no way for the maintainance thereof, it is overtured that the Moderator of the Last Comittee write unto the severall meetings, that each of them send foure Commissioners unto the next Comittee, prepared with some effectual overtures for the remedying of the said inconvenience and hazard, and that there may be an harmonious way taken in that affaire." (PRONI D1759/1A/1, fol. 165.)

138. SRO CH2/111/2, Presbytery of Dunoon, fols. 314, 320. Alexander Cameron does not appear as a minister in the *Fasti.*

139. The connection with the parson is indicated by the addition in the margin, by the twentieth century copiest of the 'Minutes of the Laggan Meeting,' of an extract from the minutes of the Synod of Argyll relating to the parson.
140. PRONI D1759/1E/1, fol. 98.
141. PRONI D1759/1E/1 fols. 140, 154, 168; *Irish Fasti,* p. 81.
142. Reid, II, (1837), appendix no. 19, footnote to p. 516; PRONI D1759/1E/1, fol. 171.
143. Francis H. Groome, *Ordnance Gazeteer of Scotland,* 6 vols., (London, Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1882-85), IV, p. 388.
144. PRONI D1759/1E/1 fols. 170, 172-73, 178, 183. A fellow minister was required "to visit Fermanagh and to try that peoples willingness in reference to their Call to Mr James Tailzour, and what encouragement they will give for this effect." In keeping with the meeting's directives, on 1 June 1675, Tailzeur was appointed to supply Lifford, then Urny and Kapy, if called, on subsequent sabbaths, which appointments he duly kept. Tailzeur was then appointed to supply Fermanagh for three sabbaths.
145. PRONI D1759/1E/1, fols. 192-93.
146. PRONI D1759/1E/1, fol. 194. However, their preparation was clearly not thorough or extensive enough, which probably refers to inadequate financial provision or accommodation, for on 1 September 1675 a letter was read from James Tailzeur, "shewing that the people of Fermanagh cannot get his affairs so soon dispatched as the Meeting desired & expected; but that after a few days more time, they will get all things relating to his return to us, dispatched." (fol. 195.)
147. PRONI D1759/1E/1, fol. 198. Note that this fairly small amount indicates that salaries were paid, as might be expected in Ireland, in £s sterling.
148. PRONI D1759/1E/1 fols. 198-99; Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, *A History of Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1610-1982,* (Belfast, 1982), p. 471.
149. PRONI D1759/1E/1, fols. 203, 245. Tailzeur was still in Scotland on 4 April 1676, and though Rule returned from Scotland by 11 July 1676, there is no indication that Tailzeur returned then. (fol. 241.)
150. Reid, II, (1837), appendix, pp. 515-17.
151. Beckett, p. 133.
152. The reasons for the holding of the fast are not specified.
153. One of these is potentially very interesting to the subject in hand, for Robert Campbell, who had been ordained to Ray or Raymoghy in County Donegal in 1671, returned to Scotland. When he left Ireland is not specified, but if it was immediately after his release from prison like William Trail, the question arises of what he was doing for a number of years, for he was not admitted to the parish of Rosneath on the Gareloch, in the Firth of Clyde, until 3 December 1689. There is, therefore, a fair possibility that he spoke Gaelic, for there was a sizeable Highland, Campbell community there, and the Earl of Argyll maintained the Castle of Rosneath. (Fasti, VII, p. 527; Alasdair MacColla, p. 52.)
154. Reid, II, (1837), pp. 421-25; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde K.P., preserved at the Castle, Kilkenny,* II, (London, 1899), pp. 219-20. Mr. Trail became minister of Borthwick, in the Borders. (Reid, footnote to p. 423.)

155. PRONI D1759/1E/1, fols. 292-93, 303.

156. PRONI D1759/1E/1, fols. 309-10, 319.

157. Reid, II, (1837), appendix, footnote to p. 516.

158. Donaldson, p. 371; Reid, II, (1837), appendix, footnote to p. 516.

159. *A History of Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1610-1982*, pp. 471, 501-02; *Irish Fasti*, p. 81. Tailzeur died in 1694.

160. *Irish Fasti*, p. 61; Donaldson, pp. 379-80. It has been suggested that Darroch might have been in Ireland, but the evidence is inconclusive. The Scottish *Fasti*, IV, states that he was 'collated and admitted at Kilcalmonell and Kilberry in 1669 probably deprived for the Test in 1681;' 'Had charge of a Presbyterian congregation at Glenarm in Ireland; returned at the Toleration, and was present at the erection of the Synod 29th Sept, and of Presbytery 9th November 1687.' (pp. 3, 58.) No corroborating evidence has been found, however, to back up the information that he was in Ireland prior to 1688. Moreover, neither the *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church*, (p. 61) nor the *History of Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* (p. 500) have any note of him being in Ireland prior to 1688. Indeed, the latter notes the Rev. John Anderson, who had fled from Scotland, as the minister of Glenarm in 1674 where he continued until October 1685 when he removed to Antrim. After this, in July 1686, a call was presented to the Rev. Hugh Crawford, which he subscribed to in January 1687, finally returning to Scotland in February 1688. (pp. 499-500.) This hardly accords with Darroch being in charge of the congregation, and neither is there a second congregation mentioned in the book, as is usual when more than one existed.

161. SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, fols. 35-36.

162. SRO CH2/1153/1, fols. 36-37.

163. SRO CH2/557/3, Synod of Argyll, fol. 6.

164. *Irish Fasti*, p. 61.

165. PRONI D1759/1A/2, Minutes of the Antrim meeting, 1671-1691, fol. 397.

166. PRONI D1759/1A/2, fol. 398.

167. PRONI D1759/1A/2, fol. 398.

168. SRO CH2/557/3 Synod of Argyll, fol. 10.

169. SRO CH2/557/3, fol. 10; SRO CH2/1153/1, fols. 37-38. The presbytery of Kintyre especially considered Darroch's "outward straits and necessities," which are elsewhere identified to be "particularlie the necessities of his familie," whose needs were clearly not being met within his Scottish parish because of the dispute over his stipend. (SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 38.)

170. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 38.

171. SRO CH2/557/3, fol. 10.

172. PRONI D1759/1A/2, fols. 413, 416. The proportional breakdown of payment with regard to those requesting his services was recorded: "Cushendall promises a fourth part of Stipend further upon their being supply'd every fourth day, or more, if every third day; wherein the meeting acquiesces for the present, as likewise Mr. Darragh: The bonds of which payment they promise to renew every year during his incumbency." (fol. 417.)

173. PRONI D1759/1A/2, fols. 417, 419.

174. SRO CH2/557/3, fol. 16; *History of Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* p. 500.

175. PRONI D1759/1A/2, fol. 425.

176. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 38.

177. SRO CH2/557/3, fol. 45. On 9 October 1690, owing to the burden of all his children, he was to receive "£60 Scots for keeping Wiliam Darroch his son att schoole. "

178. See Chapter 11, section I C. xiii. McNeills of Gigha and Taynish (Gallochelly, Carskiey, Tirfergus, Losset, and Ugadale.)

179. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 41.

180. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 42. Subsequently, a call was at least presented to Darroch which had been one of his main grievances but it was only signed by the laird of Loup, Kilberry and John dow MacAllister. The presbytery required it to be brought back signed by more heritors and as many of the common people as possible. Yet, Skipness, for example, would not sign unless Darroch gave a service in the church formerly proposed by his father, but Darroch had indicated that the parish was too large to undertake this. (SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 43.) Although Darroch was transferred and admitted to Craignish on 8 June 1692, that is the month after the presentation of his grievances, parochial disagreements continued to dog him well into the eighteenth century. (*Fasti*, IV, p. 3.) When the Synod of Argyll visited Craignish on 28 June 1706 John Darroch, "minister of this place," was held in check for not giving the sacrament. He argued that the kirk had no roof and that people could have access to the sacrament in other parishes. (SRO CH2/557/4, fol. 211.)

181. SRO CH2/557/3, Synod of Argyll, fol. 753.

182. SRO CH2/557/3, fol. 6.

183. *Fasti*, IV, p. 37.

184. *Fasti*, IV, p. 134.

185. See Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 8
CATHOLIC LINKS BETWEEN IRISH AND SCOTTISH GAELS, 1638-1689

Introduction

This period marks the beginnings of the establishment of a secular mission in the Highlands, when mission work was removed from the control of regular orders and placed under the headship of a secular mission co-ordinator. The Highland mission became a melting-pot of regulars from various orders, as well as of seculars. The early years of this period were filled with the uncertainties of the civil war, during which spiritual succour was to be taken when and as available. Following this, the general cause of Catholicism in Scotland received a boost with the appointment of William Leslie, a Scottish secular priest, as Scots representative to the Holy See in 1650. His living in Rome, and the immediate knowledge he could acquire there, greatly benefited the Scottish mission. His one failing was the great antipathy he had for the Jesuits, an antipathy which had consistently dogged the Counter-Reformation Scottish congregation, but reached new heights under Leslie. His prime end was the appointment of a secular priest as bishop for the Scottish mission, and in this he conflicted severely with the Jesuits who, until this time, had been the main organised force of Catholicism in Scotland and were keen to protect their privileges. In spite of this weakness, Leslie 'must be regarded as one of the chief builders of the reconstructed Catholic Church in Scotland. He was the one priest above all others who was responsible for forming a handful of secular clergy into a Mission under a Prefect-Apostolic, and finally under a Vicar-Apostolic....'[1]

It was, probably, under the influence of the Jesuits in Propaganda that Innocent X decided against the creation of a Scottish bishop in 1653, but he did agree to making William Ballantyne, a Scottish secular, prefect-apostolic. This position gave Ballantyne more limited powers than a vicar-apostolic, which was basically a spiritual jurisdiction, technically over only the secular priests on the Scottish mission, but, in practice, also over those regulars who did not have resident superiors on mission territory. In effect, it was largely an administrative post, concerned with meetings, distribution of allowances from Propaganda, correspondence and the selection of new students for the Scots colleges abroad. However, under this system regular priests of many denominations, Franciscan, Vincentian, Dominican, and Barnabite, as well as some secular priests came to work together, as an extended, if not totally harmonious community. Even the Jesuits finally came within the Propaganda Fide's orbit when they drew up a submission to the authority of the vicar-apostolic on 7 February 1701. All this was undoubtedly an achievement.[2] The latter end of this period is marked by the uproar caused in Britain in August 1678 by Titus Oates' 'Popish Plot,' which exposed a plan to murder Charles II and put his brother, the Catholic Duke of York in his place, and to invite the French to invade England to assist the establishment of the Catholic faith

there.[3] Although this drew a negative focus upon the Catholic community in general, it did not have resounding consequences in the isolated Highlands and Islands. There were, however, religious undertones to the expedition sent into Argyll by MacDonell of Glengarry in 1679, in an attempt to even scores against Argyll for his dispossession of MacLeod of Duart, and who also, following the Popish Plot, had enveigled a commission from the Crown to disarm MacDonell of Glengarry and MacDonald of Keppoch on the basis that the majority of their supporters were Catholic.[4] The prefect-apostolic temporarily left the mission for Holland in the late summer of 1678, but returned in the subsequent summer,. the arrival of the Catholic Duke of York boding better omens for Catholic toleration.[5] Under James VII the number of priests on the Highland mission increased many-fold. Even though the toleration itself was to prove short-lived after the Revolution, the Highland mission had, by this time, so good a foundation that it was able to draw into the priesthood native Scots who increasingly came to serve in the following century.

I. SOURCES

Particularly pertinent in the study of the history of priests on the Highland mission, is the variety of scattered sources, both Catholic and Protestant, from which the information is derived. With the occasional appearance of new papers and letters, or when known sources are scrutinized, information about the whereabouts and precise origins of priests appears to be in a state of flux. There will inevitably be inadequacies and inconsistencies in the account which follows but it is, nevertheless, a concerted attempt to provide the basis for a critique of Irish priests, secular and regular, working on the Highland mission in the late seventeenth century.[6]

Following the abundance of records pertaining to the Franciscans in the preceding period, much of the subsequent information regarding Irish priests in Scotland during the civil war comes from the annual letters of the Jesuit priests in Scotland to their Father-General on the continent, which cover the period from 1627 to the end of this thesis in 1760.[7] So too, it has been possible to extract a good deal of primary source material from secondary accounts of the Vincentians in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, material which has been taken from the Archives of Propaganda Fide and from the French Abelly's *Life of Vincent de Paul*, first published in 1664, which includes many original letters.[8] Similarly, material in Latin from the registers of the Dominican master-general in Rome, as well as from the Archives of Propaganda Fide has been made available in secondary accounts.[9] Fortunately, copious source material also survives in the Blairs Letters collection in the Scottish Catholic Archives for the secular mission of the late 1680s, when a new degree of toleration had been extended to Catholics. Not only has it been possible to build up a fairly detailed picture of mission activity, but also to temper this on many occasions with evidence from the Protestant record, where presbyteries were constantly trying to curtail missionary activity. Here

information has been derived from the minutes of the General Assembly Commission, the Synod of Argyll, Inverness and Dingwall presbytery records, and the session book of Kingarth.[10] Much of the detail has been used to compile year-to-year itineraries of the priests.[11]

II. THE POST-FRANCISCAN INITIATIVE AND THE IRISH PRIESTS WITH ALASDAIR MACCOLLA MACDONALD

The Franciscan mission in Scotland was not formally established again until Congregation issued a decree on 22 January 1647. This, however, merely established official responsibility for the provision of missionaries and allowances, the latter of which had often not been forthcoming anyway. Scots continued to flock to Bonamargy in magnitudes of several hundreds per year, even during the Bishops' Wars of 1639-40, but it appears more that the mission simply ran down financially.[12] Though the mission was officially terminated, Scots continued to be served from Ireland. Two things seriously impinged upon the work which continued there. Firstly, the civil war which began with the First Bishops' War in Scotland in 1639 and had spread to Ireland by 1641 when the Irish rebellion began. Patrick Hegarty wrote to Propaganda on 4 December 1640, saying that 'in 1640, because of war between King Charles and the Scots, travel between Scotland and Ireland was forbidden by royal decree, but nevertheless, he received 200 into the church that same year.'[13] Hegarty attempted to maintain control of the Scottish mission, for he made further statements about the question of army chaplains in the predominantly Irish Catholic army, raised by the Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to invade Scotland. '... an Irish army is about to go to Scotland to help King Charles, and that priests who have no jurisdiction from anybody and who have apostatized or have been deprived of office because of their crimes, are to accompany the army as chaplains.' His alleged reason for fearing this was that if such priests went to Scotland they could do great harm by their bad example, and in the absence of a bishop to check such abuses, could corrupt those who had been confirmed in the faith by Hegarty and his companions. He may have been referring to some priests who had apostatized to join the ranks of the episcopal Church of Ireland, though Hegarty had little hope of influencing the appointment of chaplains to the Irish army even with a papal decree in his favour. He asked, since Congregation had put him in charge of the Scottish mission, 'that a rescript be obtained from the pope, obliging every priest, secular or regular, going to Scotland with the army or individually, to apply to him first for approval, unless such a man had been appointed by the pope or by the Congregation to go there....'[14] Though the planned invasion came to nothing, Hegarty's desire to exercise control over the chaplains' ideology, probably largely a political control favouring the native Irish rather than a religious one, is readily apparent.[15] Indeed, there were similar factors at work among the Scottish presbyterian army chaplains in Ireland from 1642.[16]

It was, however, some years before an Irish force left Ulster to join the Royalists in Scotland. On 16 June 1641, Hegarty wrote to the Congregation that, once again, little had been done that year on the mission because of the civil strife in that country. He also informed that Cornelius Ward had died and that the cardinal had provided new missionaries in his place and in that of another of the missionaries.[17] Clearly, then, the mission was still operational, but was totally based in Ireland at this time.[18] The second thing which seriously impinged on the mission's work was the capture and imprisonment of Patrick Hegarty in the late summer of 1641. Hegarty was imprisoned for five years, and it is highly likely that this lengthy period reflected his suspected espionage activities. It is probable, for instance, that he (or one of the other Franciscan missionaries) was the Franciscan friar mentioned in a report from Madrid in September 1639, as the exiled Earl of Tyrone, John O'Neill's, agent in Scotland. Tyrone even made secret approaches to the Earl of Argyll around October 1639 for an alliance, for which the same man was undoubtedly his agent.[19] Moreover, Hegarty was certainly in the confidence of the leaders of the native Irish rebels. Just before the Irish rebellion started in Ireland in October 1641, Owen Roe O'Neill, nephew of the Earl of Tyrone, wrote from Flanders to his cousin, Sir Phelim O'Neill, commander of the Irish forces, discouraging their engagement in battle until he joined them. He also suggested that they attempt to keep the Covenanters out of Ireland by sending:

> one Patrick Heggertie, a fryar, who had spent much time in Scotland, to sollicite for them there, and to putt the Scotts in minde that they weare for the most parte discended from the Irish, and that the Irish never drew any of theire blood, and therefore that they keepe themselves quiet in theire owne countrie, not helping the one parte or the other.

Sir Phelim, on the other hand, was more concerned with the assistance which sympathetic Highlanders could give to the native Irish. In a letter to a "Father Patrick," dated 30 October 1641, he asked the recipient to "send word to Scotland to donald Gorme (that is, MacDonald of Sleat) And to the people of Raghline, And everie place in Scotland where yow have freindis, And let them cum hither an we will use them weill." It has been suggested that this letter was probably addressed to Hegarty, but an element of doubt has been introduced into the debate in that the eighteenth-century historian, Thomas Carte, also refers to a letter written by Sir Phelim at about this time, to Fr. Patrick O'Donnell, a Jesuit, in which O'Donnell was asked to send Alasdair MacColla to Ireland.[20]

As for the presence of priests in the Highlands and Islands at this time, in May 1642 the Synod of Argyll commissioned a letter to the Marquis of Argyll "that his Lordship would be pleased to concurre with the assembly in wryteing to the Captane of Clan Ronald that he would send the preest commounly resideing in his family to the assembly that ordour may be taken with him."[21] This might indicate the presence of an Irish priest in South Uist, since most priests who served

there before and after this tended to be Irish. However, it is as likely that this refers to Ronald MacDonald, the mega-apostate.[22] When, on 8 July 1644, a small force of Scots and Irish came over from Ireland to join Montrose, it sailed with three Irish priests. When it met up with Montrose, the combined force was also joined by Scots Jesuits under Fr. James MacBreck.[23] However, it appears that two Jesuits, probably Scots, had already crossed to the north of Scotland from Ireland in 1643. One had "relatives and connections in the Highlands" and was probably a Gaelic speaker. A Jesuit report for 1644 stated that:

> No secure hiding place being discoverable in Scotland, two Fathers formed the resolution of penetrating through the Hebrides into Ireland, but did not succeed in the attempt. One of them, who had been conveyed over from Ireland the year before [that is, 1643], had a certain resemblance in his look and his hair to the man of high rank, whom I have just mentioned as having escaped into the Strathearn country, and on this account had great difficulty in escaping the hands of the enemy.[24]

As for the Irish force itself, it was formed into three regiments, comprising about 2000 men in total, and according to MacBreck "each regiment had a priest whom they called the *parochus*."[25] Following the route of this force from when it landed in July in Ardnamurchan, marched east to Lochaber, to MacKenzie country in Ross-shire, thence to Badenoch, down the Spey and on to Atholl, where Montrose joined them, it is clear that with several priests in attendance, Catholics would have been served in all these Highland areas. Certainly, as far as Ross-shire is concerned, MacKenzie country stretched across the shire from east to west, but by the time of the prefect William Ballantyne's report, written in about 1660, the Catholic faith was said to be professed by some among the Clan Munro in Easter Ross "and in the Gairloch district" of Wester Ross. It was at Atholl that the joint force first became acquainted with the Scottish Jesuits, and there is no evidence to suggest any conflict with the Irish priests. Ballantyne later identified "some Catholics of the Clan Robertson and some of the Clan Stewart" in the county of Atholl in 1660.[26] After the Royalist victory at Aberdeen in September 1644, the army went to Mar and the Spey in the northern Highlands where another Jesuit visited the army. From Buchan, Montrose proposed to march to Kintyre and one of the Scottish Jesuits arranged to go with the army. "The priest accordingly prepared all that would be required to say Mass, with further supplies intended for the Irish priests."[27]

The army reinforced at Badenoch and decided to march through Atholl, where efforts were made to bring the word to any who showed inclination.[28] However, because the Irish regiments sought a confrontation with the Campbells[29] they proceeded from Breadalbane ["Albany"] to Glenorchy and Inveraray. Burning houses and fields, as is well-documented, they arrived in Lorn where, in December 1644, they camped at Dunstaffnage. By 8 January 1645 the army was again in Lochaber.[30] It may, indeed, be from as early as this period that the two mass stones of Lochaber

date, for this was the second time that the army and its Irish priests had visited Lochaber in six months. If so, this would seem to date the MacDonalds of Keppoch's first contact with Catholicism to this period.[31]

Later in March and April 1645, as the army engaged in much marching after the battle of Inverlochy, there was less opportunity for extended ministrations.[32] So too, after the battle of Auldearn in May 1645 the Royalists endured forced marches from Badenoch to Strathnairn, in order to meet the Covenanting troops. Moving eastwards, they ascended Mount Scarsach in the heart of the country. "The fasts were duly observed, and Mass frequently celebrated, in this land of huntsmen, as if they had been in a Catholic country, and they were attended in addition by numerous Catholics of the Ogilvie clan from Angus, and others who had not been recognised before."[33] Once again, the Highland peripheries were served with Catholicism. Similarly, after the Royalist victory at Alford, in Mar, "the priests ... began to renew their religious ministrations, more particularly among those who had been prevented by sex or inability to bear arms, from making their appearance in camp or on the march."[34] At this point, the Royalist army was reinforced by Highland levies, notably by Alasdair MacColla who raised a levy in Kintyre and the islands among the followers of the Marquis of Antrim, and by a strong regiment from Mull and Jura, under Lachlan MacLean of Duart. MacColla's men continued to be served by the Irish priests, but MacLean's were attended by a number of Protestant ministers.[35] Murdoch MacLean, tenth of Lochbuie, on the contrary seems to have remained firmly committed to Catholicism during this period, though his heir Lachlan, appears to have nominally submitted to the Synod of Argyll in 1651.[36]

When the army went south, petty jealousies which had been evident from the start, appear to have erupted in the Royalist ranks. Nonetheless, MacColla's departure with his troops for Kintyre in the summer of 1645 was entirely consistent with his commission, by which the Irish Confederates sought to occupy Covenanting troops on the western seaboard and prevent them sending reinforcements to Ulster. Half the Irish force remained with Montrose under Manus O'Cahan. Montrose retreated to Atholl after the disaster at Philiphaugh on 13 September 1645. It appears that the labours of the Irish priests in the force with Montrose were now spent, for the Jesuits were said to have "the sole charge of all the Catholics, for the Irish priests were either killed, or had gone with Alexander Macdonald, and were living in his territory among the islands."[37] The extent to which the Irish priests were forged to the MacDonald contingent can readily be seen.[38] From this point, the two Royalist forces in Scotland were separated physically, MacColla maintaining a Royalist bridgehead on the western seaboard. For the next two years Alasdair MacColla stayed in the west Highlands waging a MacDonald war against the Campbells.[39] Montrose's campaign, on the other hand, ended when he escaped to Norway in September 1646.[40] The Synod of Argyll

twice complained to the Commissioners of the General Assembly, in September 1646, of the Irish priests who returned to Kintyre with MacColla. They wrote, on the the first occasion, that:

> with the enemy there ar a number of freiris and seminarie priests, who ar going about Kintyre and some of the Iles, using all diligence and endevour to seduce the people to Poprie; and many not only in Kintyre but also of the adjacent Iles, even of the better sort, already following their wayes, and not only countenancing, but embraceing their superstition.[41]

The second letter contained more or less the same sentiments, and it was represented to the Committee of Estates "that these men ar come to that hight of insolencie as to professe, that in a short tyme the masse shall be set up there to the open view and beholding of all men, and that this was the end of their comeing into this kingdome."[42]

The continuation of the Franciscan mission in the Isles was also closely tied up with the political fortunes of the Kintyre MacDonalds and Ulster MacDonnells. The next information regarding the Franciscan mission comes shortly after the release of Hegarty in a letter he wrote from Waterford on 29 August 1646. He had four missionaries in mind, apart from himself, to serve in Scotland who were named as John Gormley, Anthony Gearnon (requested from Louvain), Daniel McNeill and Daniel Laertius. Significantly, he stipulated that the latter two were already labouring in Scotland, though no details are given as to where.[43] There is reason to assume, therefore, that these were the two priests with the MacDonald contingent in Kintyre, (the third priest who came with the force having probably been killed at Philiphaugh.) Though it may no longer have been funded by Propaganda, the Franciscan mission continued under MacDonnell protection in Ulster, with the Earl of Antrim as its major financial benefactor, and under MacDonald protection on the western seaboard in Scotland. Even if the official closure of the first mission is held to be 1637, according to Hegarty, his allowance had not been paid since 1631. The parameters of the official mission can thus be seen to have been wholly arbitrary.

Negotiations to officially refund the mission had already begun two years prior to Hegarty's letter of 1644 when Francesco Scarampi, an Italian sent to prepare the path for Rinuccini,[44] had recommended this to Propaganda. There was much correspondence between Scarampi, Brian Conny, provincial of the Irish Franciscans, Rinuccini, and the Secretary of Propaganda before four missionaries were chosen to continue the Franciscan mission to the Highlands. The new staff are conspicuous by their familiarity - Patrick Brady, Paul O'Neill, Daniel McNeill and Edmund McCann - in effect, only one new missionary.[45] With these men, the mission was declared reconstituted on 22 January 1647. Unfortunately, no details of this mission, assuming that it came to fruition, survive.[46]

It may, indeed, be that following the return to Ireland of Alasdair MacColla in June 1647, the Irish priests who were with his force also returned. What is known is that Daniel McNeill was mentioned as being on the mission in August 1646 and was also one of the missionaries proposed for the reconstituted mission in January 1647, which perhaps indicates that he was still there. Daniel Laertius was also on the mission in August 1646, but was not re-proposed, and it may be that he had returned to Ireland already. With the death of Alasdair MacColla, their main protector in the Highlands, on 13 November 1647, and the coming to power of the radical party in Scotland in the following year, it would seem most likely that the Franciscans continued their operations from Bonamargy.

A very interesting postscript can be added concerning the mission in the southern Isles. Three brothers with the surname Dunbar, who appear to have hailed from Nerabolls in Islay, arrived at the Scottish Benedictine monastery of Ratisbon in Bavaria. The elder, George, who took vows as Bro. Erhard, came in 1674. There are few details concerning the second. The youngest, George Dunbar, came in 1679, taking vows as Bro. John-Baptist. The abbot explicitly stated that Nicholas Dunbar was a Gaelic speaker from the Highlands. Information also survives that George Dunbar was born in 1653. Not only does their existence confirm that there was provision for the sustenance of Catholics in Islay during the 1640s and 1650s when the brothers were growing up, but it also highlights, once again, that particular area of Islay which used to have links with the monastery of Derry, though no further conclusions can necessarily be drawn from this.[47] It may be that some form of Franciscan mission continued in Islay into the early 1650s, possibly under Daniel McNeill, though there is no mention of this in the Protestant record. What does exist is the record of a Nicolas Dunbar in Islay in the minutes of the Synod of Argyll from 1657 to 1661 as a persistent papist, who has been put forward as the boys' father.[48] There was also at least one visit from the Vincentian Fr. Duggan who went to Islay as well as to the Isles of Canna and Eigg in 1652.[49] This seems to have been the last time that Islay was visited by Catholic priests on the Highland mission during the seventeenth century. After 1653 all regulars came increasingly under the jurisdiction of the secular mission superior and there is little evidence to show that anywhere more southerly than the Moidart and Morar region and Brae Lochaber, was visited by priests on the Highland and Island mission during the rest of the century.

III. LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF THE SECULAR MISSION, 1653-1680

Secular priests, as opposed to regular priests, were supposed to be maintained by their own parishes, but where Catholicism was prohibited this was impossible. They can sometimes be distinguished in Scotland by the appellation 'Mister,' used until the late nineteenth century in preference to 'Father' which was used only for members of regular orders, though Mr. was used in

the Catholic record for regular priests who worked as seculars on the mission to the Highlands and Islands. Indeed secular clergy were insignificant in Scotland during the early decades of the seventeenth century, and they have aptly been described as 'itinerant, free-lance evangelists.' Post-1622, they were theoretically supposed to be maintained by Propaganda, but the seculars appear to have experienced the same problems with delays of money from Propaganda as the regulars. Moreover, there were so few seculars that control of three of the four Scots colleges abroad - Douai, Rome and Madrid - had been assumed by the Jesuits by 1627. Only Paris, the fourth college, remained in secular hands. It was largely because of their understandable tendency to defect to the security of religious orders, on completing their training in the Scottish colleges, that Propaganda had introduced 'The Mission Oath' in 1625. Any student admitted to the Scottish colleges and sustained by their funds, had to promise not to enter a regular order until he had fulfilled three years' missionary work in Scotland as a secular priest. Its intention was largely to neutralise the Jesuit influence which encouraged students to join the Jesuits on completion of their studies.[50]

Yet, as Ballantyne pointed out in 1659 "some go on the Mission only to satisfy the obligation of the vow they have taken, and, after they have stayed some time, they go off to get some security in life elsewhere and never think about the Mission again." As remedy for this, he suggested that it was "of the highest importance that those who join the Mission should be truly apostolic men, thinking nothing of their own convenience, men who have chosen that kind of life and no other as a permanent state."[51] It was from the appointment of Ballantyne as the first prefect-apostolic in 1653 that the secular dimension came to be significant in the Highlands and Islands. Certainly, the first recorded Irish secular priest in the Highlands dates from two years after Ballantyne's appointment, that is, 1655.[52] To succeed without the financial and emotional back-up of an order behind them, the seculars particularly needed leadership. From 1653 there is evidence throughout Scotland of them working together with more enthusiasm, especially among the poor, thus leaving the regulars, particularly the Jesuits and the Benedictines in the Lowlands, to serve the nobility. The Vincentians, on the other hand, were 'secular priests under simple vows, not religious in the strict sense,' but a congregation which aimed to evangelise the poor and convert heathens and heretics. Their vows were, therefore, uncompromised in the Highlands. As prefect-apostolic over all seculars in Scotland, it was, undoubtedly, fortuitous that Ballantyne based himself at Gordon Castle where he was given refuge by the third Marchioness of Huntly, for here he was also in a realistic position to attend to the Highland mission. As a substitute bishop, all secular priests on the mission were expected to accept his limited jurisdiction, but the Jesuits were not keen to accord him this honour.[53]

This raises an important point regarding regulars, which is that those regulars who, henceforth, came on the mission, in the absence of a resident religious superior of their own, came under the

jurisdiction of the prefect-apostolic, as head of the mission. Those with a particularly tight-knit organisation, such as the Jesuits, who had appointed superiors and a long-established base of Counter-Reformation in the country, remained aloof and self-sufficient. But overall in the Highlands, the priests began increasingly to operate as a homogeneous, secular unit. Owing to this development, the secular mission received a minor set-back with the imprisonment of Mr. Ballantyne and his subsequent exile in France, from 1656 to 1660, though Mr. Alexander Dunbar (alias Winster or Winchester) acted as vice-prefect during his absence. Whilst recuperating in Paris, Ballantyne drew up a report of the state of Catholicism in Scotland in late 1659. He stated that:

> In the whole kingdom there are to be found no more than eighteen priests: of these, eight are of the Society of Jesus; seven are secular priests, of whom three are Irish, in the Highlands, and four are Scots; together with two Dominicans, and one Capuchin. They are scattered all over the rest of Scotland ... the laity are wont to receive sacraments from any one of them, except the Irish, whose mission is limited to the Highland people (who speak the Irish language).[54]

It is not entirely obvious who these three Irish seculars working in the Highlands were. One was almost definitely Charles Horan. According to a letter of Ballantyne's, probably written in 1661, he was the only priest in the Highlands and Islands after the Vincentians left. Horan was a native of Elphin diocese in Connacht who Ballantyne praised for his diligence and hard work. In 1665, it was reported that he had returned to Ireland in the previous year, at the age of 40, having spent nine years in the Highlands. This dates his arrival to around 1655. The other two are likely to have been Vincentians, just prior to their return to France.[55] One was probably Francis White, and the other probably the remaining member of the pair who had come in 1653, that is, either Gerald Brin or John Ennery. However, when Ballantyne appealed to Propaganda for more priests, specifically requesting some of those who had been in the Highlands before, he included amongst them two priests who have not previously been noted on the mission from other sources. Along with Francis White and his brother John, who were Vincentians, he also mentioned a John de Burgh and MacSweeney. Both appear to have been Irishmen, but whether they were Vincentians or seculars is not known.[56]

Although Mr. Ballantyne resumed his duties in 1660, it is clear that his imprisonment had taken a serious toll on his health and he died at Elgin on 2 September. Mr. Alexander Dunbar was appointed as second prefect-apostolic in 1662. By 28 March 1664 he was writing to Rome asking Mr. Leslie, the Scottish agent there, to intercede with Propaganda to find some priests for the Highland mission. Since the Scots colleges were sending no priests to Scotland, he felt that the only short-term solution was to bring in Irish priests, especially for the Gaelic-speaking areas, for the only priest serving in the Highlands in 1664 was the Vincentian, Mr. White, in Glengarry.[57]

A. The Vincentian mission to the Highlands and Islands

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, a territory which had been almost exclusively a Franciscan domain, began to be infiltrated by missionaries from other orders. Probably as the result of an appeal by MacDonald of Clanranald, who sent to Ireland for more priests in 1651, Propaganda asked the French Lazarists to help in the Highlands and Islands.[58] In October 1650, Vincent de Paul wrote to Propaganda in answer to their request that two of his priests, Dermot Duggan from Emly and Francis White from Limerick, wished faculties to go as missionaries to Scotland and the Hebrides.[59] Duggan (or de Guy, Gray or Ó Duigin) and White (or le Blanc) set out from Paris to Antwerp and waited, disguised as merchants, for passage to Scotland. While there they met a Highland chief, Angus MacDonald of Glengarry, who was in exile at the court of Charles II and was to become a good friend. As a Royalist, he too was travelling in disguise.[60] It appears that Glengarry and the missionaries had met more by chance than by organisation.[61] Duggan recorded the encounter in a letter of 1652 in which he gave details to St. Vincent of their arrival in Scotland:

> ... having remained a long time in Holland awaiting an opportunity of embarking, God gave us the grace to depart, and we arrived here happily by the favour of the chieftain recently converted, called the Chief of Glengarry, who took us under his protection and showed us so much kindness that words fail me to express it.[62]

After a serious illness which delayed his journey to the Hebrides,[63] Duggan, according to his orders, left for Uist. Clanranald, his family and tacksmen met Duggan, and in the same sense as in the previous Franciscan missions, were 'converted' or reconciled to Catholicism.[64] Many clan chiefs of those areas visited by the Franciscans seemed keen to attract Duggan's services:

> (McNeil), Lord of the Isle of Barra, having heard of me, sent a gentleman to beg me to do his island the same service as I had done to the Laird of Clanranald. The Laird of the Isle of Capaga (sic),[65] who is a gentleman of importance, and together with him seven or eight of the gentry of those parts, made me similar requests, whom I shall with God's help satisfy as soon as possible."[66]

As well as Uist, Duggan visited Eigg, Canna and Islay, where he reconciled or 'converted' 800 to 900 people (see fig. 8.1, Regular period 1641-1679: incidence map), but the problems of the mission continued in the same vein as those of the Franciscan mission. "Money is scarce in these parts and we accept nothing from the people; everything one buys is dear." Duggan, doubtless, also wished the message to be passed on to Propaganda that he did not rely entirely on the goodwill of chieftains to meet his needs:

> My poverty is increased because of the fact that I need two men, men I pay. One helps me to row the boat when I go from island to island and to carry the vestments and Mass requisites overland; sometimes it takes me all my strength to cover four or five leagues on foot and on bad roads before saying Mass. I have taught the other man to serve Mass and to help in the teaching of the *Pater, Ave*, and *Credo*. If I had money I could buy a small boat and reach other islands, but to accept anything from the people, some of whom are very timid, would hinder the fruits of our labours.[67]

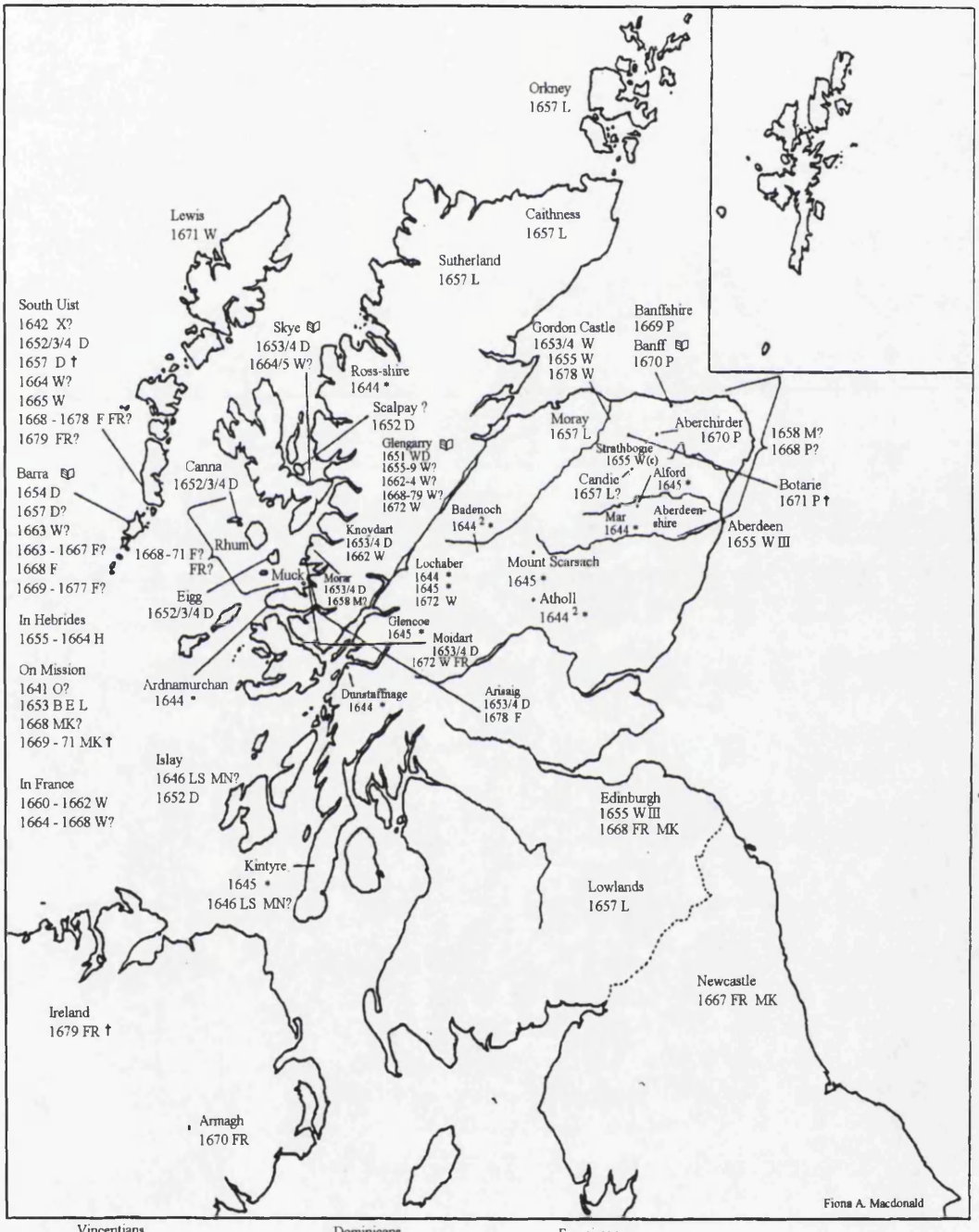
However, he admitted to accepting two crowns for his journey from Lady Clanranald.[68] It, therefore, seems that Duggan's visit to Islay which, though visited by the priests with Alasdair MacColla, had all but been abandoned by the end of the first Franciscan mission, had, perhaps, been undertaken on the suggestion and under the patronage of Clanranald who had landed in Islay in the previous decade.[69] (See fig. 8.1, Regular period 1641-1679: incidence map.)

Duggan also made it clear that "in these islands and throughout all the Highlands there are no priests except Father White and myself." As the Franciscans had before him, he made attempts to get St. Vincent to send more people capable of instructing them, "instructors fluent in Gaelic" and prepared to endure all the hardships, pointing out the necessity of an annual pension.[70] Duggan's pleas had some success in that St. Vincent sent two more Irish Lazarists, Gerald Brin (possibly O'Brien) and John Ennery. There was yet another Lazarist sent, Thomas Lumsden, but he was a Scot and did not speak Gaelic. They were approved by Propaganda on 1 April 1653 for the Hebridean mission and did arrive. Lumsden worked mainly with Fr. White on the mainland mission.[71] There is no specific evidence to indicate where Brin and Ennery served, other than in the Hebrides. It is reasonable to surmise that they would have taken over Duggan's field when he died in 1657, that is, largely the Clanranald territories, taking occasional visits to Barra and Skye, but they are only definitely mentioned in 1653 and no evidence survives connecting them to Clanranald lands. Whether they stayed any longer is not known, but by 1659, all the Vincentians had returned to France.[72]

A second missionary report survives from April 1654. By then Duggan had extended his work to the mainland as well: "The islands I have visited are Uist, Canna, Eigg and Skye and, on the mainland, I have visited the districts of Moydart, Arisaig, Morar, Knoidart and Glengarry."[73] (See fig. 8.1, Regular period 1641-1679: incidence map.) In terms of the contemporary understanding of 'conversion,' Duggan seems to have done marginally better in South Uist than the Franciscans, for he claimed that only a couple refused his ministrations:

> The island of Uist belongs to two noblemen, one is called the Laird of Clanranald and the other The MacDonald. The part owned by the former has been entirely converted, except for two men who do not want any religion so that they may be able to sin without restraint. A thousand to twelve

Fig. 8.1
REGULAR PERIOD 1641-1679
INCIDENCE MAP



Vincentians
W = White
D = Duggan
B = Brin
E = Ennery
L = Lumsden
X = Unnamed priest

Dominicans
O = O'Connell
M = Marianus
F = Fanning
P = Primrose

Secular
H = Horan

Franciscans
MN = McNeill
LS = Laertius
FR = Francis MacDonnell
MK = Mark MacDonnell

* Visited by Montrose's army 1644-45 & 3 priests

(c) Captured
III Imprisoned
† Died
School

> hundred have been brought back to the Church.

At first sight, this figure might be thought of as no more than a rough population estimate for South Uist at the time. However, Archbishop Oliver Plunkett's report of 2 September 1671 noted a joint population of 12,000 in North and South Uists, and it would, therefore, seem likely that there was a population larger than 1200 just fifteen years earlier.[74] The North Uist/South Uist religious divide was already in place by the middle of the seventeenth century. According to the Vincentians, the Reformation had made quite an inroad in North Uist in the approximately forty years since the arrival of the first minister there.[75]

> Though invited to do so, I have not yet visited the other part of the island which belongs to MacDonald. The resident minister there wanted to carry on a controversy by letter. I answered him and have hopes of good results. The well-to-do people have invited me to go there and the Laird would be very agreeable. I am the more determined to go because the minister is afraid of it and wants to put me off. The two servants they sent me have gone back Catholics by God's grace.[76]

Duggan also claimed that the inhabitants of Canna were "for the most part converted," but only "some" of those of Eigg.[77] "As for Skye, it is ruled by three or four Lairds, one part by MacDonald and his mother, another by MacLeod, and a third by MacFimine." The territory of MacKinnon of Strath ["MacFimine"] appears also to have been firmly under Protestant rule at this time. "In the first two mentioned parts a number of families have been converted, but in MacFimine's territory I have made no headway."[78] The main Catholic territory in Skye, then technically held by MacDonald of Sleat, was probably still Trotternish, though this was not specifically mentioned by the Vincentians. However, reconciliations were by no means as wholesale in Skye as in South Uist. This was probably due to Skye's closer proximity to the mainland, to the operations of the presbytery of Skye, as well as to the lack of overt support from the main heritors, MacDonald and MacLeod. The Synod of Argyll was certainly aware of Duggan's presence, being informed during its session of 25 May 1653, at Rothesay, "of a priest that is within the bounds of the presbyterie of Sky, which labours to seduce the people."[79]

So too, in October 1655 the Synod of Argyll was "informed that popery hes not only entered thes bounds by many priests and jesuits come frome Ireland and other places, but also is lyke to spread and increase exceedingly."[80] A meeting was to be held of all powerful chieftains to seek redress of these ills. By the next Synod, in May 1656, this had resulted in a complaint by the presbytery of Skye about the state of several places in the Isles where popery was creeping in through the offices of three seminary priests. Two of these were named as "Francis White and Diarmid o Dovegan, who came over sees in companie of the laird of Glengarrie the year 1651." As well as the Irishmen, two Scots were also mentioned. "Thes preists doe ordinarlie reseid in Uiste, Barra, Mudart,

Candort and Arresag where ordinances are not at all, and hes for the most part perverted these bownds and the chief men amongst them, as Captains of Clanrannald elder and yonger, McNeill of Barra and M Ien Shemis and Glengaress whole familie, if not himself."[81] "M Ien Shemis" possibly refers to Domhnall MacIain 'Ic Sheumais, just before he died in the early 1650s. The grandson of James Macdonald of Castle Camus, late tutor to Donald Gorm Mòr, Domhnall MacIain 'Ic Sheumais had been born in his mother's native district of Moidart, but brought up at Castle Camus. The counteraction taken by the presbytery of Skye, in May 1656, was to send letters to those in positions of power, particularly "to Seaforth, Sr James mc Donald, Mc Clowde and others, who hes not countinanced the said priests" to assist the presbytery of Skye in repressing the infection.[82] Those suspected of harbouring priests were to be summoned and dealt with, and ultimately to be excommunicated if inflexible. A letter was also to "be writtin to the ministers of Edinburgh requireing of them to procure letteres from the Inglishes [i.e. the Cromwellian regime] to the chief men of thes bounds for banishing thes preists and doing what in them lyes for recovering of thes perverted by them."[83] Two years later, in May 1658, the presbytery of Skye sent ministers, whom Sir James MacDonald was to endeavour to protect, as well as to "use his power for gathering of the people to the ministers abovesaid."[84]

In the 1654 letter, Duggan himself offered a contemporary interpretation of the word conversion. "In Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, Knoidart and Glengarry all are converted, or at least resolved to receive instruction when we have an opportunity of visiting each village. There are six or seven thousand people in these parts very far away, difficult to get at on foot and impossible to reach on horseback."[85] Yet, the major problem was that of sustaining converts. He explained that he deferred Communion for some time after the general confession, in which people confessed the sins of a lifetime before coming to Catholicism "so that the people may be better instructed and better prepared by a second Confession, and also that they may have a greater desire and appreciation of Holy Communion."[86] Yet, without the attention of a regular priest, this was, in reality, little more than conversion in namesake.

On Barra, whose inhabitants had kept up pilgrimages to Ireland at least fifty years after the Reformation and perhaps longer, Duggan found the people very eager:

> I found a people so devout and anxious to learn that I was astonished. It was enough to teach one child in each village the *Pater, Ave* and *Credo*; in two days the whole village knew them - children and adults. I have received all the leading inhabitants into the Church, including the young Laird with his brothers and sisters. There is hope of getting the old Laird on my next journey.

He also ministered to the nearby islands of Eriskay and Vatersay.[87] There was a ministerial presence in Barra also only in namesake. In so far as the island was supposed to be served by the

minister of Harris[88] the inhabitants clearly held out for Catholicism. One of Duggan's prizes was that "amongst the converts is a minister's son, whose devotion gives great edification throughout the whole district where he is known."[89] This was presumably the son of John MacPherson, minister of Harris.[90]

On 5 May 1657 Duggan wrote what was probably his last letter abroad, stating that he was "preparing to set out on the 10th of this month for Pabba. I have not yet told you of this plan of mine fearing that the trouble and danger of it might make you anxious, for it really is a strange and weird place."[91] St. Vincent himself may even have been planning a visit to the Hebrides, for Duggan continued: "This is why I am begging you not to defer your coming any longer. Take care not to tell the plan to anyone except M. Noeill, for we desire for many reasons to keep it secret."[92] However, Duggan fell seriously ill after his five years of mission work, and died in Uist on 17 May.[93]

As for Father White, he had remained in Glengarry for some time after Duggan went to the Isles, working for a time in the west Highlands, before moving up towards Inverness.[94] In 1653 another Vincentian, Fr. Thomas Lumsden, originally from Aberdeen, had joined him.[95] However, when persecution was stepped up under the Cromwellians, White was arrested in Strathbogie with two others.[96] Influence was brought to achieve their release after a few months in captivity in Edinburgh. Fr. White resumed his ministry, though no account remains of his labour from 1655 to 1660, following which he returned to Paris after the Restoration.[97] Fr. Ballantyne, the Scottish prefect, asked the papal nuncio in Paris to try and procure a pension for White from Propaganda, fearing that "he may not wish to return to Scotland, as he has no means of support there."[98] He was still in France in 1661, the year after the death of St. Vincent. It is, however, worthy of note that until this time Vincentians were, perhaps exclusively among the missionaries in the Highlands, well provided for financially. When, in September 1659, Patrick Con, papal nuncio in Paris, wrote to Propaganda saying that the Scottish missionaries were complaining that they had not received their salaries, he added that the Vincentians in the Highlands were not only paid regularly, but received far more than the secular clergy.[99]

Propaganda agreed to advance Francis White an annual *viaticum*, or pension, and he returned to the Highlands in 1662.[100] By June 1664, Propaganda recorded that Francis White was the only priest on the Highland mission. He was thus, technically, administering to "four thousand Catholics in the mountains of Scotland."[101] It must also be assumed that his maintenance did not arrive, for he is said to have been working there for ten years without any support from Propaganda. To reconcile these conflicting reports concerning salary it must be presumed that Propaganda had technically agreed to fund the Vincentians, but that the Lazarist house in France had sent them regular financial support when this had failed to materialise. Moreover, it was not until 17

November 1664 that White was technically granted the necessary missionary faculties.[102] He wrote that he was only "able to visit and serve those already converted once every two years. Indeed, there are some far out islands which I have not visited for the past three years."[103]

In 1665 White was operating from Glengarry, as he probably had been since the early years of his mission in the Highlands. He had even managed to establish a schoolmaster there, Ewan MacAllister, on a salary procured from Propaganda by Fr. Almeras, the Vincentian Superior-General.[104] More surprisingly, this allowance actually arrived, MacAllister receiving 50 scudi per year. However, the school in Glengarry did not prove particularly successful. MacAllister had also held a similar position prior to this in Skye where he had sixty pupils. If White had set up this school, it is likely that he had also visited the island in 1664 or earlier. MacAllister is said to have been driven from Skye by people hostile to Catholics, in all probability, by the presbytery of Skye. Here it should be noted that a new ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Archdeanery of the Isles, including Skye and the Small Isles, had been created in 1662, on the restoration of episcopacy.[105] White had also established a school in Barra which he handed over to George Fanning, the Irish Dominican who went there in 1663. From his base he also tried to sustain the islands, visiting Uist, for example, in 1665.[106] In September 1666 he was still the only priest on the mainland.[107] Alexander Dunbar, the second prefect apostolic, pleaded for Irish priests, especially for White's brother John White whom Propaganda had been trying to get for the mission since the beginning of the year, but who was by now gravely ill. Fortunately, two Franciscans, Mark and Francis MacDonnell were sent by Propaganda in his stead.[108] They arrived in 1668. White, however, continued with his mission. In his report for 1669-70 Dunbar wrote that "Father White often visits the islands and the lands of Glengarry and all the mountain districts, as far as he is able, though he endures great fatigue and suffering."[109]

It was undoubtedly the patronage of Glengarry, who had been favoured with the title Lord MacDonell and Aros at the Restoration, which enabled him to carry out such a long, successful mission there. Information comes to light in 1670 from Archbishop Plunkett of Armagh, who mentioned in a letter to Propaganda that Francis White was being maintained by an Irish merchant living in London, one Daniel Arthur. Moreover, he was, in 1671, the first priest definitely to visit the Protestant Isle of Lewis. Once again it was Plunkett who reported that Francis White had been allowed to continue in the Isle of "Lennse" because the Earl of Seaforth, its owner, had persuaded the Privy Council to let him stay there.[110] As for the following year, when Alexander Dunbar toured the mission in 1672, he reported to Propaganda that Francis White worked with the Scot, Robert Munro, in Glengarry and Lochaber during the winter, and then transferred to Moidart for the summer.[111] After this, little of consequence concerning Francis White comes to light until his death. He died on 7 February 1679.[112] Fortunately there were still Dominicans to serve the mission.

B. The Dominican mission in the Highlands and Islands

Only a little information has survived on the Dominican mission in the Highlands and Islands. The missionaries, as on the Franciscan mission, came largely from the continent. The Dominican community in Louvain, instituted in 1624, had been established for English, Scottish and Irish friars, and in 1629 the Chapter General, convened in Rome, gave the care of Scotland to the Irish Dominicans.[113] Thus, because there was no Scottish Dominican house, Scots were members either of the English or Irish provinces. As early as 1633, when the Franciscans were still working in the Highlands, Propaganda approved four Dominicans, Fr. Dominic de Burgo and three others, to go on the Scottish mission, granting them an annual allowance of 30 scudi. Clearly, they did not go, for again, on 25 June 1635 Propaganda approved four Irish Dominicans for the mission, in all likelihood, the same people, and with the same allowance. On this occasion it was specified that they were to go to those Gaelic-speaking parts of the Highlands which were not being already served by the Franciscans.[114] Yet again, there is no evidence to indicate that they arrived.

An Irish provincial chapter at Youghal seems, in 1638, to have petitioned the Dominican General with a view to increasing the numbers entering the order, and received a reply which, conversely, insisted on limiting it because of the problems created in other provinces by Irish postulants overseas. Few of them apparently had the inclination to return to their native land after studying. Recruitment in Ulster had also been mentioned, with a view to sending friars to Scotland, but the General pointed out that the result seldom lived up to the ideal. As long as they declined to return to their own country, most would continue to be put off by the harsher conditions which existed on the Scottish mission. Nevertheless, permission was given for the receiving of Scots to the habit, either in Ulster or in any other province of Ireland, who could more readily visit Scotland, but novices were only to be admitted into communities large enough to sustain a necessary level of regular observance. For a basic adherence to discipline was absolutely essential on a mission where no ranked superior was present.[115]

It has been pointed out that there may have been Dominicans in Scotland of whom nothing is known. Particularly cited is one Theodore de Pietate O'Connell who had been studying at the Irish College in Lerida in Spain in 1629 and who, on 14 November 1637, was granted an annual allowance of 20 scudi by Propaganda and declared a missionary in Scotland. While there is no conclusive evidence of his ever being in Scotland, he certainly wrote to Propaganda from London in 1641, indicating that he was unable to go to Scotland because of the hostility between England and Scotland. Indeed, was he necessarily heading for the Highland mission, rather than the Lowland one?[116] Subsequently, on 23 March 1647, the master-general gave permission to Fr. John Baptist Fitzgerald to lead a group to Scotland "for the propagation of the faith, the comfort of catholics, and the recovery of the convents which our Order had there," as well as to act as vicar-

general over all members of the order in Scotland.[117] However, in June 1647, Propaganda turned down these five Irish Dominicans for the Scottish mission on the grounds that other priests had recently been chosen.[118]

Nevertheless, it fell to Scots Dominicans within the Irish province as much as to the Irish, to go to Scotland. Students were largely recruited to the Irish province from the Scots colleges on the continent, having become disillusioned with the internal wranglings in them, or by the greater security of membership of a regular order. One such priest, of great importance to the Dominican mission in Scotland, was Fr. Patrick Primrose, a Scot who had studied at Edinburgh University and was granted missionary faculties on 20 September 1650. Primrose was a member of the Irish province and perhaps the most prominent member of the Dominican order in Scotland during this period. He was usually based in Banffshire.[119]

Two of Primrose's recruits were definitely connected with the Highlands, which seems to indicate his interest in that side of the mission. It would certainly have been fairly easy to co-ordinate a Highland mission from Banffshire. The first of these Dominicans, Fr. George Fanning, was undoubtedly stationed in the Isles, though the other is a little more elusive. Fanning was a genuine Irishman rather than a Scot within the Irish province, because Alexander Leslie, brother of the Scots agent at Rome, in the account of his Highland visitation in 1678, included him as one of three priests from Ireland. According to the Franciscan, Francis MacDonnell's, report to Propaganda written from Armagh on 10 July 1671, he appeared to have been on the Hebridean mission since 1663. "Father George Fanning also, of the Order of Friars Preachers, would have perished from hunger before now, were it not that he lived with the Laird of Barra. He has not received a sixpence from the Sacred Congregation for the past eight years, although he has laboured much and with great fruit."[120] (See fig. 8.1, Regular period 1641-1679: incidence map.)

Fanning probably came in answer to a plea by Mr. Dunbar, the prefect-apostolic, who said, in 1663, that only Mr. White, the Vincentian, and Mr Charles Horan, secular Irish priest, were operating in the *Gaidhealtachd.*[121] He administered to the 1,000 Catholics said to be in Barra at the time, including the MacNeill. However, there was an interesting dimension to his mission in that, according to MacDonnell, Fanning's mission was less than officially sanctioned. MacDonnell wrote that:

> Father George Fanning, a Dominican, labours here with good results. This father, according to the Procurator of the Mission, has no patents or faculties from the Sacred Congregation. His ground for staying there must be either the privileges of his Order or else because he believes that these people, being as it were abandoned and in extreme necessity of Sacraments, any priest may come to their assistance. This is indeed one of the strongest arguments urged by almost all those working in these

> British Isles and also in England; and they claim to have a right to continue their functions and their work, all the more as they persuade themselves that recourse to Rome is either impossible or unnecessary, and that the delays of that Court are intolerable.

Given the general paucity of carriers to the Highlands, and that Propaganda always seemed to be complaining of lack of communication, both sides had a point. Nevertheless, MacDonnell seems to have seen the danger of the mission ground becoming a haven for those escaping the confinements of regular jurisdiction: "these and similar views are creeping in very fast, and if they are not remedied by giving them Superiors, very few will in time have recourse to the Holy See."[122]

The Annual List of missionaries documents three Dominicans on the Scottish mission in 1668. These are likely to have been Primrose, Fanning and a third, the least definite of the three, who appears in the master-general's records as Vincentius Marianus Scotus, of whom more below.[123] Fanning was clearly in Barra until 1671 and probably for another six years. He was in all likelihood the unnamed Dominican who David Burnet, then vice-principal of the Scots College in Paris, mentioned as working in the Isles in a letter to Rome of 20 May 1677.[124] However, after this he seems to have transferred to Arisaig. Certainly, when Alexander Leslie reported to Propaganda on the state of the faith in Scotland in 1678, he said that the people of Arisaig were very distressed by the death of George Fanning, their priest, and to have been bitterly disappointed when Leslie did not intend to leave Robert Munro, the secular Highland priest, in his stead. Fanning was, therefore, active in the Gaidhealtachd for a period of fifteen years. The other priest from the Irish province of the Dominicans under Primrose' authority, was Vincentius Marianus Scotus who would seem, from his name, to have been a Scot. It has been suggested that this latinization is 'a pious adaptation of some Scottish name ... to express devotion to Mary. Mair, Murison, Morrison? In the west Highlands the patronymic Mac Gille Mhuire was known - 'the son of the servant of Mary.' 'Marianus' conveys this adequately.' He had, apparently, written to the master-general in October 1652 asking to be sent on the mission with Primrose. He was certainly on the Scottish mission, and most probably in the Highland area or at least in the north-east in 1658, and perhaps had been there earlier.[125] A chalice of his survives in the Catholic church in Morar, Inverness-shire, the inscription on which indicates that it was for the use of Vincentius Marianus of the Order of Preachers, missionary in Scotland. It is dated 1658. However, while it may be likely that he visited Morar, especially given the speculation about his name, the existence of his chalice there is not conclusive proof that he did. Other than this, no further information has come to light about Marianus.[126]

On the death of Primrose, the Dominican mission lost much of its drive and dynamism, which had been centred in his personality. Although there had been a few Scottish recruits to the Dominicans, the mission base that had been established in the north-east seemed to flounder at his death, so that

in the following century the Dominican presence was sustained through the itinerant missions of a few Irish Dominicans. Also working on the Highland mission for part of the same period in the seventeenth century was a second mission of Franciscans.

C. The second Franciscan initiative in the Highlands and Islands

At a meeting of Propaganda on 20 April 1665, it was recorded that two Irish Franciscans, who were on their way to Connacht in Ireland, had agreed to become missionaries for the Highlands. In the previous year, Charles Horan had returned to Ireland, apparently leaving only one Vincentian in the Highlands.[127] This report must have referred only to the mainland mission, for Fanning, the Dominican, had been in Barra since 1663. The Franciscans had been recommended by both the Guardian of the Irish Franciscan college of St. Isidore in Rome, and by the rector of the Scots College in Paris, and were to work under the jurisdiction of the prefect-apostolic because the mission which the Irish Franciscans used to have in the Highlands was no longer in existence. Subsequently, on 8 February 1667, the two brothers Francis and Mark MacDonnell were approved for the Highland mission. They were funded by Propaganda and Dunbar was to place them wherever he wished. With inevitable delays in procuring the money for their journey, they eventually set out from France in August 1667. They were taken under the wing of John Smithson, an English Franciscan, in Newcastle after being shipwrecked and remained with him for four months until they could travel to Edinburgh. Having lost the clothing and mission articles they had brought with them, they were, thus, an added burden on the resources of the Scottish mission. In a letter of 17 March 1668, Dunbar wrote to Rome that Fr. Mark was not yet well enough to go to the Highland mission, but that Fr. Francis would be going there in a week's time.[128]

Realising that the two MacDonnell brothers and Mr. White were not sufficient personnel to administer to all the Catholics in the area at the same time, further attempts were made to expand the Highland mission. On 23 January 1668 a proper revitalisation of the Franciscan mission was proposed in Propaganda, to include a further four or six priests, under a prefect of their own, who would place them in the most needy districts in such a way that would not create conflict with the secular clergy. This comment had apparently arisen from a complaint to Propaganda that Irish Franciscans sent to the Highlands and Islands had been in abuse of their privileges and in disharmony with secular priests and that it would be better if secular priests were sent from France.[129] To whom this referred and from whom it came, is difficult to judge, but is significant in highlighting a topic to which little attention has been paid hitherto. The MacDonnell brothers had scarcely arrived in Scotland, and had not yet gone to the Highlands. So maybe this referred to Franciscans operating from Ireland post-1647? The complaint could either have arisen from the Jesuits attempting to undermine any other authority in the north of Scotland, or possibly from the Dominicans, or from the secular authority, itself, through William Leslie, Scots agent at Rome.

Both MacDonnells were working the field in 1669, Francis probably having been in the Hebrides since March 1668. The third priest on the mission, Fr. White, was attempting to find more priests through the agency of his brother Gaspar, vicar-capitular of the diocese of Limerick. Where Fr. Mark laboured has never been definitely ascertained. Upon hearing of Oliver Plunkett's appointment as prefect of the Highland Mission, Fr. Francis briefly left his post to visit him in Armagh in the summer of 1670.[130] It is clear that while Plunkett took his responsibility for the mission seriously, he did not enjoy the confidence of Randal MacDonnell, first Marquis of Antrim. He had proposed about twenty priests for the mission but the Marquis had rejected them all. There are three reasons which can be advanced for this. First, that Plunkett's treatment of Tories, that is Irishmen who had been dispossessed at the plantation and lived as wood kearn, was unpopular with the native Irish. While it appears that Plunkett had sympathy with the dispossessed Gaelic nobility, for whom he opened schools in Drogheda to educate their children, he was, nonetheless, committed to reducing those among them who lived by robbery and violence. In August and September 1670, acting as a mediator for the government, he undertook a mission to persuade the Tories into voluntary exile in France and Belgium, action which resulted in negative reports to Propaganda.[131] The second reason for his rejection of so many priests was, perhaps, that Antrim (1610-1682) wished to retain as much control over the Highland mission in the 1670s as he had done in the 1620s and 30s and probably into the 1640s. Significantly, the MacDonnell brothers were related to the MacDonnells of Antrim which supports this interpretation. The third, and probably most pertinent reason, was that Antrim was aware of the need for exercising political caution in Scotland.[132]

Although Propaganda had expressly ordered the archbishop to visit the Highland mission, it appears that MacDonnell, the Marquis of Antrim and Patrick O'Mulderrig, vicar-general of Connor, had dissuaded him from doing so.[133] In a letter written from Armagh to the secretary of Propaganda on 10 July 1671 from Armagh, the reason MacDonnell gave for dissuading the archbishop indicated the existence of a profound political awareness in the Isles, contrary to what might be expected for a marginal area. MacDonnell pointed out that:

> a report had spread of the arrival of the French whom the Scots are said to favour, so that if His Grace, the Primate, were to go there, everyone would think that he had come to prepare the way for the French. It is for this same reason that no missionaries are to be sent there this summer, as the news of their arrival would at once get abroad and they would be cast into prison. For it is proposed to effect the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland in one Parliament, to which union the Islesmen are strongly opposed. Now, if the Primate were to visit them, it would at once be said that he came to foster the opposition to this union.[134]

Indeed, this is a unique Gaelic reference to the manoeuvrings of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, adviser to Charles II and Scottish Secretary, and his curious attempts at a union between Scotland and England, first economic and then all encompassing, from 1668 to 1670. Yet, neither the King nor Lauderdale appear to have put much personal credibility in the prospective union, the former of whom was engaged in secret negotiations with Louis XIV for a new commercial treaty with France. It appears, above all, to have been a political gambit.[135]

MacDonnell also asked for the usual things for the mission such as the sending of native youths to Rome or other seminaries on the continent, though in the meantime, Irish priests would be considered helpful. Clearly, MacDonnell anticipated the arrival of many eager Irishmen, for on 31 August 1671 Propaganda renewed missionary faculties for Francis MacDonnell and eight secular priests.[136] To MacDonnell's letter, Plunkett added comments of his own, manifestly taken on from MacDonnell himself. From these it is learned that Francis MacDonnell's base was normally Uist. (See fig. 8.1, Regular period 1641-1679: incidence map.) From the surviving evidence it would appear that Francis was the more active of the two, perhaps due to better health. Fr. Mark died near the end of 1671. As for Francis, as well as working in Uist, Dunbar reported in a letter of 26 July 1672 that he sometimes worked in Moidart too. He was listed in a letter of 20 May 1677 from David Burnet, to Rome, as one of those labouring in the Highlands and Islands. So too, when Fr. Francis was forced to retire to a Franciscan convent in Ireland during 1679, ill-health was given as the reason. His retiral was announced to Propanda on 30 April 1680, at the same time as Francis White's death.[137] Mr. Ryan, then priest on the Highland mission, wrote from Castle Tyre on 23 June 1681 that "Francis mcdonnell ... is parted most unhappily, god helpe him."[138] However, on 6 April 1681, the Protestant record referred to "preist Francis Mcdonald in Glengerey," which indicates that he had returned despite his alleged ill-health.[139] Undoubtedly, MacDonnell had fled for political reasons, for both he and Robert Munro, the Scot, had joined Lord MacDonell of Glengarry's expedition against Argyll in the early summer of 1679. Indeed, Dunbar had written to David Burnet, in Paris, two months before MacDonnell left the mission that they had joined not as spiritual guides, but as fighting officers - Munro as *Capitani* and MacDonnell as *Caballieri* - even though they had been forbidden to do so both by word of mouth and in writing by him. This, presumably, explains the unattributed reference that he had departed to Ireland "with shame enough."[140] It is also another instance of the extent to which MacDonnell political ambition to regain old MacDonald lands in Scotland was tied up with a general anti-Campbell policy.

It is not clear exactly when Fr. Francis left the mission, though 1681 was the last date that he was mentioned in Scotland. In a petition to Propaganda, on 16 March 1683, he stated that he had spent more than twelve years as a missionary in the Highlands of Scotland and sought the title 'Father of the Province' which could be given to Franciscans who had done meritorious work over a period of years, set by Clement IX at twelve. MacDonnell was granted the title. Whether it was his

relationship to the Earl of Antrim or his own innate ambition, MacDonnell sought further preferment in 1684 when he applied to Propaganda to be made a bishop. The application pointed out that the dioceses of Kilmore, Derry and Down were then vacant (see fig. 5.1, Church of Ireland dioceses c. 1570) and that MacDonnell had spent more than fourteen years on the mission. It also stated that the Earl of Antrim would provide sufficient money to maintain him as a bishop. The request was not granted. Two years later, at the age of fifty-two, MacDonnell presented a further petition to Propaganda to return to the Highlands of Scotland. Since he had spent many difficult years in that rugged terrain he asked that Propaganda recommend to the Franciscan Father-General that he be made titular provincial of Scotland. Propaganda decided that his requests should be granted, but referred the matter to Cardinal Howard. MacDonnell is said to have been successful, but no further details are given. This would tend to suggest that he did not actually return or that if he did, it was for a very cursory visit.[141]

IV. THE DYNAMIC SECULAR INITIATIVE: PHASE 1 - 1680-1689

When Alexander Leslie wrote his report on the Highland mission in 1680, amongst the things he particularly recommended was the granting of equal faculties to seculars and regulars, because in the existing situation, many regarded seculars as inferior to regulars. He also requested that more Irish priests be sent to Scotland, not simply to the Highlands but to the Lowlands as well.[142] During this period in the Highlands, there can be said to have been four main mission areas, that is, the Hebrides, which consisted of South Uist and the embryonic Catholic communities of Lewis, Morar and Skye and possibly Brae Lochaber, the other mainland districts of Glengarry and Strathglass, and the more segregated eastern mission which included Glenlivet, Braemar and Strathdon, and had more connection with the east-coast Lowland mission through Gordon Castle. To a certain degree the first three were inter-related. Inasmuch as South Uist and Morar were both Clanranald territories, they had a certain amount of connection and missionaries from either tended to serve the intermediary Small Isles of Canna, Rhum, and Eigg, Muck having a larger Protestant community. So too, missionaries from Morar always went through Glengarry and Strathglass on their way to the mission assemblies at Gordon Castle. Nonetheless, it has been estimated that Catholics seldom heard mass more than three times a year.[143]

There were, at the time of Leslie's visitation, only two priests serving the Highlands - the Scot, Robert Munro and the Irish Franciscan, Francis MacDonnell. Before Leslie left Scotland, however, a secular priest, James MacDonnell, arrived on the mission from Ireland though it is unlikely that he remained for any length of time.[144] Following Leslie's report, submitted to Propaganda in January 1681, 'directives were issued covering most of the points raised' on 4 March 1681.[145] This

was to herald a period of intense vitality on the Scottish mission which, in the Highland sector, had an almost exclusively Irish personnel.

In 1680 came Hugh Ryan (or Rian), a clerk regular of the Barnabites in Paris. He arrived in the company of Mr. David Burnet, secular priest, who was coming to the mission as vice-prefect, in the summer of 1680.[146] On 6 April 1681 there is a reference in the Protestant record to "Father Hugh Orein, another preist, residing in the Chissolmes Country under the notion of a phisician," so Ryan was obviously in Strathglass by this time, which accords with his next letter stating that he had been in Strathglass during the previous winter.[147] On 23 June he wrote from Castle Tyre to Angus MacDonald, son of Glenaladale, who was a student in Paris, that: "I am partinge next morneinge to the Eyles, alonge with your uncle Kenloghy who convoyes his married daughter Mary to her owne house in the Eyle of Huist, which will be my first voiage uppon seas in this Countrey." Ryan had clearly taken on the patronage of the MacDonalds of Glenaladale who were based in Morar.[148] In the same letter he indicated that he had nobody to help him but Munro (alias Ratray), but continued on the mission for some years, probably largely on the mainland mission. After attending a mission meeting at Gordon Castle on 25 April 1687, he limited his mission to Strathglass since a number of new Irish priests had come to the Highlands in the last few years which enabled him to reduce his area of operation. Definite information exists only for his being in Strathglass and South Uist. Although he continued his mission into the 1690s, when both he and Munro fell ill and infirm in the same year, 1687, the Highland mission was in dire need of assistance.[149] (See fig. 8.2, Dynamic Secular period 1680-1689: incidence map.)

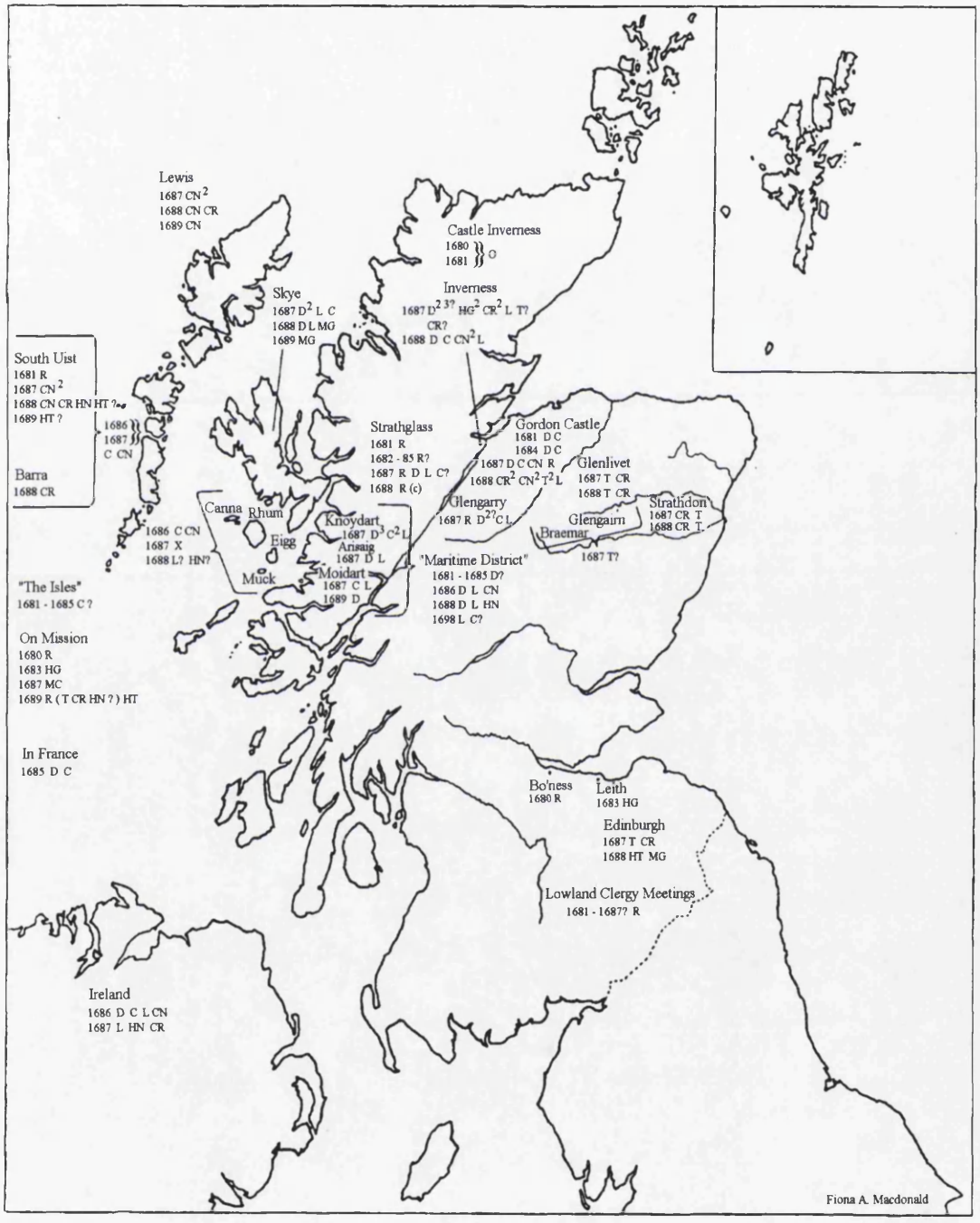
There is reference in the Protestant record, on 6 April 1681, to an Irish priest O'Neill who is not mentioned in the Catholic record, whose first name has been identified as Alexander, and who seems also to have come on the mission late in 1680. The Inverness presbytery recorded that "The 3d Synodicall referre it is reported that preist O'Neil, resided in the Castle of Invernes from the 25 of December till Easter last."[150] Priests were entertained in Castle Inverness under the protection of Sir John Byres of Coates, near Edinburgh, and his wife Lilias Grant, daughter of the Protestant laird of Grant.[151] The year 1681 also saw the arrival of two other Irish clergymen who were to be long-serving on the Highland mission - Mr. James Devoyer (or de Voir) and Mr. John Cahassy (Chatty or Cassy).[152] They had come from Paris, their services having been procured by Mr. Leslie when returning from Rome after delivering his report on his Scottish visitation. They are generally held to have been Vincentians, and appear to have been funded by Mr. Talon. Mr. Talon was Secretary of Louis XIV's Cabinet at Versailles, who, by all accounts, did a great deal to find and subsidise Irish-speaking missionaries for the Highland mission. 'He could not guarantee their other qualifications, and the extreme need of such and the difficulty of finding them, made it not always possible to be fastidious in employing them. The house of the Lazarists generally furnished the men, and left Monsr. Tallon to furnish the means.'[153] They arrived in Scotland in August

1681.[154] They travelled with Leslie to Gordon Castle and following a brief rest, one was said to have been sent to the mainland of the west Highlands and the other to the Islands.[155]

Devoyer and Cahassy remained in Scotland for two years "serving those poor folk going continualie from toune to toune and from countrie to countrie" before two others were sent to help them. Cahassy wrote that these were 'Mr. hagerty ... an Irish man' and Mr. MacDonald, a Scot. There were now five on the Highland mission, four Irish and one Scot, though MacDonald died only six months later.[156] Mr. Hegarty came from Paris in 1683 with Mr. Angus MacDonald, son of Glenaladale, and Mr. Mahon (or MacMahon), an Irish schoolmaster employed in the west. Hegarty was another priest sent by Mr. Talon, but appears not to have stayed long before returning to Ireland.[157] Devoyer and Cahassy had promised Leslie to stay only three years, but this being up "the superior of the mission prevailed with us to abyd another yeir while they vold seik some others to supply our places."[158] Once again, the report amply illustrates how regulars were now subject to the power of the secular head on the mission, that though staffed by many regular priests the Highland mission was now, in practice, a secular operation. Devoyer and Cahassy visited Gordon Castle in 1684 accompanied by Mr. Mahon.[159] Whether Mahon remained or not is unknown. One source has indicated that he left with Devoyer and Cahassy and never returned, but is not substantiated. It is, therefore, to be questioned whether Mahon remained with them for their extra year, or made his own way back to France. After this the Catholic schools were continued in Barra and Invergarry, under other teachers.[160]

After the extra year, it is clear that Devoyer and Cahassy went to Paris in 1685 for a rest, but aimed to return to the Highlands. "Wee intend for Irland nixt spring when wee have provyded some bookes and ornaments for what wee had in scotland belonged to the mission and not to us and health and strenth will serv(e)."[161] They did return to the Highlands but via Edinburgh instead, bringing with them two new Irish missionaries, Mr. James Lea and Mr. Cornelius Coan, (the latter of whom had a doctorate from the Sorbonne) in about July 1686. This was the year in which the King requested that all Scots priests who were not engaged in foreign colleges were to return immediately to the mission. Thus, during the year spanning 1686-87 there was a pronounced increase in the number of staff on the mission. Inasmuch as Lea and Coan are later found signing and writing letters to Mr. Talon, they would appear to have been funded by him. Moreover, in a letter of 3 May 1687, Coan indicated that Lea was his cousin.[162] A letter of 14 February 1687 from Devoyer and Lea in Arisaig, pointed out that Cahassy and Coan had gone to Uist and Barra at the beginning of November 1686.[163] They wrote of "four other Isles between here and Uist"[164] which were served by the missionaries in Uist. These are probably Canna, Rhum, Muck and Eigg. They also pointed out that there was another clergyman in the area, though failed to identify him: "there is a priest in one of these four who goes to the three others from time to time, mainly in summer."[165] This might, therefore, indicate that there was a precursor to Mr. O'Hara who served in

Fig. 8.2
DYNAMIC SECULAR PERIOD 1680-1689
INCIDENCE MAP



the Small Isles from 1700 to 1708 from a base in Canna.[166] Devoyer continued to serve with Lea in the Morar area. Throughout their careers, Devoyer and Cahassy generally operated from the Morar or maritime regions. This separation was clearly a means to initiate new recruits into the rigours of the Highland mission in the company of two experienced members and it seems to have been intended that the two new members would then work together.

Devoyer and Lea not only served the environs of Morar, but were called to Sleat in April 1687. This was possibly the first time since Ward had been there in 1637 that priests had visited Sleat, unless Duggan had also gone there when he visited the neighbouring territory of MacKinnon of Strath in 1652-53. After this they set out for an assembly at Gordon Castle, with Mr. Lea accompanying Devoyer as far as Strathglass, where "there had not been a priest for two years."[167] This seems to indicate that during this part of 1687 Ryan was elsewhere, possibly in Glengarry. In May 1687 Lea left for Ireland, with Dunbar's permission, to see his parents and hoped to return at the end of June.[168] He had still not returned when Cahassy wrote to Paris on 20 August, charitably assuming that he must be ill, for he had promised not to stay in Ireland on any account.[169] In his next letter of 12 November 1687 Cahassy acknowledged the arrival of Mr. Lea in Moidart fifteen days previously. Lea had been working with Mr. Munro for more than a month in Glengarry prior to this. That Lea returned at all, having obtained the post of dean of Down in Ireland, is indicative of his spiritual capacity, and Dunbar seemed to back this up by calling him "a good workman."[170] Yet, Cahassy and Lea did not have much opportunity actually to work with each other in Moidart because of being called for various ministrations here and there. As for Mr. Devoyer, he had gone to Skye in around October 1687 but "instead of 5 or 6 weeks Mr. Devoyer was obliged by the storms and other unexpected circumstances to stay there for 4 months."[171] That is, he was in Skye until January 1688. In March, Lea had taken Devoyer's place in Sleat, but was too sick to work.[172] (See fig. 8.3, Dynamic secular period 1687: priests' itineraries.)

In Uist, Cahassy and Coan worked "à nostre maniere ordinaire" until the former was left by himself. After Ascension, in early May 1687, Cahassy indicated that he spent a couple of weeks serving another three islands closer to the mainland where he spent Pentecost. These were probably the Small Isles of Canna, Rhum and Eigg. One of the islands was said not to have seen a priest for a year, except when the priests had passed through themselves seven months ago, while Cahassy also attended, on another, to some who had been away when one of his fellow missionaries had been there previously to visit them.[173]

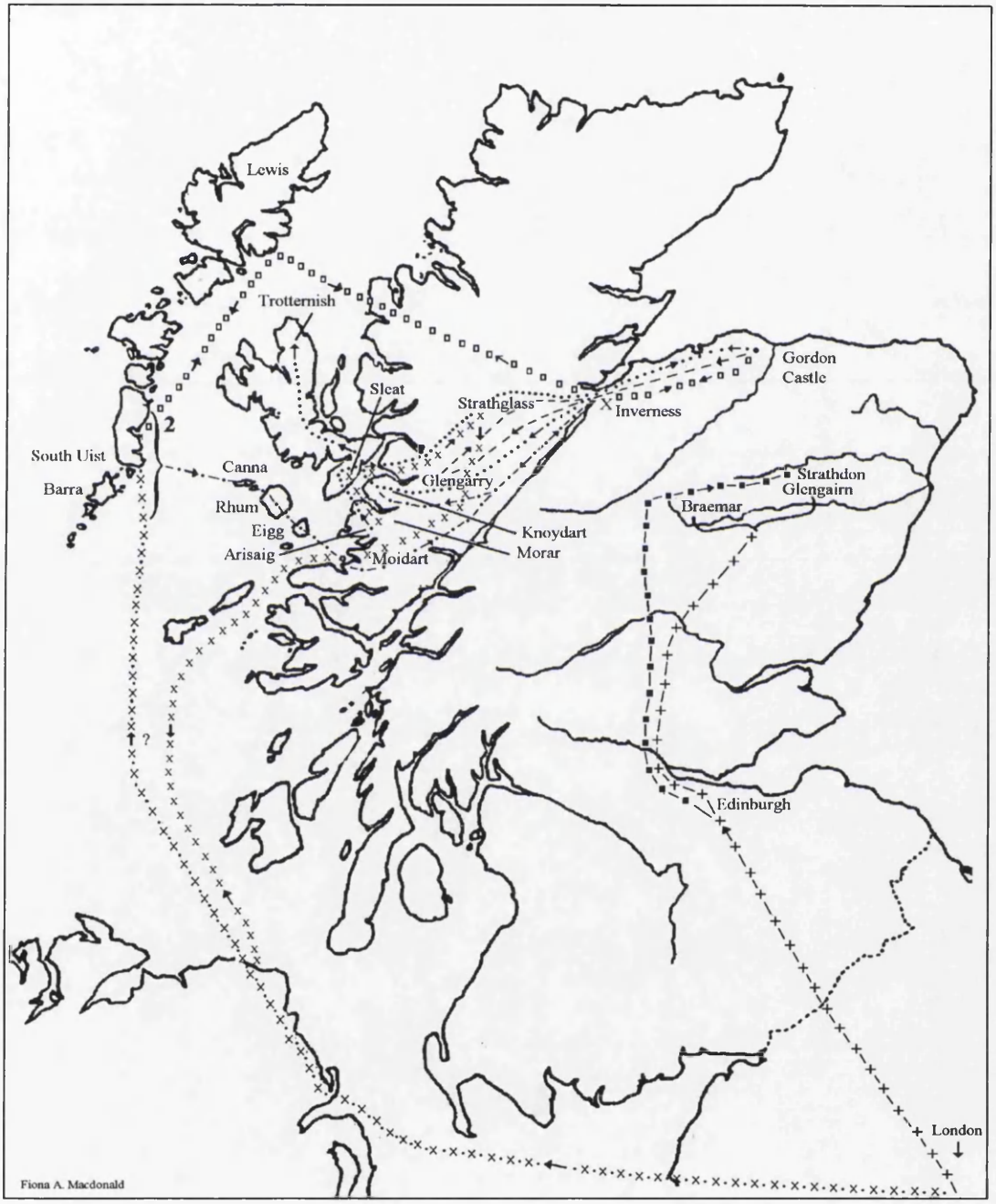
Coan's mission began in South Uist and Barra but became increasingly centred on Lewis, where, possibly due to the lack of mature missionary company, he eventually succumbed to the temptations of the flesh and was dismissed. It is evident that Devoyer took him on circuit for Coan wrote, on 3 May 1687, of "our trip to the Isles."[174] After this, on hearing that there were priests in

Uist they had been invited "to the isle of the uncle of the Earl of Seaforth, my Lord Kildun," that is, to Lewis.[175] Mr. Coan was sent there at the end of February without reference to the mission superiors who were deemed too far away to ask. This is an important indication of the free-lance nature of these early missions. He stayed for four or five weeks with Seaforth's uncle, that is, with George MacKenzie of Kildun, that being only the second time a priest had been to Lewis since the Reformation. Though Kildun is near Dingwall, George MacKenzie spent his later life at Aignish, in Lewis, two miles from Stornoway. His brother Kenneth, third Earl of Seaforth, had made him tacksman of extensive lands in the Point district of Lewis. He and his wife subsequently became Catholics when they visited his nephew, the Catholic fourth Earl of Seaforth, in England. Coan's was to be the only sustained Catholic mission which operated there.[176] After the assembly in May 1687 he was to return via Lewis to Uist to work with Lea when the latter returned. It had been decided in May 1687 that the missionaries should work together in pairs as much as possible: "We have found in this regard, and even very necessary, that we come together in pairs to work, in order to have a community."[177]

Following the May 1687 assembly, Devoyer and Cahassy continued to work together in the Morar region, with occasional forays to Skye. They went to Skye in July 1687 with the express purpose of serving "the very few Catholics who live there among the Protestants, and mainly to talk to a gentleman who it is hoped will be inclined to taste the truths of the Catholic faith."[178] In later correspondence the area was named as Trotternish, which identifies this man as a MacDonald. Cahassy observed that he was the "premier Cadet"[179] of his brother who was the laird of two or three townships there. This suggests that he was a brother of Sir Donald MacDonald, third baronet of Sleat, who was chief at this time, and was probably the Gaelic poet Archibald MacDonald, *an Ciaran Mabach.*[180] The priests thought him of great significance for the continuance of Catholicism in Skye. "They tell us (and we hope too) that the conversion of this person is like an open door for the conversion of others." They also spent a few days in Sleat serving the other Catholics there.[181]

There is also mention of the possible arrival of Mr. Hegarty in Cahassy's August report, who had already been on the mission in 1683, but he did not arrive.[182] In September 1687 Coan was in South Uist, preparing to go to Lewis for the winter.[183] Cahassy had also received word from Mr. Coan in South Uist, where he complained of being "bienfatigué" because of the extent of the Catholic population there. He expected to go to Lewis in December.[184] In March 1688, he was back in Uist, apparently in financial straits, and had to be advanced some money by Mr. Cahassy.[185] Owing to the shortage of labourers, Devoyer returned to Trotternish early in October 1687 by himself. In a letter to George Gordon at the Chapel Royal in Edinburgh, on 28 March 1688, Devoyer wrote of the area: "There have been two ministers since the pretended Reformation. They have not had any priests since I went."[186] On 12 November 1687 Cahassy wrote that Burnet

Fig. 8.3
DYNAMIC SECULAR PERIOD 1687
PRIESTS' ITINERARIES



had informed him that three new recruits would be coming to the Highland mission from Paris. This was timely assistance, because Monro and Ryan were ill, and Cahassy had also been stricken "by a pulmonary consumption with a distillation on the chest" and was to go to Inverness with Devoyer.[187] Mr. Lea was to serve Moidart in their absence, but he himself was not in good health. He added that they were very distressed to see all their Isles uncared for after the departure of Mr. Coan for Lewis, because they did not expect the two priests who were coming via Ireland until Easter 1688, or the third until Candlemas [2 February].[188]

These new recruits probably include three of the four Irish churchmen said, in Gordon's Annual List, to have come with Mr. Thomas Nicolson (the future bishop) and Mr. J. Jameson, who arrived in December. Nicolson and Jameson, who had been friends and associates at the seminary in Padua, were both responding to the King's order for all Scottish priests to return home. However, it is clear that only one of these four actually entered the country with Nicolson. While in Paris on the final stage of his journey to Scotland, Nicolson wrote, on 11 November 1687, to the procurator at the Scots College there that he hoped to sail within two days with Jameson and a priest called Patrick Carolan.[189] Only Coan is named as one of the four and he was already on the mission. The other three included in this number are probably Carolan, Trener (alias Bayers) and Hannat, of whom only the latter was truly new to the mission. Carolan was in Edinburgh on 22 December 1687 when he signed a letter with another missionary John Trener. Though this was not the date of Carolan's first appearance in Scotland, it heralded his first work in the Highlands.[190]

In the report of the April 1687 mission meeting sent to Cardinal Howard, Protector of England and Scotland, it had been stated that there were only six priests working in the Highlands. These have already been identified.[191] There were, however, reported to be another two Irish missionaries Mr. Carolan and Mr. Trener who ministered in Glenlivet and Strathdon. They had not been counted among the clergy of the Highland mission at the time because they were technically in the Lowlands.[192] Carolan and Trener then went back to the continent for Carolan returned to Scotland with Nicolson, while a letter of 23 October 1687 from London indicates that Trener came into the country with Jacques Hannat.[193] Hannat and Trener's reception in London, where they were invited to speak to Lord Melfort, Secretary for Scotland, amply testifies to the greater toleration of Catholics in the country under James VII.[194] However, it is also evident that this was a superficial rather than a grass-roots toleration. For Cahassy wrote in the following year, while recuperating in Inverness that "the benefits of the time augment us but the inclination of the people is different. In several Protestant areas we are criticised and censured more severely than ever before. In others we are shown more friendship than hitherto, and more inclination to our religion."[195]

Carolan and Trener entered the Highland mission in January 1688, but Hannat went via Ireland and did not come on the mission until the summer of 1688. A letter written by Burnet in August 1688,

informed that Hannat was serving in Uist. Cahassy wrote in July 1688 that "Mr. Hannat went there by another route where he worked with Mr. Lea in the maritime districts and the inner or nearer Isles."[196] In August 1688 Mr. Trener was in Glenlivet and Strathdon. Of the two who had previously served on the Scottish mission, both Trener and Carolan returned to the same Lowland area.[197] After working there through the winter and spring, however, Carolan transferred to the Highland mission, for Coan wrote on 16 June 1688 that "Mr. Carolan has to join with me to go to the Isles, although against his inclination knowing the destitution of the Isles only by account, I will take him to Uist and Barra, among the Catholics we serve there, if it please God, until the month of October." After that Coan intended to take Carolan to Lewis where he would place him peacefully among the Catholics, until he found his feet, and understood how to comport himself on the mission.[198] Thus, this was to be his first journey to the Isles. Another Irish priest, clearly of a family of Scottish extraction, also appears to have come to Scotland about this time, one Alexander McNeill. He is thought to have come about the time of Nicolson's arrival, but not with him. Not much evidence survives about him, however, until 1694, when he was the bearer of several letters to the continent and was written about by Mr. Charles Whytford of the Scots College in Paris, as "one of our Irish missioners lately come from Scotland."[199]

At this point, just a year or two after the beginnings of expansion of mission personnel, mission correspondence began to show decided indications of discontent amongst the Irish. It was particularly voiced by Mr. Devoyer, and concerned things beyond their perennial complaints about money and lack of personnel and resources. He implied, for instance, disrespectful conduct over the opening of a letter, which he appears not to have taken lightly. Needless to say, much of the dissension did concern money. In terms of financial responsibililty for the missionaries, it is difficult to gauge just how much was assumed by Talon and how much by Propaganda. Certainly, when Cahassy wrote from Paris on 31 December 1685, he indicated that Propaganda was providing (or perhaps more accurately was supposed to be providing) "50 crounes a yeir for each missioner to the number of 5 that were there But how needful are Missioners in those Countries and how insufficient is 50 crounes a piece yow shal easily understand...."[200] Indeed, there had been no increase in the amount allocated to individual priests since 1650, when the ten secular missionary priests then working on the Scottish mission had also received 50 Roman crowns.[201]

In a letter of 14 February 1687 from Arisaig, Devoyer and Lea gave information about other benefactors of the mission, which indicates how piecemeal the financing of the operation was. Though unaddressed, the letter, in all likelihood, was to Mr. Talon, but also mentioned that they would write to the princess of Conty who had helped them, to Reverend Mother Agnes, and to the Duchess of Vaujau, that is, sister Louise in the Carmelite convent, where it appears that they had stayed when in Paris. Devoyer and another missionary, perhaps Lea, probably acted as chaplains

there. They also said that they would write to the bishop of Orléans after the Gordon Castle meeting, who appears also to have been one of their benefactors.[202]

In this same year, the missionaries were, as usual, hard-pressed for funds. In May, Devoyer wrote of Mr. Dunbar, who was unable to attend the April 1687 assembly, that "he had no money to send us but 20 escus each" and that he had even had to borrow this because he had received nothing from Propaganda, nor what he had expected from the "liberalité du Roy."[203] Mr. Devoyer was entrusted with 30 gold Louis (or 149 francs 10 sols) for the Highland mission, the majority of which had been provided by Mr. Talon, and 3 Louis from "Monsr. L'Abbé des Marais."[204] Devoyer distributed this to the five Highland missionaries then gathered in Inverness, in the absence of Mr. Cahassy, "for we are only six in all in the Mountains and Isles." These were Devoyer, Ryan, Coan, Munro and Lea.[205] In his letter of 3 May Coan confirmed that they all received 25 crowns. Yet, his appeal to Talon that he had always hoped to be treated like the others but feared that he had been forgotten, seems to indicate that he was not of the same status as the others.[206] Further evidence reveals that only Lea was funded by Talon, and that on a temporary basis, but also that he had been asked to share the money received from Talon amongst the other missionaries, that is to give Ryan and Munro, who were funded solely by Propaganda, and Coan, a share.[207]

There seems, at this time, to have been an increasing solidarity amongst the Irish, and a distinct clannish division growing between them and their Lowland superiors. Communication over the delicacies of finance had obviously begun to break down, and Devoyer assumed the role of spokesman for the Irish in the Highlands. He wrote, for instance, on 7 March 1688 to David Burnet: "As to the tenn Crowns you speake of, & does not know if Mr. Cahassy is to share in them or no. It is a thing I cannot tell also, untill I know from whom, or whence they come." Many problems arose over the allocation of Mr. Talon's subsidy. "As to that which Mr. Tallon has sent, I have his letters shewing his will & disposition of the same. He writs he has sent to Mr. Dumbar that little summe in order to be delivered to me, & orders me to passage itt with my brethern." Mr. Talon clearly suspected misappropriation of the money he sent to the Highlands. Devoyer thought this strange in light of the sums he was prepared to spend to set up a house for their retreat, but philosophically stated:

> enfin he may dispose of his Charity as he pleases. Our Conscienses can beare us testimony & he also that what ever wee spoke to him touching the Heighland Mission was for the common good therof, & in proofs therof what little thing he has sent last yeare, though in his letter he has appropriated it to three of us only (viz) Mr.s Cahassy, Lea & I, it was equally divided amongst us six Missionairs, as their own Recept, which I have sent to Mr. Tallon can testifie.[208]

Devoyer, nevertheless, remained anxious to preserve relations with his superior, stressing that he did not suppose Burnet thought badly of them, but was writing simply to show his "Indifferences in that matter," only wishing the money to be employed for the good of the mission, which he believed was done when it was divided equally among them. This suggested that Talon did not expect to fund priests whom he had not agreed to finance. Devoyer further informed that when he was last in Paris, Mr. Talon had agreed with him

> "that a hundered Crowns att least was needfull for a Missionair in the heighlands... & uppon that he promissed to do what he could to help us to that summe and if the King & he thought otherwise (as you wrote to Mr. Cahassy) it was because nobody did fully represent, unto his Majestie our necessity, nor made Mr. Tallon mindfull of the Relation we left him."

At the time they received 318 francs per year.[209] However, it must be said in Talon's defence that he fell very ill in 1687 and this had perhaps caused some degree of mental realignment or inattention to the mission. Moreover, the reduction of the allowance should, perhaps, be seen more in political terms. James VII, a Catholic monarch, was then on the throne, and the financing of the Catholic mission had been a continuing gesture of solidarity from Versailles. However, by the beginning of 1688 with the rioting in Edinburgh it was clear that the King was very unpopular in Protestant Scotland. Certainly, Cahassy wrote in July 1688 "we well understand that in this time it would be very inappropriate that we or our comerades render ourselves disobedient to their superiors."[210] Yet, whether adequate or inadequate, it should not be forgotten that Talon's charity was a major factor in the survival of the Catholic mission to the Highlands at all.

At the next annual clerical assembly at Gordon Castle in April 1688, of the Irishmen, only Carolan and Trener attended.[211] This tends to indicate that there was indeed a rift between Devoyer and his secular superiors, much though he might deny it. The financial controversy continued. Dunbar wrote on 19 April 1688 that complaints had been received from the Irish clergy that what they received was insufficient to support them. They received, by this time, 80 crowns each per year. Priests in the Lowlands still received only the old rate of 50 crowns per year, though it must be admitted that they had readier means of supplementing that sum. According to Dunbar, Devoyer and Cahassy were most discontent, and he was "thinking to licence them home to their own country." Dunbar continued: "Mr. Devoyer is the prettiest man, but the most particular in matters of interest I have known." He informed Whytford that both of them are known to have saved twenty crowns each year out of the fifty they had previously received for three years, to put into a fund to go to Ireland with and he asks him to discreetly convey this to Mr. Talon.[212]

Perhaps partly because of this state of affairs another meeting was held unusually quickly on 11 June following. Coan, who had come to the Castle in May, was summoned to the assembly by Mr.

Burnet "for the purpose of giving him an account of our progress, to bring up our difficulties concerning cases of conscience, and to receive our instructions in order to have a uniformity amongst us."[213] He alerted his colleagues so that they could come too but Devoyer and Lea wrote appointing him as their delegate. Coan plainly pointed out in a letter to Talon that they were "also discontent at not having received that money that you had the generosity to send us" and that, moreover, they had omitted to give him an account of their progress. Thus, Coan gave account of his colleagues as he could.[214] It was, perhaps, to maintain a more obedient presence on the Highland mission that Carolan was sent, at this juncture, to the Isles with Coan.

A letter of 30 August 1688 from Burnet to Mr. Leslie in Rome, also alluded to financial problems. Burnet informed him that he had heard that Leslie borrowed money to pay the missioners for the current half year, "being that the Congregation would send no money, till they gett more relation firm us of the state of the mission." He said that he had sent the report of their June meeting and "if they be not content with that let them send us as many articles by way of Interrogatories of what they desire to know as they think fitt, and I sall have a case to answere them exactly so farre as I can gett information." Clearly, little had changed since the days of the first Franciscan mission. Hugh Ryan, of whom seldom was anything reported, seemed also to have sided with his fellow Irish missioners over the money issue for Burnet wrote: "I beseech you send Mr Hugh Rian his recepts preceeding August 1687 or ane authentick Double of them before a notar for he Denyes me 25 crouns."[215]

The same letter informs that towards the end of this period, in the year prior to the Revolution, there were eleven priests on the Highland mission, and a total of 26 secular priests altogether in Scotland.[216] Here it must be said that the Highlands was almost as well provided for numerically as the Lowlands. It is significant that a high percentage, ten out of eleven, of the west Highland missionaries were Irish, their number just having been augmented by two new arrivals, Richard Harnet and Antony Mongan.[217] Moreover, the letter detailed the places where many of them laboured:

> viz. Mr Coan and Carolan presently in the Lewis. Mr Hannat in Ouist Mr Devoyer in Donalds Countrey about Sleat. Mr Monro in Knoydart Mr Rian in Strathglasse Mr Cahassy somewhat sickly at Invernesse Mr Lea sickly come Downe to Gordon Castle iust now to change and Mr Trener in Glenlivet and Strathdowne and two Irish iust now landed here whom I am very shortly to send to their comerads in those Countreyes.[218]

Burnet also added Mr. Forsyth of the Society of Jesus who was "in Braymarre and thereabouts" to his list, "so there are 12 in all for the Highlands."[219] Henry Forsyth (Forseu or Forsiter) is also noteworthy as a Gaelic-speaking Scot who had contact with native Irish during his training.

Though originally a native of Edinburgh, born of Protestant parents, he studied humanities at Cashel in the province of Munster in Ireland under seculars. He presumably learned Irish when there rather than having been born to Scottish Gaelic-speaking parents. He was then converted to Catholicism by Jesuits there, finishing his humanities with them. He subsequently did a higher course at the Scots College in Douai, Belgium.[220] When Alexander Leslie left Rome for Scotland in May 1652 he wrote in a letter detailing his journey that he was going shortly to Ostend, but intended to visit Mechelen beforehand, where Forsyth had been sent for his noviceship. "I will visit Henrie Forsaye, our contriemane now their, ane iouthe of great expectatione, who knowes the Hiland language." If he is the Fr. "familiar with the Erse[221] language used by the mountaineers of Scotland" mentioned in the Jesuit annual report for 1670 then his arrival on the Highland mission can be dated to June 1670. At this time 'Erse' was a term used either for Irish or Scottish Gaelic. He was said to be labouring with great success amongst them. According to the Farquharson Ms., Forsyth admitted to Lewis Farquharson, a local laird, that he was working in Glenlivet and Strathavon, where, unsure of being betrayed, he owned only to having a few converts in the former and very few in the latter. The Jesuit annual report for 1671 further mentioned Jesuit penetration of the Highlands, "more particularly in places where the Catholic religion had scarcely been heard of, since the first introduction of heresy, and into which one of our Fathers has for the first time penetrated." It has been suggested that by this time, Fr. Forsyth was working further south in Braemar.[222]

Very little evidence remains in the record which throws light upon Harnet, but more survives in relation to Mongan.[223] They arrived together in London in August 1688, coming at the time of the King's edict which called back to Scotland all missionaries who were abroad. They, also, were protégés of Mr. Talon. They arrived in London ill-equipped and ill-funded, Mr. Talon having reserved the greater part of the money promised them for Mr. Whytford in Paris, which Whytford was to forward to Mr. Burnet (vice-prefect and since 1687 dean of the Chapel Royal in Holyrood), in an obvious attempt to keep the money in the hands of the mission superiors.[224] Thus, they had only 24s sterling each on arrival in London and wasted more of that in attendance on the court at Windsor where, wrote Mr. Dunbar on 13 September, "they got not a sixpence of helpe for any of them."[225] Dunbar therefore advanced them 12 crowns each, as a gift, from their travelling expenses to Scotland, for if these had been withdrawn for their salaries they would have had little to live on. From later evidence, it may be assumed that Mongan was assigned to the west coast mission of which the Moidart area was the hub. By 1691 he was in Skye, sustaining the incipient Catholic community there. Richard Harnet appears to have served in Uist, but little trace of him survives anywhere at all. He may have indeed have been sent to several places, much like Carolan. In August 1688, for example, the month of his arrival, Mr. Dunbar wrote of his intention to settle an Irish priest in the Enzie district of Banffshire, in the hope of creating some Highland scholars there who might ultimately be fit enough to send to the colleges abroad.[226]

Harnet and Mongan's penniless arrival, in the midst of a financial controversy, did little to improve the standing of the Irish. Later in the month, on 20 August, Burnet wrote graphically of the attitude of the Irishmen. "You would wonder at some of our Irishmen's impertinencies, which are sett down in their letters I have beside me. I manifest as little of them as I can for charities cause... It is manifest they purpose to make bande apart, but for remedy against that I see is not at present."[227] On 20 September Dunbar wrote to Whytford: "Let no more Irish be sent till called for: much less so ill provided as the last two, with not a groat in their pocket, nor a cloak to keep them from the rain, nor ornaments to say mass with and you know we keep no magazine of such things."[228]

However, this rift between mission personnel was soon relegated in the league of importance when, in November 1688, William of Orange set foot on British soil and James VII fled the country in December. The period of toleration was over and the Edinburgh mob celebrated by sacking the Chapel Royal. In the Highlands, little action was taken against the priests, none being seized except Mr. Ryan and he, much later in 1696. This is not to say that there were no ramifications for Catholicism in the Highlands. The very fact that no further record of missionary activity exists until five years later, is testimony enough to the circumspection of the times and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of sending letters and reports.[229] Coan added to the upheaval by apostatizing and marrying a woman who was with his child, in Lewis, towards the end of 1688, apparently a daughter of MacKenzie of Kildun who had first invited the priests to Lewis. Certainly it was a case of personal expediency, but neither did the political situation for Catholics look very optimistic. Moreover, in all the scandal which surrounded his conduct, Coan's lack of assured funding has never been entered in his defence. After the assembly in June 1688 he wrote to Talon, somewhat galled that he was not treated like his other protégés, that "I have had more loss, expense and worry during the last year than all the others, as I have already indicated to you."[230] Nevertheless, Coan was clearly shakeable in his faith. He was formally suspended by the prefect, Alexander Dunbar, on 22 March 1689.[231] The imprisoned Earl of Seaforth was later accused of having killed him, presumably because he had been personally incensed and suffered loss of face by his defection, since his family had been instrumental in inviting Coan to the island in the first place. Coan appears to have suffered sufficient retribution for his actions however, for the next ten years of his life were to be a catalogue of harrassment and imprisonment first in Seaforth's castle of Eilean Donan, and subsequently on small islands off Lewis, Fladda and North Rona, at the hands of Seaforth or his uncle, MacKenzie of Kildun.[232]

Moreover, it seems that Coan was not the only priest who misbehaved, as Fr. James Bruce wrote from Ratisbon to Leslie in Rome in 1690: "Its to be lamented that there are so few labourers in places for the harvest is very great; and the more to be regrated that some of the Irish missioners who have been there have misbehaved extreamly, and given great scandall which has alienat the mynds of the people mightily." He particularly mentioned Coan, but there were "bysyds two others

who befor some thrie of four yeirs or more played some such lyke trikes."[233] This would date the misdemeanours to 1686 or 1687 but there is nothing to implicate any other of the priests named above. It might be, therefore, that they disappeared quickly from the mission.

V. RESULTS OF MISSION

Such evidence as exists about the general state of piety of the layman must generally be seen, at least in the priests' reports, in light of the clergy's desire to elicit more funds from Propaganda. Cahassy wrote, for instance, on 31 December 1685, that:

> there is no people that hath a desyre to be instructed in their Religion more then they, No people comonly more submissive and obedient to church they never speak to a priest but after reseving [receiving] his benediction kneeling befor him it cannot be expressed how much they Rejoyce when a prist comes to the countrie, they come to him from all parts to hear divine service to Confesse and Reseav to christn their children ... I cannot tell you how much wee were touched at our departure to see thame weep after us wee are abandoned no bodie will come to us.[234]

While, undoubtedly, there was an element of truth within this, the information comes but a few lines after his complaint of "how insufficient is that litle pension of the colledg of propaganda."[235]

Regarding the long-term sustenance of Catholic districts, a beginning was made during this period in establishing priests in specific areas, so that the consolidation work necessary for Catholicism to flourish properly, could begin. In his report to Propaganda following his visitation to the Highlands and Islands in 1678, Mr. Alexander Leslie had strongly recommended that priests should be assigned particular stations, though it does not appear to have been made a policy until Bishop Nicolson made fixed stations obligatory in the appointment of priests after 1700.[236] Even though priests such as Devoyer and Cahassy were more or less confined to Clanranald territory, it was still necessary for them to move about within this vast region, as much because there were so few priests as not to become a burden upon anyone. This had contrary ramifications in terms of consolidation:

> Wee have been there 4 yeirs and all this tym wee could not make our residence for one month in one place to instruct them as wee wold wish least wee should be burdensome to them. Many in diverse places offered themselves to become catholikes but having not the tyme to instruct them sufficientlie fearing the great scandall of their eminent relapse wee did allwayes deffer to reseave them.[237]

This inability to sustain the faith was therefore still one of the greatest deficiencies of the mission at this time. Cahassy said that their aim was, ultimately, to achieve the position of being able to "stay at least thrie months in one countrie."[238] Yet, in some areas, where there was a demand, a local chieftain or laird was sometimes willing to maintain a priest for the people. In South Uist and Glengarry, for example, priests stayed for long periods of time on extended hospitality.

In the meantime, greater attention was given to maximising time and individual resources through strict structuring of the priests' timetables in a particular area. The method which Lea and Devoyer employed in Arisaig was to make out lists of the faithful in each settlement whom they would prepare for the sacrament of penance. They assigned a particular day to each township so that the people could confess without embarrassment, which could not have been avoided if everyone came together. One day in the week was also set apart for catechising the young, but this had to be done after eight o'clock in the evening, when the cattle were enclosed and protected from the Lochaber cattle reivers.[239]

Before looking at those areas in which Catholicism was fortified or introduced for the first time since the Reformation and subsequently entrenched, it is again worth noting the extinction of Catholic missionary activity in Argyll and Kintyre, which had been terminated during the period of the first Franciscan mission.[240] Throughout this period, Argyll was maintained as an almost Catholic-free pale by hearty containment of any popery which was reported to the Kirk. For example, the Synod of Argyll was informed at its meeting at Lochhead, Kintyre on 16 June 1654, "that sevrall persons in the cuntrey conversed with Anna Nc Donald, ane excommunicat papist."[241] They, thus, appointed "that no person or persons whatsoever doe converse with any excommunicat person (except such as naturall tyes binds) under the pain of condinge censure, and recomends to the civile magistrat that some civile punishment be inflicted on the contraviners thereof." The Synod's appointment that the act be publicly intimated on the following Sabbath probably locates Anna Nc Donald in the Lochhead area, itself.[242] Even though there is evidence to suggest that such censures were not fully upheld, they doubtless exercised some restriction on behaviour.

There was but one occasion during this period when it was perfectly safe for Irish priests to come to Kintyre, and that was during the civil war under the protection of the Royalist army, when some of the inhabitants were said to be embracing their views.[243] Amongst the troops themselves, men were served from a breadth of geographical areas, while others were served in a variety of areas which the army visited. Specifically mentioned was Atholl, where there were "a number of gentlemen of some note and consideration, who were Catholics, but had not seen a priest for a long time," who were now admitted to the rites of the church. "They ... were called Robertson, and formed a numerous party in the neighbourhood." Significantly, MacBreck's report made clear that "there is no part of Scotland into which our Fathers have not penetrated, except Argyllshire, and

Albany [Breadalbane] which leads to it."[244] This is particularly notable as a specification of the extent of Jesuit penetration of the Highlands in the mid-seventeenth century.

Nonetheless, much of the evidence indicates, far from a familiarity with Catholicism, a lack of extended contact with religion of any kind in many districts. In December 1644 the MacIans of Glencoe, a branch of the MacDonalds, had not yet been visited by Protestantism, and knew only the bare rudiments of Catholic doctrine, that is, they were in religious limbo. They were said to be "not averse to Catholic customs," and a man of note among them, doubtless having been instructed in religion through outside contacts, was able to repeat "the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation in the ancient language of the Scots." Though MacBreck may have been correct in stating that "The Calvinist preachers have never found their way into these parts," his statement that "not one of them was present with the army, in which only Catholic priests were recognised," was inaccurate, for several ministers, such as Martin MacIlvory who ministered to MacLean of Duart's troops, were disciplined for fraternising with the Montrose's army.[245] "Macranald the Fair," of the MacDonalds, who held sway in the districts of Lochaber, north and south, was "not opposed to orthodox piety,"[246] and the chief of Glengarry and laird of Keppoch were mentioned in similar vein, but the Camerons were said to be "less susceptible to piety."[247]

However, the raiding and destruction that Argyll suffered during the Montrose wars was likely to have entrenched the presbyterianism of the Clan Campbell and made those who had been afflicted determined to exterminate Catholicism. The greatly perturbed Synod of Argyll wrote to the General Assembly on 10 September 1646 that "The suord of the rebells quhilk hes bereft us of our freends, spoiled us of our goods, and burnt out duellings... cannot parallell the bitternes that the feare of the sorest of all plagues, the removall of the light of the gospell, hes possessed our soules with."[248] Disciplinary measures were still being pursued by the Kirk in the 1650s.[249] Certainly though Murdoch MacLean, tenth of Lochbuie, seems to have remained a fairly intransigent Catholic, his heir submitted to the Synod of Argyll in 1651.[250]

Elsewhere in the 1650s, the priests of the Vincentian mission mentioned in their reports how much the Islanders had retained of what the first Franciscan missionaries had taught them. Duggan wrote:

> I have found some of the inhabitants of Uist who called themselves Catholics and had some knowledge of the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. This is due to their having been to Confession formerly to some Fathers of the Order of St. Francis who came here from Ireland, but these people were so little instructed that they did not know how to make the sign of the Cross.[251]

This, therefore, tends to confirm that the unnamed priest maintained by Clanranald in 1642 was the inept Ranald MacDonald. In spite of the hundreds of reconciliations claimed by the Franciscans in South Uist, by the time of prefect Ballantyne's report in 1660, the numbers of Catholics were reported only to be "more than sixty" among whom was Lady MacNeill, sister of the Earl of Antrim. This was probably a more realistic figure, though entails some re-evaluation of Francis MacDonnell's statement in 1671 and Cahassy's later in 1687 that almost the entire population of South Uist were Catholic.[252] Moreover, of the 800 to 900 people that Duggan reconciled in Eigg, Canna and Islay in 1652, he stated that they "were so ill-instructed in religious matters that there were not fifteen who knew any of the mysteries of faith."[253] No breakdown is given of souls between the three islands, but one clue is perhaps given in Ballantyne's report of 1660 when there were said to be "more than one hundred Catholics" there.[254] It is highly significant that Islay was the only location south of Ardnamurchan and within Campbell jurisdiction that the Vincentians felt safe to visit. All other areas in Argyll and the southern Isles had been abandoned by the first Franciscan mission. So too, Fr. Lumsden's report to St. Vincent in 1657, stating that he had visited the Orkney islands, Caithness, Ross, Moray and Candie, continues to support conclusions of the rigorous introduction of the Reformation there, where he stated that "there are but few Catholics."[255] The major problem during this period, once again, was one of sustaining the Catholic population where it did exist and it had clearly not been possible to do this from Ireland.

In examining those areas in which Catholicism was established and maintained during this period, it is, perhaps, most appropriate to do this with reference to the contemporary record. Mr. Cahassy wrote on 31 December 1685, that: "The catholikes of the highlands are in tuo divers places the one pairt of them in the maine land where all the inhabitants are catholikes and the other part in Iles called hebrides." He identified seven Catholic areas in the mainland, that is, Strathglass, Glengarry, Moidart, Arisaig, north and south Morar ("moror vic onille" and "moror vic alester") and Knoydart, which were "the roughst places that ever man saw some 30 miles some 20 some 12 distant in great deserts distant one from another."[256] Within each of these districts, which the missionaries referred to as a 'canton', there would further be a number of settlements which the missionaries referred to in French as 'villages', that is, Gaelic townships or 'bailtean'. In Arisaig, for instance, they noted twenty-three settlements, each comprising approximately fifteen communicants, other than children.[257] Besides these seven mainland territories, Cahassy pointed out that: "There are six iles whose inhabitants are also catholikes Viz Egge Mouik otherwis Tyreihrane Rumme Canna ouist Barra, some of these are distant from the maine land some 40 leagues some 30 some 20." Besides these six greater Isles, he identified five other little Isles "verie farr in the sea southward to the ile of Barra in everie ile at least a village with so many families." These were Vatersay, Mingulay, Pabbay, Sandray and Berneray.[258]

In terms of numbers of Catholics in the mainland Highlands, Cahassy wrote in 1685, of visiting the Highlands for the first time in 1681, and "being conveyed ... all along to the foot of the hylands wee found therein verie rough and vast countries far distant one from another the matter of seven thousand catholiks, and so much more in the adjacent uest iles of Scotland which they called formerly Hebrides."[259] The people of Lochaber were specifically singled out in 1687 by Devoyer and Lea as being "bad neighbours ... people without God and without Religion, they do not scruple to steal all that they can."[260] As for Inverness itself, although there were contacts there, there was not much service to be done in the actual town, which was largely Protestant, for Cahassy wrote "there is only one Catholic family with very few from the neighbouring district who come on some feast days and Sundays and others who come from time to time from our Catholic districts to the fairs and markets." As Fr. MacBreck, the Jesuit, had stated at the beginning of the period in 1648, the inhabitants "are ardent Calvinists, having become obstinately imbued with these sentiments by a preacher who was sent here for banishment by King James the Sixth."[261] Nevertheless, from Cahassy's arrival in Inverness early in 1688 to 18 July 1688, when he was recuperating from consumption, he received three new converts there.[262]

Information in the records of Inverness and Dingwall presbyteries indicates that there was considerable adherence to Catholicism in Strathglass, as well as the Braes of Glenmoriston and Abertarff. The revival of Catholicism for the first time since the Reformation can be dated, in this area, to the 1670s.[263] The reintroduction of Catholicism was facilitated in the area by the conversion of Colin, son of Chisholm of Strathglass, who lived at Knockfin. On 3 July 1677, the elders at Kiltarlity "being asked if popery was upon the groweing hand in the over parioch, answered that such as were popish enclyned were in the province of Ross where the Chisolme with his family and dependents were."[264] Tradition records that Catholic missionaries then in the Glengarry heard this information and 'two of them repaired immediately to Strathglass.'[265]

In Moidart and its surrounds, there is little evidence cited of the numbers who had been converted, though most were allegedly reconciled prior to this period.[266] Indeed, in many of the areas surrounding the maritime region it was as much a question of salvaging the inhabitants from irreligion, as of reconciling them to Catholicism. Moreover, in these areas, it is interesting that the Catholic evidence concurs with presbyterian evidence of the period in proclaiming many to be in this general state of irreligiousness or paganism, because of the lack of a Christian ministry of any denomination. Thus, Cahassy wrote on 31 December 1685:

> Ma(n)y other of the adjacent countries wold embrace the Catholike Religion if churchmen did frequent them though they bee under the notion of protestants yet treuly they have no Religion at all but are rather infidels then of any sect and commonly they have more difficultie to submite

Barra in his privat chappell called our Lady and her babe, trimmed up in their apparrell and ornaments."[274] The island was then extensively served by the Vincentian, Duggan, in the '50s, was visited in the mid-60s by his colleague, White, and then sustained by the resident missionaries George Fanning and Francis MacDonnell in the late '60s and the '70s. Of Uist in June 1687, Cahassy wrote "It is a well-populated country and the inhabitants are all Catholic except for the Minister's family who live there, and a few special exalted relatives of whom we have received ten on the last occasion."[275]

One of the by-products of Clanranald's patronage of the Highland and Island mission was the continued entrenchment of anti-Campbell attitudes among the missionaries, more particularly among those who worked in Clanranald territory. Moreover, this attitude was generally present among most MacDonalds, except, perhaps, those of Skye. This had, at its root, firstly, the political ambition of the Clan Donald South to regain its lands in Islay and Kintyre, and was, probably, one of the major factors behind the support of the MacDonnells of Antrim for the mission. Secondly, this attitude had been reinforced and extended to those MacDonalds who had fought in the civil war, particularly to the MacDonalds of Clanranald, Glengarry and Keppoch. Thus, Francis MacDonnell and Robert Munro, who usually worked in South Uist and around Glengarry, respectively, joined Glengarry's expedition against Argyll in 1679. So too, following Argyll's rebellion in November 1685, Cahassy, who largely operated in Clanranald territories, revelled in:

> the Glorious defeat or Rather the miraculous confussion of our hyeland malevolent neybour the arch and hereditarie traytour argyll and the rest of his faction Who were thought to land and lay hands first upon our catholikes being alwayes their mortall enemies not only for his phanatike zeall against the catholike religion (or poperie as he termes it) but also for their descent from those whose losse and misfortune he builded up his vast estate and fortune.[276]

A more quixotic initiative during this period was the qualified revitalisation of the faith in Lewis for the first time since the Reformation, which was visited in 1671 by the Vincentian, Fr. White, under the protection of the Earl of Seaforth. However, White had many other mainland responsibilities and no further work was done again for sixteen years until the mission of Mr. Coan, who by his unmeritable behaviour probably did as much for the calvinisation of the island as the presence of no fewer than three ministers at the time! Seaforth continued his patronage of the Catholic mission there, of whom Coan wrote, on 3 May 1687 "I have received all his family, and sixty other people." The missionaries clearly valued the potential of his assistance for the church. Devoyer wrote on 20 May 1687 "he is a man with extensive territories and who can raise 1500 men for the King's service." He was, at the time, said to be returning from England to Lewis with two priests for whom he would provide every necessity, but it is clear from lack of further evidence that this did not take place.[277] More interesting, perhaps, was the initial attitude of the ministers to

> themselves to our christian discipline for to amend themselves of their vices then they have to professe and believ our misteries.[267]

Here, perhaps, we are approaching the truth of the matter, namely, that there were totally neglected pastures. Yet, even where there had been reversion to a pre-Christian or more truly a quasi-Christian state, this did not entail savagery. "They are not as people imagines them so barbarous and wild that they are untractable and therfor Unworthie to be lookit after, but contrary to that they (are) naturally civill and especiallie those of our Vocation and they are endued with a great deal of Natural witt."[268]

An example of this type of practice was given by Mr. Cahassy in his letter from Moidart on 19 September 1687. Like the paganism of the bull-sacrifice which has been noted in Ross-shire in the presbytery of Dingwall in the seventeenth century,[269] this ceremony was an understandable form of non-Christian lay baptism, a recognition ceremony of the birth of a child in a society without a resident priest or minister. Cahassy wrote of their rebaptising of children because the Catholics, not wishing to have any unbaptisèd children in their families, would baptise their children by the lochs when the priest was at a distance, in abuse of the permission that had been given to them to baptise dying children. These baptisms were performed by senior members of the community. "These old men, not knowing the correct form of baptism make use of a superstitious recitation."[270]

Neither was it only those areas without a regular Protestant ministry which were affected by what might broadly be termed 'superstition.' For example, towards the beginning of this period, on 24 April 1649, the session book of Kingarth in Bute, recorded the appearance of "Lachlan M'Kirdy" who confessed "that he and Alester M'Kaw did use the charme of the ridle in Suthgarachtie for getting of silver that was stolne from him, and that the said Issobell N'Kaw did practise the said charme ane other tyme."[271] As in the example from the Catholic area above, one of the charms was detailed. It indicates that all of these charms came from a more ubiquitous common folk culture, as outlined in the *Carmina Gadelica* which was confined to neither Protestant nor Catholic areas.[272]

In the Isles, the main Catholic strongholds were in Barra and Uist, where work appears to have been fairly well sustained, indeed perhaps the only places where this consistently occurred, following the initial work done on the first Franciscan mission. Moreover, both Iain Muideartach, twelfth of Clanranald (1618-1670) continued his support of Catholicism throughout his lengthy chiefship and so, following his conversion in 1632 by the Franciscans, did Niall Og MacNeill, sixteenth of Barra.[273] The last time Barra and Uist were definitely visited by the Franciscans was in 1636 by Ward. Yet, it is evident that Catholicism continued there, for in May 1643, the Synod of Argyll recorded a relation by Mr. Martin McPherson about "two idols keeped by McNeill of

Coan, who according to his own evidence were originally hostile but ended up contesting the principle points of the faith with him, after which they left contentedly.[278]

In Skye, it is possible to trace two Catholic enclaves, the long-established Trotternish and a young community in Sleat. The island had been served by Ward in the last year of the first Franciscan mission, though there is no evidence of it receiving any further sustenance until it was served in 1652-53 by the Vincentian Dermit Duggan. However, some Catholics remained on the island, for the Synod of Argyll reported in its meeting of October 1642 that "the old Lady mc Cloud and Anguis mc Ferquhar in the yle of Sky are professed papists."[279] The MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris, that is, John Mòr, the sixteenth chief (1626-49), Rory Mir, the seventeenth chief (1649-1664) and Iain Breac, the eighteenth chief (1664-1693), as well as the MacDonalds of Sleat, Sir James Mòr, the ninth chief (1643-1678) and Sir Donald, tenth chief (1678-1695), continued to conform outwardly to Protestantism, as had their predecessors during the period prior to this.[280] The Vincentians appear to have maintained their connection with Skye, but opposition to Catholicism was clearly growing on the island during this period, for Ewan MacAllister, the schoolmaster who transferred to Glengarry in 1665, had previously taught on Skye where he had the substantial number of sixty pupils, but had been compelled to leave by people hostile to Catholicism. This was undoubtedly fuelled by the presbytery of Skye, but who was responsible for the actual coercion is not specified.[281] Even if this had come from MacDonald of Sleat, *fine* support by the family for Catholicism was maintained by his bastard brother, Archibald MacDonald, who made a nocturnal assault on Donald Nicholson, minister of Kilmuir in Trotternish in August 1667.[282] Sustenance of Catholics in Skye began in a more consistent way with the growth of the secular mission in the 1680s. The island was served initially from the Moidart mission, mainly by Mr. Devoyer and Mr. Cahassy, then latterly by Mr. Mongan. On 20 May 1687 Mr. Devoyer wrote that "all are nominally Protestants," but there were "about fifty Catholics who are scattered here and there."[283] A further ten presented themselves to receive the faith while they were there.[284]

With the arrival of Mr. Mongan in August 1688, a priest could be spared for permanent residence in Skye. Yet, the majority of Skye had, in effect, been well captured by the Protestants by this time. Of his visit from October 1687 to January 1688 Devoyer wrote that the people came voluntarily to hear the addresses, but were perturbed by mass and confession, which did not surprise him "after the false impressions that the Ministers have made on their Spirits by their sermons full of calumny against the Catholic Church, calling it Idolatrous for the veneration given there to the saints and images which would be easily believed by those who have never heard anything to the contrary."[285] Though Devoyer blamed the ministers, it was, nonetheless, the people who chose to side with them. It is also worthy of note that the numbers of Catholics in

Lewis and Skye were equal at this time. The small harvest is indicative of the Protestants having maintained their ground very adequately.[286]

Conclusion

It would be a fairly accurate generalisation that the present-day areas of Roman Catholic settlement in the Highlands and Islands were more or less codified by the end of the seventeenth century. The most sustained missionary attention during the century was accorded to the Clanranald territories, both of the islands and the mainland. This was equalled only by the attention lavished on the MacNeill territory of Barra and its surrounding islands, and the mainland district of Glengarry. It also seems likely, given the evidence of the mass stones of Lochaber, that attention was focused at some time on the MacDonalds of Keppoch. They were certainly visited during the Montrose campaigns but it seems likely they were further sustained after this, though there is no evidence that they were visited by the Vincentians. Nonetheless, the two communities in Glengarry and the Braes of Lochaber were visited by the same priest at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it seems possible that this may have occurred, occasionally, during this period also.[287]

However, it is doubtful whether it can be stated that had the Franciscan and Vincentian missions been better supported with men and money 'there is every reason to suppose that much greater areas, including Skye, Harris, North Uist, Mull, Ardnamurchan and Morvern, would still be Catholic today.'[288] There is always the possibility that, had MacLeod of Dunvegan and Harris been more openly Catholic, that Catholic missionaries might have been sent to Harris. On the other hand, if they could visit Trotternish in the seventeenth century, there was little to prevent them going to Harris, which they did not. The major bar was that the Protestant Kirk had established itself there by the beginning of the century. So too, North Uist was already firmly Protestant by the time of the first Franciscan mission.[289] There is no reason to assume that it would have reverted to Catholicism just because of its proximity to accessible priests in South Uist. Similarly, there had been three ministers in Mull as early as 1626.[290] Finally, there seemed little likelihood of Ardnamurchan and Morvern ever falling to Catholicism because of the latter's proximity to Argyll territory and the former's association with the Campbells. Argyll had gained a royal grant of the barony of Ardnamurchan as early as March 1610 and it had remained in Campbell hands when he feued it to Donald Campbell of Barbreck-Lochow in 1625 following the revolt of the MacDonalds there.[291]

During the early eighteenth century attention was largely focused on consolidating those areas which had been retained for the Catholic faith and in providing a native Scottish priesthood. With the extended mission work done in the seventeenth century in Clanranald territories, it is hardly

surprising that most of the indigenous Highland priests bore the name MacDonald. However, while this new priesthood was under formation, there was still much scope for Irish aid.

NOTES

1. Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622-1878*, (Montrose, 1970), pp. 47-48, 50.
2. Anson, pp. 52, 54, 100.
3. Rev. Breifne Walker, 'Blessed Oliver Plunkett and the Popish Plot in Ireland,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 109, (1968), p. 327.
4. The very Rev. Duncan Canon MacLean, 'Mr. Robert Munro, Secular Priest, 1671-1704,' *St. Peter's College Magazine*, 20, no. 77, (1951), p. 51. The general disturbance caused by the Popish Plot also caused some back-lash, at the same time, against Highland presbyterian communities, as non-conformists, in Donegal in Ulster. See Chapter 7, section III C. i. Mr. James Tailzeur, first minister of Enniskillen: Case study.
5. Anson, pp. 77-78.
6. In this respect, the following quotation from F. Forbes and W. J. Anderson, referring specifically to secular clergy lists, seems particularly appropriate and is heartily concurred with: 'Publication requires courage, for there will always be readers who think anything in print must be correct, and when they find errors, as they certainly will, they accuse the compiler of ignorance. To such accusations there is an easy and unanswerable reply. Why have the critics not produced something better themselves? Publication, especially in a journal or review, is intended to stimulate constructive criticism, so that someone later may in turn produce a more adequate work.' (F. Forbes and W. J. Anderson, 'Clergy Lists of the Highland District 1732-1828,' *Innes Review*, 17, (1966), p. 129.)
7. William Forbes Leith, S.J. (editor), *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics, during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries,* I, 1627-1649 and II, 1647-1793, (London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta, 1909.)
8. See Chapter 3 of Mary Purcell, *The Story of the Vincentians*, (Dublin, 1973); Dom Odo Blundell, 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' *Dublin Review*, 149, (July and October 1911), pp. 304-20.
9. See particularly, Anthony Ross, 'Dominicans and Scotland in the Seventeenth Century,' *Innes Review*, 23, (1972), pp. 40-75, and also Daphne Pochin Mould, *The Irish Dominicans*, (Dublin, 1957.)
10. Duncan C. MacTavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651,* SHS, 3rd series, 37, (Edinburgh, 1943); *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661,* SHS, 3rd series, 38, (Edinburgh, 1944);T. and A. Constable, *General Assembly Commission Records, 1646-47,* SHS, 2nd series, 11, (Edinburgh, 1892); William Mackay (editor), *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688*, SHS, 1st series, 24, (Edinburgh, 1896); Henry Paton (editor), *The Session Book of Kingarth, 1641-1703*, (Edinburgh, 1932.) A good deal of this material has been cross-checked with Canon William Clapperton's 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests,' which was compiled from various primary sources now in the Scottish Catholic Archives. (SCA CC1/8-15, Canon William Clapperton's 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests,' revised and transcribed by the very Rev. George Canon Wilson. The typescript is of Wilson's transcripts. It was compiled chiefly from original letters, originally at Preshome, then at Blair's College, and now in the Scottish Catholic Archives.
11. See appendices.

12. David Stevenson, 'The Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland and the Irish Rebellion of 1641,' *Innes Review*, 30, (1979), p. 54.
13. *IFM*, p. 180. Moreover, he was still requesting Propaganda, even at this date, to give him his allowance for the past nine years!
14. *IFM*, p. 181.
15. 'The Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland and the Irish Rebellion of 1641,' p. 55.
16. See Chapter 7, III B. Presbyterian ministers during the Irish campaign, 1642-1648.
17. *IFM*, p. 183.
18. *IFM*, p. 185.
19. See Chapter 3, section IV. Covenanting period.
20. 'The Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland and the Irish Rebellion of 1641,' pp. 55-57, 61. For earlier Jesuit missions, refer to Chapter 5, section V. The Jesuit missions, above. It is, however, perfectly plausible that a mistake had been made by Carte. (See, for instance, the confusion made between the ministers Dugald and Duncan Campbell by a secondary commentator, in Chapter 7, section III B. Mr. Dugald Campbell: Case study.)
21. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651,* p. 37.
22. For whom, see Chapter 7, section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.
23. A. Roberts, 'The "Irishes" in Scotland, 1644-1647,' *The Glynns*, 14, (1986), p. 41. MacBreck wrote that Montrose allowed the Jesuit priests free scope for the exercise of their functions. (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 266.)
24. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 268. This Jesuit, "conveyed from Ireland," was not one Fr. Robert Ogilvie (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, I, pp. 242-43) because he was referred to shortly afterwards as making his way to the south of Scotland and on to France. It is, therefore, clear that two Jesuits came across from Ireland in 1643 to the north of Scotland, Ogilvie and the lookalike of the man of high rank. The latter's companion in his attempt to get back to Ireland seems to have been a Highlander and a probable Gaelic speaker, who "succeeded in obtaining the good will of his relatives and connections in the Highlands, who said it was much to be regretted, that a man of high character and learning should not be able to find a convenient home in his native land, and devote his powers to the service of his country and his nation." It is probable, therefore, that there were five Jesuits in north-east Scotland in 1643 and 1644 because the four priests on the Scottish mission in 1642 were still on the mission in 1644. The three Jesuits in the north of Scotland were Fr. John Smith, Fr. William Grant and Father Andrew Leslie. Concerning the identity of the Highland Jesuit, there is nothing in the reports to indicate that he had originally made his way across from Ireland. It is likely therefore, that he was included amongst the three Jesuits stated to be in the north. If this is so, the most probable contender for Highland origin was Fr. William Grant. Certainly a William Grant of Conglass, in the north-east Highlands, was excommunicated later in October 1668 and may represent the fruit of earlier work in that area. (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, pp. 232, 268, 313, II, p. 395.)

25. David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, (Belfast, 1981), p. 173; *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 281.

26. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 291; Rev. W. J. Anderson, 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation IV Prefect Ballentine's Report, circa 1660. Part 2,' *Innes Review*, 8, (1957), pp. 109-10. It was a Jesuit "furnished one of the officers with a list of Catholics, that our friends might be recognised and exempted from plunder, and not confused with the general body of the rebel (that is covenanting) party." (*Memoirs*, I, p. 291.) Note that the places visited by Montrose's Royalist army in 1644 and 1645 in the company of the three priests from Ireland, as detailed in *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, pp. 287-343, have been placed in fig. 8.1, Regular period 1641-1679: incidence map. Particular Campbell strongholds, which had already been claimed for the Protestants, such as Inveraray, (*Memoirs*, I, p. 309), have not been plotted.

27. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, I, p. 298. A relative of Antrim was also taken under the Jesuit wing. "A colonel in the regiments, who was a relative of the Marquis of Antrim, and had come over as an inducement to the Macdonalds to take part in the war, as he belonged to that clan, was too young for the fatigues of the campaign, and became seriously ill." Confession, administration of the Eucharist, and a careful choice of diet was said to have substantially relieved the sickness, for the Jesuits were, doubtless, also enthusiastic at the thought of a MacDonnell victory and sponsorship of Catholicism. (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 299.)

28. See section V. Results of the mission.

29. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 306. This was because the Campbells were regarded as "the fiercest persecutors and, whenever they could, the murderers and assassins of the Catholics, in the north of Ireland and the whole of Scotland."

30. See MacBreck's report of the religious state of the Maclan family in Glencoe (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, I, p. 317), in section V. Results of the mission.

31. The majority of churches from the medieval period were then in use as Protestant churches or in a state of ruin, so it was almost a necessity to celebrate mass in the open air where the majority of the population was open to Catholicism. It has been suggested that the celebration of open-air mass in the vicinity of a boulder or rock - *clach na h-aifrinn* (mass stone) - which provided a natural altar, probably derived, as a practice, from Ireland. That the priests travelling with the army were Irish is, thus, consistent with the dating of two extant mass stones in Lochaber to this period, though with the continued presence of varying numbers of Irish priests on the Highlands and Islands mission, it is always possible that the stones date from a later period. (A. MacDonell and D. McRoberts, 'The Mass Stones of Lochaber,' *Innes Review*, 17, (1966), pp. 71-72.) There is no extant evidence that the Vincentians visited Lochaber in the 1650s, though this does not prove conclusively that they did not do so. See III A. The Vincentian mission to the Highlands and Islands.

32. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 334. "There was also less hope than before of gathering a rich spiritual harvest in the Highlands, owing to the death of Donald Macranald, called the Fair, whose

residence, followers, and lands were situated in Lochaber, and had all been burnt and laid waste a second time by the Campbells before the battle of Inverlochy."

33. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 341.
34. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* I, p. 344.
35. See above, Chapter 7, section I B, Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.
36. See below, Chapter 11, footnote 115.
37. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, I, p. 355; Allan I. Macinnes, 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (editors), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 81.
38. Moving as far south as the outskirts of Glasgow and then north again, Montrose resolved to spend the winter in Moray and attempt the siege of Inverness. Here "the Scottish and Irish Catholics observed with remarkable piety the solemnity of Saint Andrew the Apostle." (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, I, pp. 356-57.)
39. Macinnes, p. 84. The Marquis of Antrim even landed with reinforcements in May 1646, basing himself at a fort in Lochhead, which had ironically been built seven years earlier as a Campbell defence against the Ulster MacDonnells. Soon, however, the news came that the King, now a prisoner of the Covenanting army in England, had requested a laying down of arms. Antrim thus departed, but Montrose and the Irish continued their private war. (*Alasdair MacColla,* p. 225.)
40. Roberts, p. 40; L. Duggan, 'The Irish Brigade with Montrose,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 89, (1958), pp. 251-52.
41. A. F. Mitchell and J. Christie (editors), *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-1647*, SHS, 2nd series, 11, (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 67.
42. *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-1647*, pp. 70-71.
43. *IFM*, p.187.
44. Rinuccini was the papal ambassador shortly to be sent to Ireland.
45. See above, Chapter 6, section III. The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands.
46. *IFM*, p. xiv.
47. For Nerabolls, see above Chapter 5, section IV. The Catholic counter-attack.
48. Rev. Dom. Mark Dilworth O.S.B., 'Benedictine monks of Ratisbon and Wurzburg in the 17th and 18th centuries: émigres from the Highlands of Scotland,' *TGSI*, 44, (1964-66), pp. 97-99; Anson, p. 16. Both Nicholas and George Dunbar later appeared on the Scottish mission, though neither, apparently, on the Highland mission, except during the Revolution when Nicholas took refuge with the King's party in the Highland hills. (Dilworth, pp. 98-99.)
49. Rev. Seán MacGuaire, 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 42, (1933), p. 360.
50. Anson, pp. 15-16. 'It was not until well after the middle of the nineteenth century that secular priests in England began to be addressed as 'Father,' a custom introduced apparently from Ireland. In Scotland the

secular clergy continued to be addressed as 'Mr.' until after the restoration of the hierarchy in 1878.' (Anson, footnote to p. 12.)

51. 'Ballentine's Report,' p. 114.

52. Horan came to the mission in 1655. See footnote 57 below.

53. Anson, pp. 54-55, 62, footnote to p. 57.

54. 'Prefect Ballentine's Report,' pp. 100, 111. The published report is dated c. 1660. There is a section entitled: *On the chief families of the Kingdom who profess the Catholic Faith*, which as the Rev. Anderson has pointed out is 'essentially a list of houses where itinerant missionaries could safely visit, where they would not be betrayed, rather than a census of persons in full communion with the Holy See,' though there was, perhaps, little difference between the two at the time. Ballantyne also made another significant suggestion in his report for the easier evasion of capture, which was that "each missionary might be taught some mechanical craft, or might have some honourable profession ... so he would escape the danger of investigation." It has been pointed out that 'these revolutionary suggestions must have shocked the cardinals and monsignori, for they were altogether contrary to canon law.' Yet, the ruse had been employed since the beginning of the century. ('Prefect Ballentine's Report,' pp. 112-13; Anson p. 63.)

55. Cathaldus Giblin, 'The Mission to the Highlands and Isles c. 1670,' *Franciscan College Annual*, (Multyfarnham, 1954), p. 12. See footnote 75. For Vincentians, see section A, below.

56. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' footnote to p. 12. Note that Horan, a secular, is mentioned immediately after them. The original reads "et Joannes Borgo, Maksuini, et Horano...." Conceivably, either of these could also have been one of the three Irishmen working on the Highland mission in 1659. For the Vincentians, see text, immediately below.

57. Anson, pp. 67, 69. Horan left some time in 1664, presumably earlier in the year.

58. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' pp. 358-59.

59. Mary Purcell, *The Story of the Vincentians,* (Dublin, 1973), p. 42. He was of the opinion that their knowledge of Gaelic made them best equipped for the mission. It should also be noted that some of the footnotes to the chapter pertaining to the Vincentians in Scotland are inaccurate, eg. 31.

60. Purcell, p. 44, and *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates,* p. 189.

61. For example, Dom Odo Blundell, *The Catholic Highlands of Scotland, II, The Western Highlands and Islands,* (Edinburgh, 1917), p. 160.

62. 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' p. 305. Some other accounts - notably Gordon's Annual List of Scottish priests on the mission - are misinformed that they were brought from Spain by MacDonell of Glengarry. (For the Annual List see Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, *Journal and Appendix to Scotichronicon and Monasticon,* 4 vols., (Glasgow, 1867), I, p. 627. Whilst being aware of the list's inaccuracies and incompleteness, it gives an invaluable general indication of missioners in the Highlands and Lowlands.) It should also be remembered that Angus Og MacDonell, chief of Glengarry, had recently accompanied Antrim to Ireland at the end of September 1647 to fight with Owen Roe O'Neill, though few of his clansmen appear to have accompanied him. This would, probably, have inclined him to Irish company.

(Annie M. MacKenzie (editor), *Orain Iain Luim,* The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 250.) The exact date of their arrival, 1 March 1651, can be taken from an autograph on the title-page of a book - Tirinus' *Commentaries on the Scriptures* - still preserved in Scottish archives. (Purcell, pp. 43-44.)

63. Duggan used this eventuality to make a plea to de Paul for doctors to come on the mission to act jointly as healers and missionaries, for there were no doctors within a ninety mile radius. (Purcell, p. 46.)

64. Blundell's interpretation of their contemporary understanding of 'conversion' is worth quoting in addition to that of Giblin's given in Chapter 6, footnote 72, above. He writes: 'Throughout these accounts of the missionary labours in the Highlands and islands, when it is said that so many persons were "converted," this must be understood of their being granted the grace of the Sacraments which hitherto they had never had any opportunity of receiving, and of acquiring correct instruction in place of the erroneous ideas which the absence of proper teachers had allowed to grow up amongst them.' (St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' p. 308.)

65. 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' p. 306. Blundell does not offer a modern transcription for this word. Purcell's translation simply substitutes "The Lord of another island." ('Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 360.) Moreover, there is nothing in modern ordnance survey maps which approximates to it. This is most likely to be a Latin variant of 'Scalpay,' near Pabay, off the Isle of Skye, which in Mr. Donald Monro's 'A Description of the Westerne Isles of Scotland, 1549,' was said to belong to MacLean of Duart. There is less of a chance that it might be the island called 'Calfa' mentioned in the same description, which was an isle "neirest the Coste of Mulle... with ane sufficient raid for Shipes, pertayning to McGillane of Douard." (James T. Clark (editor), *MacFarlane's Geographical Collections III,* SHS, 1st series, 53, (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 279.)

66. 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' p. 306.

67. Purcell, p. 47, and 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' p. 307. Elsewhere, he lamented the fact that "there is fish in the sea which surrounds the islands, but the people, by temperament easy-going and unenergetic, make but little effort to catch any." ('Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 361.) It need hardly be said that this conflicts with their alleged enthusiasm to learn the ways of the faith!

68. 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' p. 307.

69. See Chapter 6, section III D. Achievements of the mission.

70. 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' p. 307.

71. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 12. See below.

72. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 12, states that all the Vincentians had left by 1659. However, they were still there in September 1659 when Patrick Con, the papal nuncio in Paris, stated that they always received their allowances. (Anson, p. 60.) White was in Paris in September 1660 but may not have gone there until that year. Moreover, the Vincentians financial backing from Paris did not definitely fail until 1661. ('The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 12.)

73. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 361.

74. Cathaldus Giblin, 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' *Franciscan College Annual*, (Multyfarnham, 1954), p. 18.

75. The first noted minister was John MacKinnon who was rector in 1633, though he may not have been resident. The next minister was Martin MacPherson, who was admitted before 6 May 1642. (*Fasti,* VII, p. 194.)

76. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 361.

77. Eigg, having survived to the present century almost totally Catholic, received attention at a further stage of the Highland mission. It was served by Hugh Ryan in 1690, by William O'Hara from 1699 and by Anthony Kelly from 1726. See Chapter 10, sections I and II.

78. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 361.

79. Duncan C. MacTavish (editor), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, II, 1652-1661,* SHS, 3rd series, 38, (Edinburgh, 1944), p. 27. It appointed "a letter to be written to the presbyterie of Sky anent the said priest, as also letters to be wrytten to Sir James mc Donald and the Laird of Lochwhaber by way of recomandatione that they would expelle the said priest out of their bounds." It was mentioned again during the same meeting when it was recorded that "my Lord Marques (i.e. Argyll) is recommended to writt to the Captaine of Clanrenald for the same effect," though it could hardly have been thought that Clanranald would do a great deal to comply. (p. 39.)

80. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 109.

81. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, pp. 121-22. Candort = Knoydart.

82. *Clan Donald*, III, pp. 500-03; *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 122. The Captains of Clanranald, elder and younger, were in a state of excommunication.

83. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 122.

84. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 170.

85. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' pp. 361-62.

86. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 362.

87. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides, p. 363.

88. See introduction to Chapter 6.

89. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 362. Duggan's labours in Barra are commemorated by a mountain pass - *Bealach a Dhugain*, and also in South Uist by an old graveyard - *Cladh a' Ghúgain.* ('Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 362, and Purcell, p. 49.)

90. *Fasti*, VII, p. 189.

91. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 364.

92. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 364. This was presumably because of the Cromwellian base in Lewis. In one of his letters giving news of Duggan's death shortly after this, Vincent wrote: "The poor islanders, young and old, wept for him as for a father. I have not been fully informed of the fruits of his labours, for one dare not write of religious matters, save only in the most general terms and in code,

because of the English who are waging a most cruel persecution against Catholics at present, particularly against priests when they discover them." (Purcell, p. 51.)

93. Purcell, p. 51. Duggan's tomb is in the old church at Kilvanan, where his memory is still revered, as it is also on the Isle of Eigg. (Michael Barrett O.S.B. of Fort Augustus Abbey, *Sidelights on Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1918), footnote to p. 169.) It should be noted that the records of the Synod of Argyll for 27 May 1658 refer to seminary priests in South Uist and Barra. Who were these? Certainly, Horan is known to have been in the Hebrides in 1657and Brin and Ennery had been sent on the Highland mission in 1653, though nothing more is heard of them. (See above, section III, Laying the foundation of the secular mission, 1653-1680, and *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 170.)

94. Purcell, p. 49.

95. Purcell, p. 49. White was with Thomas Lumsden during the summer of 1654 when they met some Highland farmers grazing their cattle on mountain pastures, but White had gone on to Gordon Castle, home of the Marquis of Huntly and a safe-house for priests. Lumsden was still on the mission in the autumn of 1657 when he wrote to St. Vincent about his work in the Orkneys, Moray, Ross, Sutherland, "Candie," Caithness and the Lowlands. (Purcell, pp. 49-51.)

96. 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' pp. 310-11. The priests were imprisoned in Aberdeen and thence taken to Edinburgh.

97. Purcell, p. 50. In 1660 the Scottish prefect, Fr. Ballantyne, wrote that he had "returned to France to give an account of his work during these past years to his superior." At this stage it appears that those who funded the Vincentians felt unable or unwilling to do so any longer.

98. Ballantyne also tried to procure funding for two other Irish-speakers of the same calibre. (Purcell, p. 52.)

99. Anson, p. 61; Purcell, pp. 51-52.

100. It was during this period that he was invited to Knoydart to bless the waters of Loch Hourn, (see fig. I.4, Scotland - Land over 300m), which were devoid of herring shoals. (Purcell, p. 53.)

101. Cathaldus Giblin, 'The "Acta" of Propaganda Archives and the Scottish Mission 1623-1670,' *Innes Review*, 5, (1954), footnote to p. 64. Francis White wrote to Fr. Almeras, St. Vincent's successor, in 1664: "You know all I had to do when I had four other priests to help me, but now I work this mission alone. Please tell me how I am to continue... I have four thousand souls to care for, very dispersed in the islands and other remote places...." (Purcell, p. 53.) Horan, the only secular priest on the mission, probably operated in the Isles and in any case, returned to Ireland in 1664. The Dominican, Fr. George Fanning, seems to have come in about 1663, though he too operated in the Isles, probably in Barra. For these, see below. So to all intents and purposes, and certainly as far as the west coast mainland was concerned, White was unaided.

102. Purcell, p. 53.

103. Purcell, p. 53.

104. Purcell, p. 55.

105. Purcell, pp. 54, 58; Donald MacLean, 'Roman Catholicism in Scotland in the reign of Charles II,' *RSCHS*, 3, 1929), p. 49. On 14 June 1665 he had 24 pupils in Glengarry whose names - MacDonald, Cameron, MacMartin, Fraser, Scott, Stuart and Maciver - give some indication of their geographical origin. It is also worthy of note that Dunbar wrote in his mission report of 1669-70 that "the schoolmaster is scarcely tolerated in Glengarry, despite the protection of the lord of that territory; and there is but little hope of position." (Purcell, p. 55.)
106. Writing from Uist to Fr. Almeras, he said that he had not written to Fr. Winster (Dunbar), the Scottish prefect, since the previous September because "I was very far away from him in the western islands and had no chance of writing to him." (Purcell, p. 56.)
107. In a letter discussed by Propaganda in September 1666, the prefect Dunbar wrote that in the Highlands there were over 2,000 Catholics and only one priest, Francis White, where previously there had been four. ('The "Acta" of Propaganda Archives and the Scottish Mission 1623-1670,' footnote to p. 67.)
108. Purcell, pp. 56-57.
109. Purcell, p. 58.
110. It is very interesting that Seaforth was given permission to let him stay, but it must be remembered that Scotland was now in its period of episcopal government, and it might have been concluded that Lewis was a peripheral enough area. However, it should be noted that there is no mention of White in the relevant Privy Council volume, that is in *RPCS*, 1669-1672.
111. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 19.
112. David McRoberts, 'The Death of Father Francis White,' *Innes Review*, 17, (1966), pp. 186-88; Purcell, pp. 59-61. In a document thought to have been written in 1677 or early in 1678, and noted by Lord Fountainhall in his *Historical Notices*, White is much maligned. He is accused of having debauched the wife of the Captain of Clanranald, her husband returning to find them "together in some unchast posture; wheiron he immediately caused lead out the Priest to his utter gate and hing him over it." No source is given for the story which is generally thought to be an unsubstantiated piece of anti-Catholic propaganda, issued at a time when the Paisley witch-hunt and the Titus Oates plot of 1678 encouraged such behaviour. Certainly Francis White did not die in either of these years and all surviving reports of him are favourable. Moreover, Leslie reported in his visitation of 1678 that White looked much older than his 58 years, being worn with labour and illness, and by September 1678 the Scottish prefect wrote to Paris that White was "so infirm that I have small hopes he will last very long." (McRoberts, pp. 186-88.) Though his burial place is not recorded, his portrait was kept in a room of Glengarry castle until the building was razed to the ground in the '45. (Purcell, p. 61.)
113. Anthony Ross, 'Dominicans and Scotland in the Seventeenth Century,' *Innes Review*, 23, (1972), p. 45. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Irish Dominican congregation was based largely in Spain, and organised under its own Vicar-General. In 1615 another community was instituted in Lisbon and in 1624 in Louvain.
114. Pochin Mould, p. 154. In all likelihood these were the same people, with the same allowance.

115. Ross, p. 46.

116. Here, it has been stated that he was presumably not going to the west Highlands if he was travelling by way of London. (Ross, p. 47.) This is a somewhat limited statement. Two Irish secular priests of a later period, Trener and Hannat, certainly passed through London before going to the Highland mission in 1687. See section IV, The Dynamic Secular Initiative: Phase I - 1680-1689. While it is likely that one of these at least went to Ireland first, the other appears to have gone straight to Scotland. Moreover, missionaries often passed through Edinburgh to speak to superiors in the Lowlands, particularly before the institution of a separate Highland Vicariate at the beginning of the eighteenth century. With a name like O'Connell, it is more than likely that this priest was an Irish speaker. Propaganda's reply written on 12 November 1641, certainly referred to O'Connell as missionary in Scotland and gave him permission to stay in England until he could safely carry on there. (Ross, p. 47.)

117. Ross, p. 46.

118. Pochin Mould, p. 154. This undoubtedly refers to the selection of four Irish Franciscans for the Highland mission in January of the same year, which marked the official re-sanctioning of the Franciscan mission to the Highlands. It is also worthy of note that this particular century was marked by rivalry between the Irish Dominicans and Franciscans and it has been suggested that Propaganda did not wish to see competition developing between the two in such a problemsome and impoverished area. Moreover, both Propaganda and the Dominican authorities were interested in the more attractive fields of the Far East, Armenia, the Levant and America. (Ross, p. 46.)

119. Ross, pp. 44-59. Since Primrose was technically a Scot, brief details of his career have been footnoted. He was granted faculties as a missionary in the three kingdoms of Great Britain, but in the November was appointed Vicar-General of the province of Scotland by the Dominican General. In a report on the Scottish mission which was sent to Rome in 1655 he is said to have been active on the Lowland mission in the Lothians and had made a brief visit to Angus. At the Restoration he became a nominal member of the Queen's household though he was not in attendance at London. By 1668 he was on the peripheries of the Highland mission in the north-east, around Banff and Aberdeen shires. Towards the end of his mission Primrose was working in Banffshire. In August 1670 the Privy Council records note that he had been saying mass in "the house of Kinnairdie in the paroch of Aberchardour, within the shyre of Banff." By 10 November Primrose had been captured and was placed in the tolbooth of Banff. On 22 December it was decided to free him to be banished on pain of death, but by 5 January he had been released and was allowed to remain in Scotland until 5 February because of his infirmity. However, he did not leave Scotland, but died sometime later that year.

120. Blundell, *The Catholic Highlands of Scotland,* II, pp. 10, 17.

121. Anson, p. 71. As it has been so aptly put, he 'carried on an active but more or less free-lance episcopate,' though so did most on the Highland mission at this time.

122. Blundell, II, p. 8.

123. Ross, p. 52.

124. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles, c. 1670,' p. 20; Anson, footnote to p. 87. The letter pointed out that he nearly always worked on one of the islands farthest removed from the western coast of Scotland, without any reference to the mission superior.
125. Ross, pp. 52-54.
126. When priests left or deserted the mission, sometimes their mass ornaments were left behind for the use of others. Marianus' chalice may have found its way into the hands of George Fanning who is known to have been in Arisaig during the latter part of his life. A copy of *Tractatus mysteriorum Missae* by Francis Titelmann, published in France, in 1549, and bearing the inscription 'Ad usum P F Vincentii Mari (ani) Ord Praed 1658' is further proof of his having been on the Scottish mission. It passed later in the century into the hands of Robert Francis Strachan, a secular priest in Aberdeen, and probably indicates that Marianus was at some time in the north-east, perhaps to visit Primrose. (Ross, p. 53.)
127. See above, section III, Laying the foundation of the secular mission, 1653-1680.
128. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles,' pp. 13-15.
129. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 16.
130. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 16.
131. As he explained in an account to Cardinal Baldeschi, secretary of Propaganda, on 27 January 1671: "There were in my diocese, that is, in the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, some members of the principal families of O'Neill, MacDonnell and O'Hagan, numbering twenty-one in all, with their followers, who had lost all their possessions. These set themselves to killing and robbing on the public roads. They broke into Catholic houses for food after nightfall and they led this life for four years. Nearly all the Catholic families in these counties were prosecuted and well-nigh ruined, on account of the Tories." (Rev. Breifne Walker, 'Blessed Oliver Plunkett and the Popish Plot in Ireland,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 109, (1968), p. 322.)
132. 'St. Oliver Plunkett,' pp. 73, 82; Walker, p. 321.
133. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 17; 'St. Oliver Plunkett,' p. 72. However, the appointment of Oliver Plunkett, newly designated archbishop of Armagh, as prefect of the Highland mission, was doubtless in anticipation of the expansion of the mission. When Fr. Francis dissuaded him from visiting the mission, Propaganda extended their displeasure in a letter of 6 September 1670.
134. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 493.
135. William Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707*, (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 147, 152-56.
136. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 493; 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 18.
137. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' pp. 19-20. Francis MacDonnell estimated that both parts of Uist had a joint population of 12,000 at this time. South Uist was said to be entirely Catholic, and North Uist partially so. Clanranald was also principal heritor in the Small Isles which MacDonnell doubtless also visited, on occasion, where the islands had a joint population of 1,000.
138. SCA BL1/72/9.

139. *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688,* p. 100.

140. 'St. Oliver Plunkett,' p. 81; 'Mr. Robert Munro, Secular priest, 1671-1704,' p. 51; Very Rev. Alexander Canon MacWilliam, 'A Highland Mission: Strathglass, 1671-1777,' *Innes Review*, 24, (1973), p. 84. In September 1678 Munro is reported as in the Isles with an Irish priest 'Mr. Drein' who has not been identified to date. ('A Highland Mission,' p. 84.) It seems possible that this is a mistranscription for 'O Rein,' that is O'Ryan, indicating either that Hugh Ryan came to the mission for a visit two years before his arrival in 1680, for he certainly worked a good deal with Munro, or at least indicating the presence of another Irish priest.

141. 'St. Oliver Plunkett,' pp. 81-82.

142. Anson, p. 76.

143. James Darragh, 'The Catholic population of Scotland since the year 1680,' *Innes Review*, 4, No. 1, (Spring 1953), p. 52.

144. 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' p. 20. Leslie asked Propaganda to grant him the necessary missionary faculties. There are no further references to James MacDonnell, and neither does he appear in the Annual List.

145. Anson, p. 77.

146. Clapperton, pp. 271-72. Burnet and Ryan arrived on board the 'Jeane' of Bo'ness, which sailed into Bo'ness. In October 1680, when identifying the residences of the clergy in Scotland, Mr. Whytford, a secular priest on the Lowland mission, recorded that Mr. Ryan "went to pickle." Clapperton assumes this to be a probable illusion 'to his being unfit for work for a short time on account of sickness,' since accounts of Mr. Dunbar of March 1681 refer to his ill-health. The reference is undoubtedly obscure, but it seems not unlikely that 'pickle' is of the same origin as 'Pickle,' the spy, of the '45, for whom see Chapter 4, section IV. The decline of Jacobitism. In this context, 'pickle' would be a code-word for Glengarry, and may pre-date the eighteenth century use of the word.

147. *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688*, p. 100.

148. SCA BL1/72/9. Ryan asked Angus to thank his parents for the care they took of him when ill, and that they "can get nothinge to beg or borrowe on those Hills, except when we come to your father or uncles houses." The location of Castle Tyre is uncertain, but there is an Inchture in Perthshire, Carse of Gowrie, near Castle Huntly.

149. Clapperton, p. 273. It is likely, having been to Uist, that Ryan also served other Clanranald territories.

150. *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688,* p. 100; 'A Highland Mission: Strathglass, 1671-1777,' pp. 82-83.

151. Coates and his wife probably converted to Catholicism in the early 1670s. They were certainly placed under process of excommunication, along with Robert Munro "for obstinacie, defection, and apostacie form the doctrine and ordinances of the Church of Scotland" on 28 May 1670. Robert Munro, the Scots priest who mainly served Strathglass, also served as their chaplain. Sir John was governor of the castle

and used his position to provide protection for Catholic priests and laymen. (*Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688*, pp. 3, xxxv.)

152. Cahassy also refers to him as 'Mr Voyer' in SCA BL1/90/1, fol. 1.

153. Clapperton, pp. 287, 301, 640, 638. Clues to Devoyer and Cahassy's denomination can be taken from Clapperton in his varied references to the person of Mr. Talon. While Talon's connection, in the account, is primarily to two other priests (Mongan and Harnet) a letter survives from Cahassy, as well as Mongan, to Mr. Talon in June 1691. Clapperton also regards a letter of 1694 signed by six Irish missionaries, which is unaddressed in the original, to be to Mr. Talon. It may be, therefore, that Devoyer and Cahassy were Vincentians. They certainly seem to have received an allowance of 80 crowns a year from Saint-Lazare, paid through the agency of Mr. Talon. (Purcell, p. 61.) It is apparent that Devoyer and Cahassy were personally connected, and continued to work closely together until Devoyer's death. What is most unlikely, as indicated in Wendy Doran's list, is that Devoyer was a Jesuit. (Wendy J. Doran, 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' (unpublished M.Litt dissertation, Glasgow, 1986), p. 147.) Contemporary evidence indicates that Jesuits who operated in the Highlands tended to do so in the north-eastern periphery. Moreover, most of the Jesuits working in that area were Scottish. Yet, it must be said that others who signed the 1694 were not Vincentians, such as Ryan, who was a Clerk Regular of the Barnabites and Carolan, who Blundell at least, notes as a Franciscan, though no contemporary evidence has yet been found to indicate that he was. See below.

154. They had originally been intending for their native country, but as Cahassy wrote from Paris on 8 November 1685, they decided "not to goe in the conjuncture of the pretended and invented popish plot; and that our prelate was not pleased with any of our vocation for going in that conjuncture." (SCA BL1/90/1. This copy letter is unaddressed, but Clapperton identifies the original recipient as Don Gulielmo Everard, chaplain to Cardinal Norfolk, which is corroborated by evidence within the letter.)

155. Gordon castle served the purpose of headquarters in the north, although it was strictly speaking in the Lowlands.

156. SCA BL1/90/1. Note that Blundell in his *The Catholic Highlands of Scotland,* II, quoting Mr. Thomson's notes (SCA) misdates their arrival to 1687. Although Hegarty's return was expected during this year, there is no evidence to suggest that he did. See below, evidence for 1687.

157. Clapperton, p. 330; SCA BL1/77/8.

158. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' pp. 135, 137.

159. Clapperton, p. 288.

160. Clapperton, p. 321. Note, however, that Clapperton does not cite a source letter for this information.

161. SCA BL1/90/1.

162. SCA BL1/100/2; Donald MacLean, *The Counter-Reformation in Scotland 1560-1930*, (London, 1931), p. 308.

163. SCA BL1/104/11, fol. 1; Clapperton, p. 300. Clapperton dates this letter 24 February 1687. However, the manuscript shows that it was written on the 14th. As Clapperton indicates, Gordon's Annual List is

therefore in error in stating that Lea and Coan came at the end of 1687. By this time they had been on the mission for over a year.

164. French original reads: "quattres autres Iles entre cy et uist." Note that all translation from the French in the Blairs papers is my own. It aims to give a reasonably accurate, but not a fine prose translation. The absence of accents or mis-placed accents in the French have not been corrected.

165. SCA BL1/104/11, fol. 1. Original reads: "il y a un ecclesiastique dans une de ces quattres qui va de temps en temps aux trois autres, principalment en Etté." Note that the word 'ecclesiastique' refers to a Catholic rather than a Protestant minister. See eg. SCA BL/100/5 where a Lewis youth changed his resolution from "Ministre" to "Ecclesiastique."

166. See Chapter 10, section I B. Bishop Nicolson's visitation of the Highlands in 1700. Although it was not unknown for the more dedicated priests to remain for twenty or thirty years on the mission, evidence points to his having come later.

167. SCA BL1/100/5. Original reads: "il n'y avoit point de prestre depuis deux ans." See also SCA BL1/104/11, fol. 1.

168. SCA BL1/100/5. Mr. Cahassy mentioned on 15 June 1687 that he had not yet returned, but this was in accordance with the intended duration of his visit. (SCA BL1/100/6.)

169. SCA BL1/100/7. It was clearly intended that he then go to Uist, for after returning to Lewis, Coan was to proceed to Uist where he was to work alone until Lea's return. However, this did not occur. It is likely that Lea and Coan had been intended originally for the Hebridean mission, where they were to work in each other's company, but this did not happen since one was mentally weak and the other physically weak.

170. SCA BL1/99/1. Once again Clapperton, p. 313, transcribes this 22 November 1687 while the manuscript clearly indicates '12.' While in Ireland, Mr. Lea had been installed dean of Down ("Doune") by papal brief, a post obtained through the influence of friends in Rome and the Primate of Ireland. The deanery had four parishes attached to it, but with the Primate's permission he was allowed to stay in Scotland. Certainly, by the early eighteenth century the deaneries of Down, Derry and Raphoe were considered the most valuable in the Church of Ireland, though all the dioceses had a dean and cathedral chapter except Kilmore and Meath. For dioceses, see fig. 5.1, Church of Ireland dioceses c. 1570. (*A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 85.) The Vicar-General would not permit Lea to draw any of the financial benefits of the office and he had to find a substitute. Conditional on his promotion was that he should take the degree of Doctor of Theology and a petition was made to Rome for it "to last as long as can be conveniently arranged." (Original Latin: "perinde valere donec commode fieri potest." I am grateful to Dr. John Durkan for this translation and for his help with this reference as a whole.) If granted Mr. Lea promised to share the financial benefits of his office with the mission. (Clapperton, pp. 311-12.) It should be noted that Lea does not appear as dean of Down in Henry Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae: the succession of the Prelates and members of the cathedral bodies in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1845-50), III, p. 227, which was still held in 1687 by John McNeale, prebendary of Effin in the cathedral of Limerick, who had been installed on 15 February 1683. It is, therefore, likely that Lea was an appointee of James VII.

171. SCA BL1/110/1. Original reads: "Monsr. Devoyer au lieu de 5 ou 6 semaines a esté obligé par les tempestes et autres occasions survenantes d'y rester 4 mois."
172. SCA BL1/110/1.
173. SCA BL1/100/6. They had on that last occasion only been able to spend a night there to baptise their children.
174. SCA BL1/100/2. Original reads: "nostre tour dans les Isles."
175. SCA BL1/100/2. Original reads: "l'uncle de comt de seefort my Lord de Kildune a son Isle."
176. SCA BL1/100/6, BL1/100/5; Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 105, 534; 'A Highland Mission: Strathglass, 1671-1777,' p. 100. Fr. White had visited Lewis in 1671. See section III A. The Vincentian mission to the Highlands and Islands. It being so near to Easter, Cahassy decided that one of them had to stay in Uist. He therefore sent Coan. "He separated from Mr. Cahassy at the end of February to go to an isle called Lewis, the lord of this isle is called My Lord Seaforth, he is Catholic, and married to an English Catholic woman daughter of My Lord Powys in England we wait until he comes with his lady once a year to stay for good in Scotland." (Original reads: "Il se separoit de Monsr. Cahassy sur la fin de feuvrier pour venir a une Ile nommé Leuse, le seigneur de cette Ile est appellé My Ld Seafort, il est Catholique, et marié a une dame angloise Catholique fille de My Ld Pouves en Angleterre on attend qu'il viendra avec sa dame une fois cette année pour demeurer tousjours en Escosse.") After his weeks there, Coan went with Devoyer to a meeting at Gordon Castle on 25 April 1687, wishing to speak to Mr. Burnet about a young man in Lewis who had been studying for the ministry, but having changed his religion, now wished to become a priest and have a place in the Scots College in Paris. Burnet explained that all the places were taken, but if he had money to pay his own travelling expenses, which he did not have, that he would try to find him a place in their college at Rome. He was already grounded in Greek, Latin and Philosophy and all he required was some Moral Theology. Devoyer thought him a suitable recipient for the Advocate General's charity, since he would be hard-pressed to find one who could be prepared for return to his own country in just two or three years. This was probably Donald (Columba) MacLennan, the son of a skipper, born in Stornoway about 1670. Certainly he went on to become one of the first Highland Benedictines. (Mark Dilworth, 'Notes,' *Innes Review*, 22, (1971), p. 113.) However, when he eventually came on the Highland mission he caused a great deal of contention and was very unpopular. See Chapter 10, section I A. Case study: Mr. Mongan, first resident missionary in Skye.
177. SCA BL1/100/5. Original reads: "nous avons trouvez a propos, et mesme fort necessair que nous joyons deux a deux a travailler pour ce qui est d'avoir une Communauté, il n'y a point d'aparence, n'ayant point de quoy a l'establir." Devoyer said that he was waiting for Cahassy, who had not reached Inverness yet so that they could leave Inverness together, as had Munro and Ryan.
178. SCA BL/100/7. Original reads: "fort peu de Catholiques qui y demeuroient parmis les protestant(s), et principalement pour converser avec un gentilhomme qu'on esperoit alle disposé pour gouter les veritées de la foy Catholique." In a later letter of 18 July 1688, recapping on their achievements in 1687, Cahassy

wrote that it was "un Canton protestant ou il n'y avoient que 5 ou 6 personnes Catholiques." ("a protestant District where there were only 5 or 6 Catholics.") (SCA BL1/110/1.)

179. See brief discussion of cadets in general introduction to the thesis, section entitled Gaelic society.

180. Alasdair Roberts, 'Highland Catholicism at the Margin: Skye, Lewis and Ardnamurchan,' forthcoming in a booklet for the *West Highland and Islands Historical Society* - see section on Skye. There had been feuding between MacLeod of Dunvegan and Harris and MacDonald of Sleat over Trotternish from the early sixteenth century. It was, ultimately, granted to MacDonald of Sleat in 1614 who had occupied it since 1540, though a considerable MacLeod presence appears to have been retained. (I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods: The History of a Clan 1200-1956*, (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 95, 221-22.)

181. Donald J. MacDonald of Castleton, *Clan Donald*, (Loanhead, 1978), p. 402; SCA BL/100/7. Original reads: "On nous dit (et nous lesperons aussi) que la conversion de cette personne e(s)t comme une porte ouverte pour la conversion d'autres." They spent a fortnight with this gentleman, receiving his renunciation of heresy, and supervising his confession and communion. He had originally begun to think about the faith through the study three years previously of history and controversy. Returning after this to the mainland, they planned to go to Skye about 15 September, having promised the gentleman aforementioned and the people of Sleat that they would return.

182. Cahassy and Devoyer hoped that he might travel back with Lea. "Nous esperons que Monsieur Hegerty qui a servis icy desia (déjà) et qui donne quelque esperence dy retourner, l'arrest a fin de venir en compagnie." ("We hope that Mr. Hegerty who has served here before and who shows some hope of returning, holds him up in order to accompany him.") (SCA BL1/100/7.) By 19 September 1687, Lea had still not returned from Ireland. Neither had Mr. Hegarty returned, although he had promised the mission superiors to bring another two missionaries with him. (SCA BL1/99/2.) Note that Blundell, I, p. 174, quoting Thomson, notes (SCA) erroneously states that Hegarty did come back on the mission. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he did, only that that it was contemplated. He did not return because he took "une Charge de Grandvicair en Irland et qu'il y doit pourvoir de substitut devant que de la quitter." ("a Canon's post in Ireland and that he needs to provide a substitute before leaving it.") He was therefore not expected until the Spring. (SCA BL1/99/1.)

183. SCA BL1/99/2.

184. SCA BL1/99/1. He planned to go to Lewis at the beginning of December. Note that for the year 1687 Gordon's Annual List records that Mr. Thomas Nicolson (future Bishop) and Mr. J. Jameson arrived in December and that 'with them came four Irish Churchmen, one of whom was called Coan.' This one specified name is clearly an inaccuracy, since Coan had been on the mission since the latter half of 1686. For his movements between Uist and Lewis during this year, as documented in SCA BL1/100/6 & 7, see appendix, secular itinerary I.

185. SCA BL1/110/12.

186. SCA BL1/110/13. Original reads: "Il y en a deux ministres depuis la pretendue reformation. Ils ny recoivent point de prestres jusques à ce que suis allé." The *Fasti* notes a possible three ministers in

Trotternish from 1662, so it is unclear whom Devoyer was referring to. It is, perhaps, likely that the first of these, Farquhar M'Lennan, who is noted as minister in 1662, was not there long enough to have made an impression on posterity. Formerly the minister of Fodderty in Dingwall, he was deposed for malignancy and went to Lochcarron. He resigned from there and was admitted to Trotternish. Within a year he had transferred to Strath in Skye. The other ministers were Donald Nicolson, who was admitted about 1663 and was probably outed after the Revolution in 1697, and Dugald MacPherson, who appears to have been styled minister during the previous incumbent's ministry in 1670. This tends to cast doubts on the success of his ministry. MacPherson was presumably the son of Martin MacPherson, minister of Duirinish and the same Dugald MacPherson who was admitted to his father's parish before 1684. (*Fasti*, VII, pp. 182, 171, 168.)

187. SCA BL1/99/1. Two of the three new recruits were going via Ireland to get the permission of their ordinaries and the third was coming direct from the Lowlands with two other priests. Besides this, both he and Devoyer had need of winter clothing. In the meantime they would endeavour to serve one or two of the adjacent districts which had not been visited since Easter, apart from a short time when he made brief visits for baptising dying children or other urgent business. John Cahassy, writing later on 7 March 1688 to Mr David Burnet, stated that he and Devoyer had been residing, since they came north at the beginning of the year, in a change house, which had not been up to their expectations. "Wee got there but the bare walls of a Chamber the Glasses of the windows broken, no bedds, chairs or Commoditie whatsomever," a state of affairs which was, indeed, hardly likely to cure a man of consumption! (SCA BL1/110/12.)
188. SCA BL1/110/1.
189. Wendy Doran, 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson: First Vicar-Apostolic 1695-1718,' *Innes Review*, 39, no. 2, (1988), pp. 112-13, quoting BL Ms. Nicolson to Charles Whytford, Le Havre, 11 November 1687.
190. SCA BL1/118/14; 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson: First Vicar-Apostolic 1695-1718,' p. 116.
191. Anson, p. 80. See above - Devoyer, Cahassy, Ryan, Coan, Munro and Lea. This meeting took place in the aftermath of James VII extension of tolerance to Catholics, and clearly aimed to review their activity within more lenient parameters.
192. Anson, p. 80.
193. Clapperton, p. 332. Blundell, probably mistakenly, assumes Carolan to have been a Franciscan since a Franciscan was said to have been left in Barra by Bishop Nicolson in 1700, and by deduction from Gordon's Annual List, which documents Heachean and Carolan as serving in Barra, he assumes this to have been Carolan rather than Heachean. (Blundell, II, p. 18.) For various reasons - see Chapter 10, section I B. Bishop Nicolson's visitation of the Highlands in 1700 - it is far more likely to have been Heachean.
194. SCA BL1/101/13.
195. The letter is unaddressed, but he wrote to "Notre Cher patron," that is, Mr. Talon. Original reads: "les avantages du téms nous l'augment mais l'inclination du peuple est differents, dans quelques payes

protestant on nous Critique et censure plus severement que iammais d'avant. Dans d'autres on nous montre plus d'amitié que c'y devant, et plus dinclination pour nostre religion."

196. SCA BL1/110/1. Original reads: "Monsr. Hannatt y est allé par un autre Chemin ou il a travaillé avec Monsr. Lea au pays maritimes et Iles interiacents ou plus proches." That is, he had taken a different route to Carolan who was also to go to Uist. Hannat's route was possibly via Skye, where it is known that Lea went in this year, and perhaps also via the Small Isles. He went via the mainland, probably to receive instructions from his seniors.
197. SCA BL1/110/1; Clapperton, p. 314. It is interesting to note that Burnet included Glenlivet and Strathdon among the Highland areas, for to all intents and purposes they were to him, since they were Gaelic-speaking. Yet, as Cahassy wrote in July 1688, the "stations" where Carolan was working until the summer "sont pré les stations de nos confreres du pays bas, et fort eloignées de nostres." ("are close to the stations of our Lowland colleagues, and well removed from ours.") (SCA BL1/110/1.) Burnet wrote a letter to Don Gulielmo (i.e. William Leslie) in Rome, from a meeting in Gordon Castle in April 1688, mentioning that Patrick Carolan and John Trener were serving Strathdon and were "both laborious workmen."
198. SCA BL1/110/3. Original reads: "Mr Carolan doit se joindre avec moi pour aller aux Iles, quoique contre son inclination sachant la misere des Iles par relation seulement, ie le menerez a uist, et Barra parmis les Catholiques nous y servirons si plâit a Dieu iusque au moy d'octobre, apres ie manirez au Leuz et ie placerez mon Comrade tranquilment entre les Catholiques iusque a ce qui comport, et que il Experiment la maniere d'agir dans la mission."
199. Clapperton, pp. 335-36. See secular itinerary 2 under the year 1694, for more information.
200. SCA BL1/90/2.
201. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' pp. 135, 137.
202. SCA BL1/104/11, fols. 2, 3; Clapperton, p. 304. Clapperton refers to 'he' in the singular, probably indicating Devoyer, but it appears that more than one had stayed there, the letter itself reading "n'ayant point trouver de Melieurs amis pendant nostre sejours a paris, et a nostre depart, j'espere que le bon dieu recompensera le bien qu'elles nous ont faites." ("Not having found better friends during our stay in Paris, and at our departure, I hope that the good Lord will repay the good that they have done us.") (SCA BL1/104/11, fol. 3.)
203. SCA BL1/100/5.
204. "The abbot of the Marais."
205. SCA BL1/100/5. Original reads: "car nous ne sommes que six en tout dans les Montaignes et Iles." Clapperton is in error here, saying p. 307, that all six were present except Lea whom Devoyer met afterwards. The original manuscript details otherwise, as indicated. Each missionary was given 24 francs, 18 sols and 4 deniers.
206. SCA BL1/100/2. Original reads: "Jay eu touiours esperence que vous auriez la bonté de me considerer comme un autre mais ce peur que ie suis mené en oublie."

207. SCA BL1/100/5. Devoyer stated that he took Lea aside and spoke to him before distributing the money in Inverness. He pointed out that Lea had received his share of the pension from Rome like the others, that he had been given 25 crowns, and that he knew that Mr. Talon had wished to give him 50 crowns until he was provided for from elsewhere. Yet, he was also sure that Mr. Talon intended to distribute his charity equally, which Lea had agreed to.

208. SCA BL1/110/12. With regard to the Highland retreat, when Mr. Talon had recovered from his illness at the end of 1687 he asked the Scottish superiors to provide him with information about the probable expenses of a place of retreat for the Highland missionaries. In 1687, Mr. Burnet spoke to Cahassy about Mr. Talon's idea. It was possible to consider this because there was a Catholic monarch on the throne and it was no longer necessary for missionaries to retire to France when ill or in need of rest. Cahassy said that he would discuss it with the others. Plans were ultimately relayed to Mr. Talon through Mr. Louis Innes and Charles Whytford in Paris, for either buying or renting a house. A document exists which gives more information on this account, entitled - "Memoire de ce qu'il faut pour l'establissement d'une maison pour servir de retraite aux Missionairs des Montagnes d'Escosse" and dated 1687. (SCA SM2/17/5.) This undoubtedly formed the basis of the arguments which were relayed to Mr. Talon. In this, two possible locations were given - either Inverness or in the Duke of Gordon's country. It is easy to understand that the west coast missionaries would have felt the latter too far away, or more suitable for the north-east mission. Reasons given against Inverness were that all the inhabitants were Protestant, with only one Catholic family. Secondly, a Catholic retreat there would expose the priests to Protestant criticism and censure, physical and spiritual, which would scarcely be in accordance with the ideals of retreat. Thirdly, rent was very high, being 30 crowns for three rooms per year. Fourthly, and perhaps more pertinently, "si on achette une maison ou en fait bâtir une il ya du danger de la perdre au premier changement des affaires publiques." ("if we buy a house or have one built there is a danger of losing it at the first change in public affairs.") Arguments advanced for a house in the Duke of Gordon's country were that it was far more convenient, if further from the Highland Catholic areas, and nearly all the surrounding countryside was Catholic in affiliation. Moreover, the missioners there had already bought a piece of ground with a house on it, which was identified as Walkerdale. (Clapperton, p. 315.) Two missionaries lived there and they had established a small library. The document suggests that if an extra three rooms were added to the house, it could also serve as a retreat for the missionaries from the Highland mission. (SCA BL1/99/1.)

209. SCA BL1/110/12.

210. SCA BL1/110/1. Original reads: "nous comprennons bien que dans cette saison il seroit fort malápropos que nous ou nos Commerads se r'endroient desobeissants á leur Superieurs."

211. Cahassy was ill, but it appears that Devoyer left Inverness at about that time or just before "a la quasimodo" that is, the Low Sunday, following Easter week. (SCA BL1/110/1.)

212. Clapperton, pp. 317-18. Letter from Dunbar to Mr. Whytford in Paris, 19 April 1688.

213. SCA BL1/110/3. Original reads: "a la fin de luy donner une relation de notre progress, pour proposer nos difficultez touchant les cases de conscience, et pour recevoir nos instructions a la fin d'avoir l'uniformité entre nous meme."
214. SCA BL1/110/3. Original reads: "aussi mecontent de ne point recevoir cet argent la, que vous avez eu la bonté de nous envoyer." They were said to be "eloigné d'Inverness dans les montaignes" ("far from Inverness in the mountains") and so had presumably returned to the Moidart region.
215. SCA BL1/118/16.
216. SCA BL1/118/16.
217. The ten were thus Ryan, Cahassy, Devoyer, Coan, Carolan, Hannat, Lea, Trener, and two new missionaries - Harnet and Mongan.
218. SCA BL1/118/16.
219. SCA BL1/118/16.
220. Douai was in Belgium until 1667 when it became French.
221. At this time, 'Erse' was a term used for both the Irish and Scottish Gaelic tongues.
222. Pochin Mould, p. 272; Hay, p. 151; the Very Rev. Alexander Canon MacWilliam, 'The Jesuit Mission in Upper Deeside 1671-1737,' *Innes Review*, 23, (1972), pp. 24-25; *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, pp. 120, 127.
223. I grateful to the Rev. Mark Dilworth who first pointed out that the name 'Morgan' as it appears in Butte's index of the Blairs Letters (SCA), and other secondary sources, was probably the Irish surname 'Mongan.' It also appears as Morgan in the earlier Gordon's Annual List and in subsequent secondary sources. Perusal of the clear signature on many of the original letters proved it to be Mongan.
224. Mr. Talon had promised them 200 livres each, but had in effect only given them 135 livres. The balance was to be used to buy clothes and arms. (Clapperton, p. 638.)
225. Clapperton, p. 638.
226. Clapperton, pp. 636, 639-40, 321. There is a good deal more evidence of Mongan's subsequent missionary career in Chapter 10, section I A. Case-study: Mr. Mongan, first resident missionary in Skye, when the record revitalises a few years after the Jacobite rebellion. No direct evidence exists of Harnet's being in the Enzie, but on the other hand, no direct evidence exists of his being in Uist at this time either.
227. Clapperton, pp. 319-20. In a letter to Louis Innes in Paris, on 7 August 1688, Mr. Burnet also wrote: "I beseech you, let not Mr. Tallon send more than these two Irish." (p. 319.)
228. Clapperton, p. 239.
229. Though a letter was slipped out from Skye in 1691.
230. SCA BL1/110/3. Original reads: "ie eu plus de pert, depence, et tracasse pandant l'anné passé que touts les autres comme ie vous a desja marqué."
231. SCA BL1/120/13. A transcription of the Latin, noting him as 'Natione Hybernum' is given in Clapperton, p. 331.

232. Hopkins, p. 105. The next part of Coan's story is taken up in Chapter 10, section I. The dynamic secular initiative: Phase 2 - 1690-1715, where it chronologically belongs.
233. SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 3.
234. SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 3.
235. Indeed, it was a matter of some vexation to Cahassy that the Highland mission should be less well provided than non-European missions, because this restricted their work. "Let him ever be so zealous if he has not withall to be entertained cannot have lyke successe. Wee see many zealous persons goe to Siam and China but they goe provided of all necessars that they be no way troblesome to their prosolites." (SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 3.)
236. Duncan Canon, MacLean 'Catholicism in the Highlands and Isles 1560-1680,' *Innes Review*, 3, (1952), p. 12.
237. SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 3.
238. SCA BL1/90/2, fols. 2, 3.
239. SCA BL1/104/11, fol. 2. The priests were also well aware of the importance of the faith being spread other than through themselves. "Au sortie de la priere, nous leurs enjoingnions de l'entretien durant le jour de ce qu'ils ont entendu le soir et de l'apprendre a ceux des autres villages quand ils trouvent ensemble dans les Montaignes aprés leurs bestieaux, et c'est par lá qu'ils apprennent les uns aux autres." ("At the end of prayer, we commanded them to discuss through the day that which they had heard in the evening and to teach it to those from other villages when they find themselves together in the Mountains after their beasts, and it is by that that they will teach each other.") (fol. 2.)
240. For specific information see Chapter 6, section III D. Achievements of the mission.
241. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661,* p. 69.
242. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661,* p. 69. The act was to be publicly intimated on the next sabbath.
243. See earlier in this chapter, section II. The post-Franciscan initiative and the Irish priests with Alasdair MacColla MacDonald..
244. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics, I,* pp. 300-04. The areas which were served are specified.
245. See above, Chapter 7, section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.
246. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics, I,* p. 317. Interesting incidental information relating to the MacDonalds of Clanranald is also provided which shows at least one connection maintained with Catholicism. A priest of the order of Minims was the brother of "the wife of Macranald called the Fair." (pp. 330-31.)
247. *Memoirs or Scottish Catholics, I,* p. 319.
248. *General Assembly Commission Records, 1646-47,* p. 67.
249. For instance, Lauchlan McCawish was taken in front of the Synod of Argyll in May 1650 for having been married to More NcNeill, by a priest, when the Royalists were in Kintyre. "The said Lauchlan declared that the tyme of the enemies being in Kintyre he was maried on the said More nc Neill be ane preist, there being none present but the preists man, and he gave the preist twentie pund." The excuse that he gave

for the underhand action was "that he durst not mary that woman openly, for feare that old Sanay [Archibald MacDonald of Sanda] should hinder the same, who had intention to mary the woman upon one of his own kind." Dugald Darroch, minister, declared on their behalf that they had "caried themselves honestly dureing the tyme the enemies were in Kintyre." The Synod decided to let the marriage stand, but the couple were obliged to repent in the kirk of Lochhead to mitigate the scandal of having been married by a priest. (*Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. 162.) The incident is significant in that it indicates that there were still Kintyre people, notably among the Gaelic congregations, who felt comfortable with, and acknowledged the validity of Catholic ministrations, even if it were a case of personal expediency.

250. See below, Chapter 11, footnote 115.
251. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 360.
252. 'Ballentine's Report,' p. 110, and see footnotes 140 above and 276 below. Ballantyne was inaccurate in stating that South Uist belonged to Sir James MacDonald. He was presumably mixing Donald MacDonald of Clanranald with Sir James MacDonald of Sleat. (*Clan Donald*, (1978), p. 288.)
253. 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' p. 360.
254. 'Ballentine's Report,' p. 111.
255. 'Roman Catholicism in Scotland in the reign of Charles II,' pp. 50-51. Identification of "Candie" is fraught with difficulty. All the other place visited by Lumsden appear to be substantial geographical areas, i.e. counties. There is a "Candy" just below Strathbogie, [OS 1:500000 NO7980], which is near the southern border of his mission, which is, perhaps, the most likely possibility.
256. SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 2.
257. SCA BL1/104/11, fol. 2. Note that Clapperton records twenty-five villages in Arisaig, p. 302, but the manuscript clearly has 'vingt trois' (23).
258. SCA BL1/104/11, fol. 3.
259. SCA BL1/90/1.
260. SCA BL1/104/11, fol. 2.
261. See above, Chapter 5, II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.
262. SCA BL1/110/1. Original reads: "il ny a qu'une famille Catholique avec fort peu du paye voisin qui vienne quelque festes et dimanches et d'autres qui viennent de tems en tems de nos Cantons Catholiques aux fayres et marchés."
263. *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688*, p. xxiv. Following on the Reformation, Thomas Chisholm, laird of Strathglass, had continued to adhere to his faith, being summoned to court and imprisoned, in 1579. Between 1580 and 1600 there was some Jesuit activity in Strathglass, but they appear to have retired from the district after this. The excuse of the severity of the laws seems not very convincing as a reason for the departure of the Jesuits, especially when Jesuit activity was maintained in the north-east of Scotland. It was, perhaps, the conversion of Thomas Chisolm's descendants to the Protestant faith, for the Jesuits always preferred to operate under protection. Neither is there any

evidence that the clergy of the first Franciscan mission visited Strathglass, though they visited the neighbouring districts of Glengarry in 1624 and Glenelg in 1636 and 1637. The Vincentians, White and Duggan, also visited Glengarry in the 1650s, and White later in 1672. (See fig. 6.4, First Franciscan mission 1619-1637: incidence map, and fig. 8.1, Regular period 1641-1679: incidence map.) This date certainly accords with the tradition of the inhabitants, recorded in the first decade of this century, that 'the interval between 1660 and 1680 is the date of the revival of the Catholic faith in Strathglass.' (*The Catholic Highlands of Scotland* I, pp. 191-93.)

264. *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688*, p. 77.

265. *The Catholic Highlands of Scotland,* I, pp. 193-94. Blundell writes that 'of the Apostolic labours of these priests, nothing more is known than that they opened two stations, the one in the remote locality near Knockfin, where a humble chapel must have been built, as the place to this day is called *Achada-na-h-eaglais* (the Church field), the other about the centre of the district, at a place called Clachan Comar.' Quite clearly, these two priests can be identified as Munro, who entered the mission in 1671, and Ryan, who came in 1680. Both continued to labour in and around Strathglass for the rest of their time. ('Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' Appendix 1, p. 147.) There was thus a high level of sustenance in this area. Influential people who came under their sway, other than those already mentioned, include, dated in the year 1673 "Thomas Chisolme, younger, with his sonn, Donald Mcivur, Thomas Mchutcheon moir, with some others of his parishe" who "did frequent the fellowshipe of a preist." In 1679 the region's Catholics are mentioned at length, beginning with "David Bailzie of Dochfure, James Bailzie there, his wife Agnes." "The Papists of Glenmoriston are, Alexander McDonald in Achlean, his wyff, and whole familie; Allan McDonald in Innervuick, his whole family (except his wyffe); Archibald Mcconachie vc Phadrick in Innervuick, but not his wyff nor family" as well as "Johne Grant in Duldregin, and Katherin Fraser his wyff, and part of his family." Catholics in Urquhart were "Katherin McDonald, spouse to Jhon Grant of Coremony... and one Hector M'Lean." In Abertarff those who are recorded as apostatising were "Allan Mcdonald of Kieltrie, and Mary Chisolme his spouse, all his children, servants, and tenents; Donald McDonald of Culachie, his wyff, servants, and tenents; Allan McDonald of Culachie, his whole family (except Mary Fraser, his wyff); Ranald McDonald off Pitmean, his wyff, children and tennents; all the people of Carngoddy and Ochtera; Jhon McDonald in Lick, his wyff and whole familie; the tennents of Oberchalder, Alexr Buj in Portclare, his wyff, and children." Those who "hawe bein bred Protestants within the Paroch off Kiltarlitie, and hawe made defection to popery, vizl, Georg Monro in Commer, John McRorie vc ean vc Donald vc eachin, Margrat Monro his wyffe, there; Donald Mcallister vctijre and Mary nein Thomas More his wyff, there; Ferquhar Mc William vc ean, and Beatrix nein tyr his wyff, and John his son, there; Roderick McAlister vc Rorie and Elspet nein Chlerich his wyffe, there; Donncan Due McHutcheon vc ean Liea, there; William more Mcean vc William there; Hutcheon Mcean Miller in Guisachan; Alexander McHutcheon, Smith there; Donald McIver in Erchless; Alexander Fraser of Kinneras; Simon Fraser in Kulmaskiak." The following two were also said to be already excommunicated viz. "Roderick McIver in Maald, William McHucheon vc William Roy in Commer."

(*Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688*, pp. 329, 90-92.) Given that these people had already been converted in 1679, their conversion must be attributed to Monro, but Ryan was doubtless involved in their sustenance. It should be stated that according to a Royal Bounty memorial of 1726 there were only seven Catholics in the three regions of Stratherrick, Strathglass and the Airds as late as 1703. ('Roman Catholicism in Scotland in the reign of Charles II,' p. 51.) However, this is difficult to align with the 640 Catholics said to be in Strathglass a few years later, in 1709, at the time of Bishop Gordon's visitation. ('A Highland Mission: Strathglass, 1671-1777,' p. 89.)

266. SCA BL1/99/1. For those few reconciled, detailed in SCA BL1/99/1 and SCA BL1/110/1, see appendix, secular itinerary I.
267. SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 3.
268. SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 3.
269. See Chapter 6, footnote 9.
270. SCA BL1/99/2. Original reads: "Ces veillards ne scaschant pas la vray forme du battême se servoient d'une rapsodie superstitieuse." In the ceremony they would mix salt in the water and put the child in a nanny-goat's skin. With the mother or father outside the door, the old man holding the child in the door portal would ask the mother from what illness she wished to protect the child by the baptism, and which fortune she wished for it. It should be noted that Cahassy does not mention that a goat was sacrificed to obtain the skin. "Ayant receu sa réponse Il iettoit leau sur l'enfant disant Je vous battise pour vostre pere et mere pour vostre épouse et neufe enfant, pour tous vos parens et amis, et ie vous garantie et preserve de telles maladies et malheurs &c." ("Having received his reply He throws the water over the child saying I baptise you for you father and mother, for your spouse and new child, for all your relations and friends, and I secure and preserve you from such illnesses and misfortune etc.") (SCA BL1/1/99/2.)
271. *The Session Book of Kingarth, 1641-1703,* p. 13.
272. *The Session Book of Kingarth, 1641-1703,* pp. 15, 20. On 17 March 1650, in Kingarth session, Archibald M'Neill confessed the use of a Gaelic charm, confessing "that he maks thes charme in tallow and applyes the same to horses for a wristed legg." (p. 20.)
273. 'The Catholic Church in the Hebrides: 1560-1760,' p. 656, and see above, Chapter 6.
274. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651,* p. 68.
275. SCA BL1/100/6. Original reads: "C'est un pays bien peuplé et les inhabitants sont tous Catholiques à la reserve de la famille du Ministre qui y reside, et de quelques particuliers elevés allieux dont nous avons receu dix à cette derniere fois." Uist was also a base from which to visit various other islands, especially in the summer.
276. SCA BL1/90/1, fol. 2.
277. SCA BL1/100/5. Originals read: "J'ay receu toute sa famile, et soixante autres persons." "c'est un homme qui a des vasts territoirs, et qui peut elever quinze cents hommes pour la service du Roy."
278. SCA BL1/100/2.
279. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651,* p. 60.

280. 'The Catholic Church in the Hebrides: 1560-1760,' p. 656.

281. Purcell, p. 54.

282. Allan I. Macinnes, 'Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws, 1603- 1707,' *RSCHS*, 23, part 1, (1987), p. 57.

283. SCA BL1/100/5. Originals read: "tous sont sur le nom de protestants;" "environ cinquants Catholiques qui sont dispersés cy et lá." With the general expansion of the secular mission, a more permanent priest was provided in the form of Mr. Mongan in the following year.

284. SCA BL1/100/5.

285. SCA BL1/110/13. Original reads: "Ils venoient volontiers entendre les exhortations, mais la messe et la confession leur sont dela peine, ce qui ne métonne point aprés les fausses impressions que les Ministres ont faits sur leurs Esprits par leurs sermons pleins de calomnie contre l'Église Catholique l'apellans Idolatre pour la veneration qu'on y donne aux saints et aux images ce qui estoit facile a fair croire à ceux qui n'ont jamais rien entendu au contraire." All the well-versed anti-Catholic arguments were put forward, for example that in France and Rome they worshipped images like little Gods and that they made more of the Virgin and the saints than Jesus Christ.

286. For those converted in Skye, detailed in SCA BL1/100/7 and BL1/110/1, see appendix, secular itinerary I.

287. See below, Chapter 10, section III B. Catholic expansion.

288. 'The Catholic Church in the Hebrides: 1560-1760,' p. 656.

289. See Chapter 6, section III B. Missionary interaction with the Ulster élite.

290. See Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.

291. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 35, 49. However, though it seemed unlikely that Ardnamurchan would fall to Catholicism, see Chapter 10, section III C. Presbyterian counter-attack, for Colin Campbell's introduction of Catholic converts to the area.

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE GAELIC DIMENSION 1560-1760.

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Volume II of 2 volumes

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume 2

Volume 1

LIST OF FIGURES

Volume 2

Volume 1

CHAPTER 9
PROTESTANT LINKS BETWEEN IRISH AND SCOTTISH GAELS, 1690-1760

Introduction

The beginning of this period was characterised, once again, by general confusion in the Church on both sides of the Irish sea. In Scotland the Revolution Settlement of 1689 restored the presbyterian establishment, while in Ireland the victory of Irish Protestants over the Jacobites seemed assured by 1690 and was achieved in 1691. From this point in Ireland, the ascendancy of the Protestant Church of Ireland, was to dominate politically and economically.[1] As is usual in times of upheaval and instability there was an element of geographical mobility amongst the people. Just as, during the Restoration period, Scottish ministers went across to Ireland to help maintain the presbyterian faith there, it is equally clear that, subsequently, there was fugitive movement in the other direction when, in 1689, the presbyterians in Ireland had been forced to retreat into the enclaves of Londonderry and Enniskillen, and there was fear of a Jacobite victory. In view of the circumstances, a general meeting of ministers and elders, acting as an unofficial General Assembly in Scotland, requested an authenticated list of ministers and probationers in Ireland, to avoid admitting unlicensed persons into vacant parishes. The list, compiled in March 1689 and viewed in Edinburgh on 20 May 1689, reveals that nearly fifty ministers of Irish congregations had taken refuge in Scotland, though only two in the Highlands.[2]

The early part of the period was marked, administratively, in Ireland, by the erection of the General Synod of Ulster, which first met in Belfast on 26 September 1690. It was erected as the Supreme Court of the presbyterian church there, remaining its legislative judicatory for a century and a half. The Irish brethren had last met in the capacity of a general meeting in the spring of 1661 at Ballymena. This indicates how closely their fate was bound with that of the presbyterian community in Scotland, which had ceased to function as a general assembly at the Restoration.[3] With the advent of King William, the situation for the presbyterians became more tolerable but like Catholics, presbyterians were subject to discriminatory legislation throughout this period 'which, though less stringent, was sufficiently irksome to arouse bitter resentment.'[4] Towards the end of 1691 the oath of supremacy was abolished in Ireland and was replaced by oaths of fidelity and allegiance, with which the presbyterians had no quarrel. This opened the sphere of public employment to them again, though they did not enjoy legal religious toleration, and it remained a bone of contention that presbyterian marriage was still invalid, that they were excluded from teaching in schools and that sites for meeting-houses were often refused them. Nonetheless, the presbyterian community continued to expand throughout William's reign, particularly in the north of Ireland which was the stronghold of Irish presbyterianism. It became necessary, in 1697, to split

the five original meetings or presbyteries of the church into two sub-Synods, to meet at Coleraine and Dromore every March and October. So too, the Antrim presbytery was now divided to create the presbytery of Belfast. By 1702 nine presbyteries and three sub-Synods had been created, the third sub-Synod meeting at Monaghan, with the general Synod continuing to meet annually each summer in Antrim.[5]

Conversely, in the Highlands, it is interesting to see how little progress presbyterianism appears to have made during William's reign. Following the episcopal period, the presbyterian Kirk on its return in 1690 had only a 'slender footing' in areas of Argyll, in Easter Ross and parts of Caithness and Sutherland but was elsewhere still strongly opposed. In general, the majority were adherents of episcopacy, other than in those areas of the west and some of its adjacent islands which had been reclaimed for Catholicism. It is significant that following James VII's 'Third Toleration' in 1687 which allowed presbyterians to reorganise in Scotland, the first meeting of the Synod of Argyll was attended only by presbyteries under Campbell dominance, that is, those of Inveraray, Lorn and Kintyre. Moreover, after July 1689 when episcopacy was abolished in Scotland, with comparatively more comfortable livings falling vacant in the south, Highland ministers who had been outed during the Restoration period were often not keen to return there. Some had also been attracted to Ireland.[6] Presbyterian ministers were scarce anyway but the problem was compounded by a particular lack of Gaelic-speakers. When he was attempting to get the General Assembly to sanction the re-printing of the Irish Bible in the 1690s, James Kirkwood, a Scottish episcopalian then living in Bedfordshire, stressed that only half the Highland ministers preached in Gaelic and that the English sermons of the remainder were of little use to the majority of people. Indeed, for at least a decade after the Revolution many episcopal ministers were allowed to remain in their parishes, and equally little attention was paid to the encroaches of Catholicism. Even by the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century the achievements of the presbyterian Kirk in the Highlands were few. Many parishes were still far too large. The parish of Ardnamurchan, for instance, had been five separate charges in the medieval Church. Moreover, few heritors outside the Campbell Pale contributed to the manse, glebe or stipend of the ministers.[7]

In Ireland, Queen Anne's reign brought legislation which compromised the position of the presbyterians,[8] as well as a pamphlet war with the episcopalians. From 1709 to 1714 the Rev. William Tisdall, vicar of Belfast, who had a particular grudge against presbyterians, published a deal of damning literature about them. The result was that a number of their supporters in the landowning classes considered it more politic to join the Established Church. Nonetheless, conditions were not severe enough to deter a continued growth in the church, which in 1708 stood at above 130 congregations. It also engaged upon its first mission to the Irish, for although missions in the vernacular had been undertaken before, they had strictly speaking been under the auspices of the Established Church. Although little had been done in a major way since the work

of Bishops Knox and Bedell in the early seventeenth century, Bishop William King of Derry had, more or less of necessity, introduced some Gaelic-speakers into his diocese. He employed, for a while, two Scottish episcopalian ministers from the Highlands to preach in Gaelic in the barony of Inishowen (see fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster), mainly to administer to Highland Protestant families who had settled there after the Revolution. However, the provision does not appear to have lasted long. Another Highland minister was similarly employed by the Established Church in the northern parts of County Antrim, and had some success in converting Catholics there.[9] One of the ministers employed by Bishop King can be identified as Patrick McLachlan from Kintyre, mentioned below. The other two can, perhaps, be assumed to be two amongst others of those episcopalians who left the Highlands at the Revolution,[10] - one may have been John Beaton (see below) who was in Coleraine in 1700 - but details of whose careers in Ireland have not survived. However, these appointments are interesting in revealing the existence of virtual Highland ghettos in parts of Ulster which required Gaelic-speaking ministers.

To a large extent, the Gaelic-speaking Highlands and Islands was as much a mission area to the presbyterian Kirk which in 1694 set up its Commission for the North. In an attempt to utilise those Gaelic-speakers who had taken Lowland charges, the General Assembly was empowered to send them on missions to the north in 1696 but the mission was largely unfulfilled. When, by 1704, the majority of vacancies in the Lowlands had been settled, the Assembly sought to address the Highland situation further by using half of the bursaries from presbyteries south of the Tay for the maintenance of Gaelic students. In 1708 it legislated, more draconianly, that no Gaelic-speaking minister was to settle in the Lowlands until he had filled a vacancy in the Highlands for at least a year and not received a call. Ministers contravening this were to be translated under coercion. So too, congregations and presbyteries could be intensely resolute in their unwillingness to accept a minister who did not speak Gaelic, though dismissal on these ground was not considered an option by the General Assembly. Yet, although it encouraged the use of Gaelic in preaching and worship, a certain discrepancy has been noted by secondary commentators between this essential requisite of evangelisation and the Kirk's continued support of English as the medium of education.[11] The establishment in 1709 of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) which provided schools for the region, did little to improve the situation, but further served to alienate Gaelic from formal education in the Highland mind.[12]

Unfavourable comparisons have been drawn between the Church of Scotland's attempts to mitigate its Gaelic problem, where the General Assembly was constantly pressurised from the grass-roots, with those of the Church of Ireland which was governed by an anglicised hierarchy.[13] In 1703, without success, and again in 1709 attempts were made to promote missionary work to the native Irish at the convocation of the Church of Ireland. Although this resulted in recommendations for instruction of the native Irish in their own tongue, which were further codified in 1711, only a few

isolated ministers considered implementing the plans. Nonetheless, their example was taken up by the Irish presbyterians who, at the Synod of 1710, decided to implement such a scheme themselves. The Ulster Synod had also hoped for the "concurrence of the brethren in Dublin," for presbyterian congregations had grown in the south of Ireland at the time of the Commonwealth, so that by 1710 there were five congregations in Dublin, as well as in other locations. Moreover, the thriving presbyterian population in Dublin appears to have included Highlanders.[14] More significantly, on 1 May 1710, the Dublin presbyterians had founded the General Fund "for the support of religion in and about Dublin and the South of Ireland, by assisting and supporting the Protestant dissenting interest." The significant sums of money contributed to it, said to be £7,670 in its early stages, greatly helped the introduction of the Gospel in the south. Yet, although the presbyterian mission organised the provision of Irish Bibles, Confessions of Faith and Catechisms, various troubles with the government over presbyterian status effectively dampened the project.[15] It was only after the '15, when Ulster Protestants sought to unite against a common Catholic Jacobite enemy that the presbyterian mission to the Irish really got underway. Once again, it was the Dublin brethren, possibly seeking a worthy project for their General Fund, who drew the mission to the Irish to the attention of the Ulster Synod.[16] It was in connection with this Irish mission that three Argyll men, two ministers and a probationer, came to the fore.[17] Nonetheless, although much good work was done, particularly up to 1720, the ensuing non-subscription conflict effectively diverted all energies from the mission.[18]

In Scotland, during the early decades of the century, significant developments were the passing of the Toleration and Patronage Acts in 1712. The former allowed episcopal congregations to meet using the English liturgy, while the latter restored the powers of patrons to present to a parish, though the congregation could still dissent from a call. The passing of the Patronage Act laid up great problems for the Kirk, however, which resulted in the Secession of the 1730s.[19] In the Highlands, the Kirk became increasingly concerned about the inroads made by Catholicism and erected the new Synod of Glenelg in 1724 in an attempt to tackle the problem more efficiently. The new Synod was responsible for the Long Island, Skye, the isles north of Mull, and the presbyteries of Abertarff and Gairloch. It had a difficult task and was largely unsuccessful in reducing large parishes or filling vacancies. In the following year, George I initiated an annual grant of £1000 to the General Assembly, specifically to be used for the reformation of the Highlands and Islands and other areas where Catholicism was prevalent. It was administered by the Committee for the Royal Bounty and was largely used to provide catechists and missionaries.[20]

More generally, during this period, there was an overriding concern with conflicts over doctrinal and theological issues. Scotland and indeed Europe as a whole, had been effected by the philosophy of Descartes and the theories of Newton, which challenged the Calvinist view of the universe in terms of God-head, scriptural authority and the immortality of the soul. There was,

besides, a good deal of theological controversy over the means of grace and election and subsequent fear of the infiltration of Arminianism which emphasised free will and limited the grace of God.[21] These controversies were also evident in Ireland. 1719 saw the enactment of a basic toleration for Irish presybterians by the passing, on 2 November 1719, of the bill entitled "An Act for exempting the Protestant Dissenters of this kingdom from certain penalties to which they are now subject." So too, by another bill of the same year, the time during which presbyterians in office might subscribe to the Test, was extended to 25 March 1720. It was the first of many bills of indemnity by which the Test Act was repealed from year to year, until it was finally abolished.[22] The same year also saw the beginnings of the non-subscription controversy in the Irish presbyterian church. Subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, as a test of doctrinal orthodoxy, had been imposed on those entering the ministry in Ireland in 1698 and 1705, as its standards had been re-imposed in Scotland at the Revolution. However, an Antrim minister, Mr. John Abernethy, preached a sermon to the Belfast Society on 9 December 1719 which was subsequently published as "Religious Obedience Founded on Personal Persuasion." The title amply reflects the so-called 'new light' or non-subscribing views within it, that personal conscience, based on reasoned investigation, was the only determinator of what a man could hold to be true and just, and in which he had faith, and not doctrine. Equally serious, was the fear that those who declined to subscribe the Confession of Faith were actually Arians, that is, those who denied the deity of Christ. Ultimately, this led not only to the creation of two separate Belfast congregations but rearrangement of the presbyteries by the Synod in 1725 so that all sixteen non-subscribing ministers and their congregations were in the Antrim presbytery. Ultimately, in June 1726, that presbytery was excluded from the Synod and became a separate church court.[23]

Gradually the controversy died down, being replaced in the late 1720s by concern over bad harvests, unsatisfactory leases and increase of tithes to the Church of Ireland. Religious discrimination was, indeed, one of the reasons advanced for substantial presbyterian emigration from Ulster to North America at this juncture.[24] The church definitely felt under threat, as indicated by the Synod of Ulster on 16 June 1730, "It being too evident that the protestant dissenting interest in this kingdom is in a very declining condition, and if proper remedies are not timely applyed, things will in all probability grow worse and worse." It was, thus, humbly overtured that in May 1731 there should be "a general meeting of persons delegated from each Presbytery in the Kingdom to think of fit ways and means to revive and strengthen said interest."[25] One substantial concession was given in 1738, however, when presbyterians were given freedom from prosecution for celebrating their form of marriage.[26]

The rest of the period under view is largely dwarfed by the patronage issue, the break away of the Secession Church in Scotland in 1733 and the formation of the associate presbytery. However, although the issue was current in the Highlands of Scotland, as evidenced by a minute of the Mull

presbytery on 14 March 1734, the Secession Church did not become a big phenomenon in the Highlands.[27] As for Ireland, the associate presbytery did not have sufficient membership to send probationers to Ireland until 1742, and its first congregation at Lylehill, including Belfast and Lisburn, did not have a minister until 1746.[28] Moreover, since the church was largely a Lowland phenomenon, transference of Highland personnel was not an issue. However, another problem which reared its head in the Highlands throughout this period with particular implications for religious inter-relations, was that of Jacobitism.

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JACOBITISM

In Scotland, Jacobitism was so closely allied with episcopalianism at the Revolution that King William was almost obliged to support the presbyterians. Rather than marking the end of the trouble between the two ecclesiastical groups, conflict intensified after the Revolution Settlement in the reigns of William and Anne. Many sources seem to indicate that episcopalians were not deprived of their benefices simply because they were pro-episcopal and anti-presbyterian, but 'because their Jacobitism found its expression in their Episcopacy,' for episcopalianism basically underwrote the doctrine of the divine right of Kings. Given that episocopalianism had a stronger hold in the Highlands in the immediate post-revolutionary period than presbyterianism, this whole issue is of particular significance for that area.[29]

Though King William was keen to include episcopalians in the Settlement, the presbyterian General Assembly felt otherwise. On 19 May 1693 an oath was imposed by parliament that before they could become a member of the Assembly ministers should acknowledge William and Mary as sovereigns, both *de jure* and *de facto*.[30] This encouraged further division between those episcopalians who took the oath and came under the King's protection and those who had not, the so-called non-jurors who hoped for the re-establishment of the Stewarts and engaged in correspondence with the exiled court in St. Germain. There were even links between Scottish and English non-jurors, as particularly evinced by correspondence between Bishop Rose of the major Scottish episcopalian party and Mr. Archibald Campbell in London, a close cousin of the Duke of Argyll. The correspondence ran from at least 1706 to 1715, when the rebellion rendered it too dangerous to continue and the links between English and Scottish non-jurors were severed.[31]

Presbyterians in Ireland were affected more by the the passing of the Abjuration Oath in 1703 whereby all people in civil, military or ecclesiastical office had to reject the claim of the pretender, 'James VIII and III,' to the throne. Legal action was taken against four ministers who did not take the oath, and thus became 'non-jurors,' because they thought it required them to brand James as illegitimate. Unfortunately, by this, general aspersions of Jacobitism were cast on presbyterians as

a whole. So too, the passing of the Test Act in 1704, which was appended to an act "to prevent the further growth popery," required anyone holding office under the Crown to take communion in the Church of Ireland within three months after the appointment. Inasmuch as it applied to dissenters as well as Catholics, it caused the resignation of staunch presbyterians from public office, who could not entertain so doing. This caused some consternation following the 1708 French-backed Jacobite attempt which sought to land the Pretender in Scotland. Owing to Ulster's proximity to Scotland, the militia was called up, but many of the presbyterians refused enrolment in it. The same problem was subsequently raised by the Test Act at the time of the '15.[32] Essentially an English oath, which had been imposed there in 1701, the Abjuration Oath did not become an issue in Scotland until 1712, when it was imposed on ministers by the Toleration Act of that year with the same intention of ensuring the Protestant succession and keeping Jacobites out of ecclesiastical and civil posts. However, many presbyterians, the so-called 'scruplers,' scrupled to sign it because its Erastian implications were not acceptable to their Calvinism and because it implied that the Church of Scotland took second place to the Church of England. The oath had to be rephrased in 1719 in a less prejudicial form.[33] In comparing the two situations in Scotland and Ireland, it can be seen that in Scotland it was largely the episcopalians who suffered from their affilation to Jacobitism, but in Ireland it was the presbyterians who were tainted by Jacobitism.

In Ireland, it was not until after the '15, during which many Ulster presbyterians exempted from prosecution under the Test Act, had earned the favour of the Crown and House of Commons by serving as soldiers and officers, that the presbyterian church in Ireland felt secure enough to really consider a mission to the Irish.[34] Some full transcriptions of the State Papers for Ireland contain a very interesting social comment on the dissenting community, in this regard, in a letter written by a Mr. Henry Maxwell to an undesignated correspondent, indicating that he was in favour of only partial discrimination against presbyterians.[35] It is also possible to identify a markedly different attitude in the Irish and Scottish presbyterian communities, dictated by the degree to which that threat was seen to impinge upon them. In Ireland, it must be remembered that there was military involvement only in the 1689 rebellion. Hence, in the eighteenth century, although there was concern, it was not paranoiac. This was undoubtedly a factor in the presbyterian attitude to mission work among native Gaels in both countries.[36] On the other hand, in Scotland, the Established Kirk was always very concerned to ensure that even where there were sizeable Gaelic-speaking populations, if the charge was in a garrison town, it should be served by an English-speaking minister.[37] Given that there were also well-affected Gaelic-speaking, bilingual ministers, this seems quite an indictment of their integrity. Gaelic-speakers were clearly under more suspicion. It seems that sustenance of members of the garrison, as defenders of the realm was of prime importance, rather than that of the indigenous population.[38]

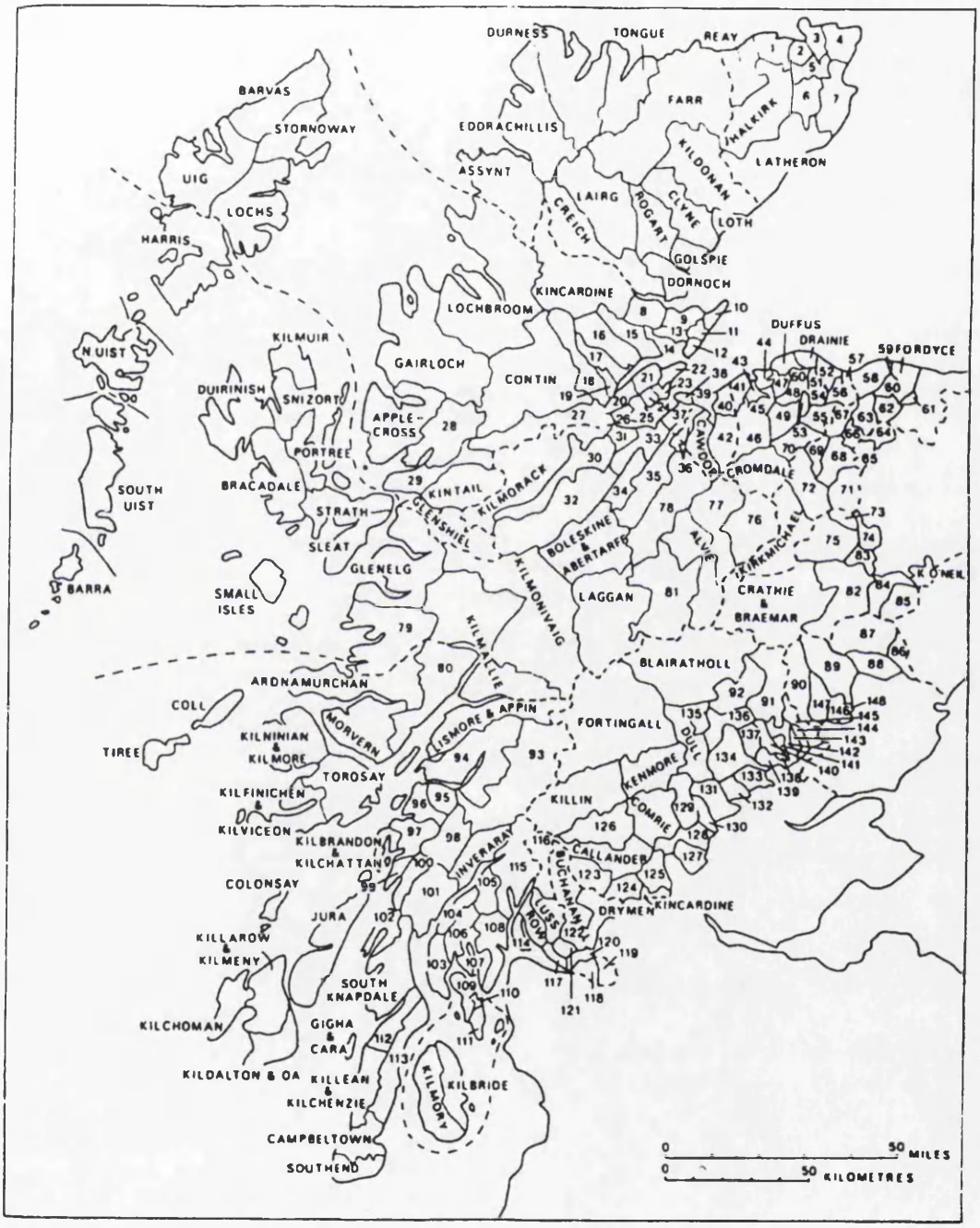
After the '15, Jacobite intrigue expanded once again in Scotland from the mid-1720s and although the Scottish Jacobite Association was not formed until 1739, the government were still on their guard with respect to the garrison at Fort William. On 18 June 1735 the Synod of Glenelg took note of a petition from the presbytery of Abertarff which had come to them through the Committee for the Royal Bounty, asking "that one may be sent to Maryburgh [later Fort William] to officiate as preacher there who has the Irish language." It was said to be subscribed by 100 heads of families and elders in the area. However, underhandedness was in evidence on one side or another, for it was intimated by the elders that some of the names on the petition had been forged and "that little or no regard was to be had to the petition for an Irish preacher from such persons as did subscribe it."[39] The Synod, however, declined to remove the English-speaking Mr. George Anderson because some of the subscribers were said to be "communicants with Episcopal nonjurant preachers," and, thus, Jacobite suspects who would understandably desire his removal, while others who subscribed were said to know little Gaelic anyway. Anderson was, therefore, to remain at Kilmallie (see fig. 9.1, Highland parishes of the eighteenth century) though it was conceded that "it should appear altogether necessary as it has not been made to appear to that Synod, that ane Irish preacher should be placed in that burgh yet the said Reverend Minister ought to be there also."[40] However, a Gaelic-speaking minister was not installed and Anderson ultimately resigned in 1741.[41]

Interestingly, information also exists in personal correspondence from a presbyterian minister in a parish in the Outer Hebrides which amply shows the ineffectiveness of such attempts at government and Kirk control in that area. Two letters survive dated 1750 from John MacAulay, minister in South Uist, to David Bruce, Surveyor of the Forfeited Estates in Scotland who was living in London. As MacAulay pointed out, in the first letter of 2 February 1750 from Ormacleit, his was inveterate Catholic territory. "The Priests were never more insolent, they are now in Top Spirits, as they have got their Bishop home among them, he is Just now at the Main land of Moidoirt and Arrasaig, adored like a little God!"[42] This refers to the return of Bishop Hugh MacDonald, first vicar-apostolic of the Highland vicariate, who had been imprisoned and exiled for his Jacobite principles in 1746 and had returned to Scotland in 1749.[43]

MacAulay's next letter, written just a few days later on 7 February 1750, from Benbecula, referred to an attack on him by the priest "in a very Odd Manner" and to "his threatning Blustering Letters." The letter is particularly interesting in evincing connection between Isles and Ulster presbyterians:

> And I can likewise assure you that all the small Protestants in the Island of Benbecula, are so persecuted both on their own account and mine that they are obliged to Transport themselves to Ireland and other Countrys, so that one half of them will not be found here when you come again, few as they were before.[44]

Fig. 9.1
HIGHLAND PARISHES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



The names of those referred to by number are given in the list overleaf.

Reproduced from C. W. J. Withers,
'Education & Anglicisation:
The Policy of the SSPCK toward the Education
of the Highlander, 1709-1825,'
Scottish Studies, 26, (1982), pp. 53-54.

List of Highland parishes referred by number in Fig. 9.1

Parish name	No.	Parish name	No.	Parish name	No.
Aberfoyle	123	Edinkillie	46	Logiealmond	132
Aberlour	69	Edzell	86	Logie-Coldstone	83
Abernethy and Kincardine	76	Elgin	48	Logie Easter	13
Aboyne and Glentanar	84	Fearn	11	Logierait	136
Alness	16	Fodderty	18	Monzievaird and Strowan	129
Alves	47	Forres	43	Mortlach	68
Alyth	145	Fowlis Wester	131	Moulin	92
Ardchattan	94	Glass	65	Moy and Dalarossie	78
Ardclach	42	Glenbucket	73	Muckairn	95
Ardersier	38	Glenisla	90	Muthill	128
Ardgour	80	Glenmuick Tullich and		Nairn	39
Ardoch	127	Glengairn	82	New Kilpatrick	119
Arisaig and Moidart	79	Glenorchy and Inishail	93	New Spynie	54
Arrochar	116	Glentrathen	147	Nigg	12
Auchtergaven	133	Grange	62	North Bute	109
Auldearn	40	Inveraven	72	North Knapdale	102
Avoch	24	Inverchaolain	107	Old Kilpatrick	118
Balquhidder	126	Inverness and Bona	33	Olrig	2
Bellie	57	Keith	63	Ordiquhill	61
Bendochy	144	Kilcalmonell	112	Petty	37
Birnie	53	Kilchrenan and Dalavich	98	Port of Menteith	124
Birse	85	Killearnan	26	Rafford	45
Blairgowrie	142	Kilfinan	103	Rathven	58
Boharm	67	Kilmadock	125	Rattry	143
Bonhill	121	Kilmaronock	122	Resolis	21
Botriphinie	66	Kilmartin	100	Rosemarkie	23
Bower	5	Kilmichael Glassary	101	Rosneath	114
Cabrach	71	Kilmodan	106	Rosskeen	15
Cairnie	64	Kilmore and Kilbride	96	Rothes	55
Canisbay	4	Kilmuir Easter	14	Rothesay	110
Caputh	139	Kilninver and Kilmelfort	97	Saddell and Skipness	113
Cardross	117	Kiltarlity and Convinth	30	Speymouth	56
Cortachy and Cloval	89	Kiltearn	17	Spynie	50
Clunie	140	Kingarth	111	St. Andrews Lhanbryd	51
Craignish	99	Kingoldrum	146	Strachur	105
Crieff	130	Kingussie and Insh	81	Stralachlan	104
Cromarty	22	Kinloch	141	Strathdon	75
Croy and Dalcross	36	Kinloss	44	Tain	9
Cullen	59	Kirkhill	31	Tarbat	10
Dallas	49	Kirkmichael (Perthshire)	91	Thurso	1
Daviot and Dunlichity	35	Kirriemuir	148	Towie	74
Deskford	60	Knockando	70	Urray	27
Dingwall	19	Knockbain	25	Urquhart	52
Dores	34	Lethendy	138	Urquhart and	
Dumbarton	120	Lethnot and Navar	88	Glenmoriston	32
Dunkeld and Dowally	137	Little Dunkeld	134	Urquhart and Logie	
Dunnet	3	Lochalsh	29	Wester	20
Dunoon and Kilmun	108	Lochcarron	28	Watten	6
Duthil and Rothiemurchus	77	Lochgoilhead and		Weem	135
Dyke and Moy	41	Kilmorich	115	Wick	7
Edderton	8	Lochlee	87		

Moreover, his sarcastic comments also reveal lack of serious persecution against the priests as early as four years after the rebellion:

> In case the Government shall consult their own Interest so far as to take any Notice of the Priests, I beg leave to Observe that the thing must not only respect these two parishes, but likewise, our Neighbouring mainland, Otherwise I will not be safe, I likewise think that it should not be trusted to a rambling officer, for I have known some of them blame the Ministers for the trouble given them, and drunk with the Priests Instead of apprehending them![45]

In truth, the threat from Jacobitism was not considered substantial by the end of the period. Shortly after the Revolution it was an important issue, but was, nonetheless, not so threatening that it stopped the Church of Ireland's pragmatic use of outed Highland episcopal ministers to preach to communities of planted Scots Gaels and native Irish.

II. HIGHLAND MINISTERS OF IRISH CONGREGATIONS

Due to the exodus of Ulster ministers to Scotland, the early meetings of the General Synod of Ulster concentrated on recalling the brethren from that country and generally attempting to fill vacancies.[46] The Synod reported on 30 September 1691:

> taking into consideration that several of our Brethren are yet in Scotland, and diverse of them continue there, notwithstanding they have been written for to return, the Synod doth resent these Brethren's delay, where way is made for their subsistence here, contrary to their express obligation to their respective charges, and the Church of Ireland, and if these Brethren do further delay their present return, the Synod intends to use all means that may be effectual to bring them to a sense of their duty.[47]

Each presbytery was to signify this to the brethren concerned within their meeting. However, the existing state of affairs still persisted by 5 June 1694 when the Synod approved an overture of the Committee that the presbyteries were to write again to those ministers who had had a call to return, "otherwise they are to declare to them that their so staying in Scotland very offensive both to ministers and people, and if they do not return, they will be lookt upon as scandalous persons, and be dealt with as such."[48] Many such references continue to be recorded in the Synod. Technically, it could be said that there are two examples of Ulster ministers fleeing to the Highlands at this time, John Darroch and John Monro, from Glenarm and Carnmoney respectively who were both in the Antrim meeting. Monro had already left Ireland for Scotland when the 'List of Presbyterian Ministers in Ireland' was compiled in March 1689, but Darroch did not leave until the beginning of

1690.[49] Yet, in reality, they were both of Highland origin and it is worth speculating whether they would have stayed in Ireland but for the rebellion, or whether they had always regarded their trips there as brief interludes.[50]

There was, however, at least one Irish clergyman who visited the Highlands later during the 1690s. On 15 July 1697, the presbytery of Kintyre was:

> informed that Mr Alexander Campbell a scandalous profligat Curate who for his debauchrie was rejected by his own pairtie in Irland hes Come to the Country and in the parish of Kilberry, hath intruded himselfe on the people Clandestinely marrieing and baptizing contrair to our publick Lawes both Civil & ecclesiastick.

The presbytery, therefore, determined to write to the elders and gentlemen of the parish warning them not to meddle with him and to receive no ordinances at his hands.[51] Campbell was presumably an ex-member of the episcopal Church of Ireland, though the term 'curate' was also used to denote non-juring episcopalians in Scotland.[52] There is always the possibility that Campbell was a Highland episcopalian who had been outed at the Revolution, had then fled to Ireland to seek employment with the Established Church, possibly even as the second, unidentified Highland minister employed by Bishop William King in Derry, and who was now returning. Alexander Campbell of Stonefield, former minister of Kilmore and Kilbride in Lorn, a Gaelic speaker who had been involved in the translation of the Psalms into Gaelic in the 1670s, would appear to be the most likely candidate in such a case. A non-juror, he was deprived at the Revolution for not praying to William and Mary. The *Fasti*, unfortunately, provides no evidence that he went to Ireland on his deprivation, though this does not necessarily negate the possibility.[53]

III. HIGHLAND MINISTERS AND PROBATIONERS IN IRELAND

A. Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism

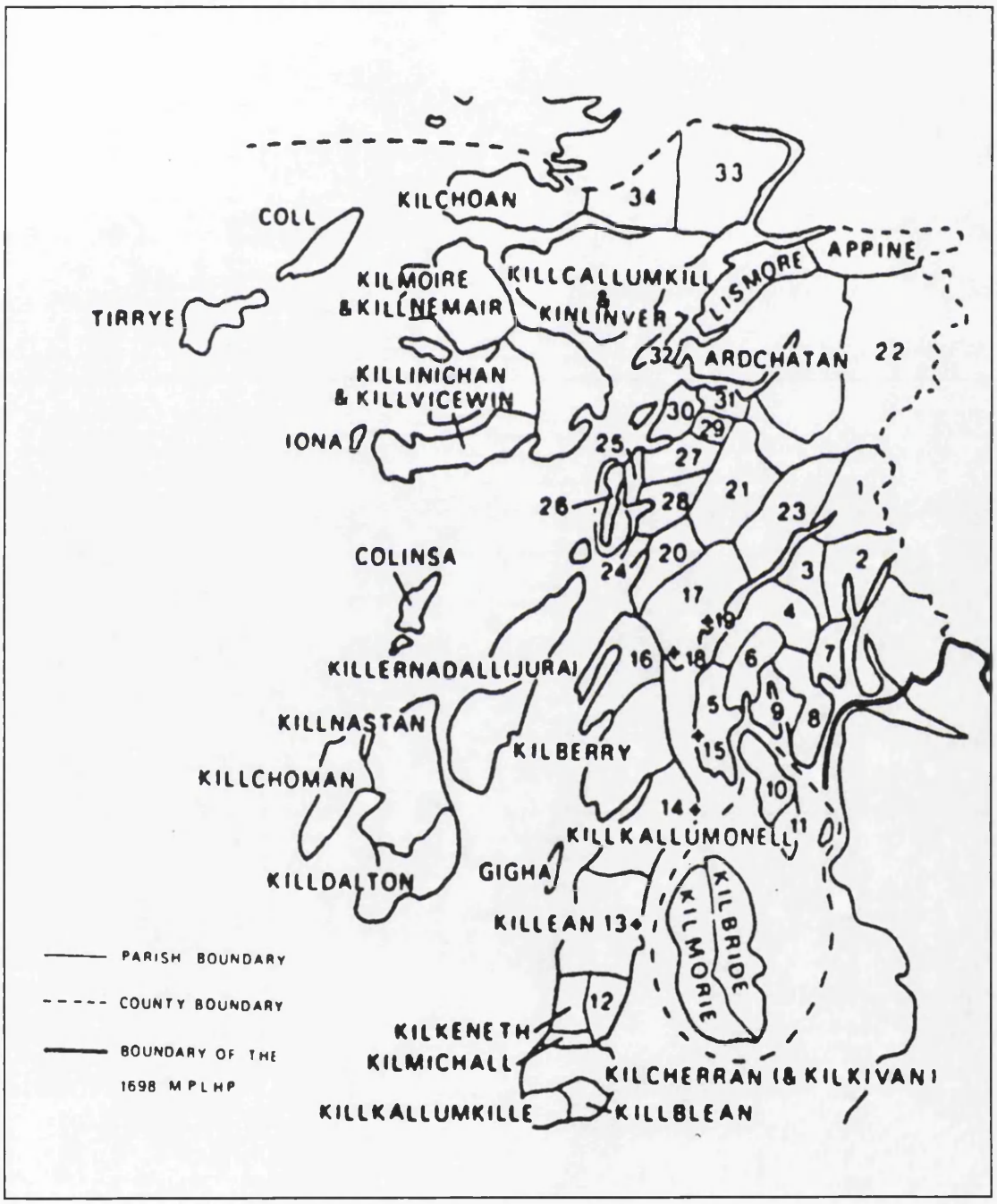
Neither was it just Ulster presbyterian ministers who returned to Ireland after the Revolution, but after the act of parliament of 25 April 1690 restored presbyterian ministers, some episcopal non-conformists ultimately chose to go from Scotland to Ireland, where they might be more likely to find vacancies and congregations willing to tolerate their views. Some were deprived and some subsequently deserted, but the outcome was the same.[54] Thus, Alexander Cameron from the presbytery of Kintyre, who had been incumbent in Kilbride in Arran for some time prior to 1688, was deprived and went to Ireland in 1691. No further details remain but that he died there somewhere between 1715 and 1719.[55] So too, John MacLean, second son of John MacLean of

Greshepol, of the family of Coll and parson of Kilmorie in Arran in the presbytery of Kintyre, had been admitted there at some time before 1688, but was outed shortly afterwards. More is known of his career in Ireland which, indeed, attracted influential patronage. He became minister at Coleraine and at Antrim, where he was chaplain to Lord Massereene and prebendary of Rosharkin. He was married, in the first instance, to a daughter of Lachlan McNeill of Losset by whom he had several daughters, but it was two sons of his second marriage with a daughter of James Cubbage, who carved ministerial careers for themselves in Ireland. John, became minister of Clogher in Ireland, the next son, Clotworthy, practised medicine in Belfast, while James became minister of Rochray. Further, it is evident that Kilbride, above, suffered a double loss, for, in reference to Kilmorie it is said that 'the old Archdeacon, McLaine, was subsequently settled at Kilbride. He also afterwards went to Ireland.'[56]

Also outed at the Revolution, was James Campbell also from the presbytery of Kintyre who, having received a testimonial for ordination on 5 May 1686, had not long been in the parish of Campbeltown. He went to Ireland where he died in 1694.[57] It is, therefore, not an untenable theory that where the episcopal incumbents had been in position for a number of years prior to being deprived, and where the local population was more inclined to episcopacy, such as areas of Ross-shire, they were able to maintain their status without conforming to presbyterianism. Conversely, in many parts of Argyll, presbyterianism had been too firmly established before the Restoration to allow for this now, especially where the incumbents had only been there for two or three years. Another minister from the Kintyre presbytery, Patrick McLachlan, who was incumbent in Kildalton in Islay in 1693, had attempted to remain in Scotland. He was probably also the minister of Kilchoman in Islay who left that parish at the Revolution. He was clearly able to subsequently procure another parish in Islay but it should be noted that the parishes were not contiguous, and did not constitute a joint charge. (See fig. 9.2, Parishes of Argyll and Bute in 1698, for location.) He was then offered a charge by William King, bishop of Derry, in 1692 which he took up the following year, leaving for Ireland in the week after Whitsunday 1693. The parish was declared vacant on 3 August 1693. Thus, no fewer than four non-conformers from the presbytery of Kintyre went to Ireland, at least two of whom are known to have found employment there.[58]

Of other presbyteries within the Synod of Argyll, William MacLachlan, in Kilmartin, presbytery of Inveraray, deserted his charge and was deprived by the Privy Council. He also went to Ireland some time after 15 August 1690 where he later died, though his body was returned to Kilmartin for burial.[59] John Beaton, minister of Kilninian in the presbytery of Mull, a member of the famous family of Gaelic physicians, also seems to have left or been outed from his parish for he was in Ireland by 22 April 1700, though this was supposedly for immoral conduct. Beaton graduated from Glasgow University in 1668 and was minister in Kilninian by 1668. Following the Revolution, like

Fig. 9.2
PARISHES OF ARGYLL AND BUTE IN 1698
AS CITED IN 'A MORE PARTICULAR LIST OF THE HIGHLAND PARISHES,'
(NEW COLLEGE LIBRARY, KIRKWOOD COLLECTION L51612/24-31.)



Section reproduced from
C. W. J. Withers,
'The Highland Parishes in 1698:
An Examination of Sources for the
Definition of the Gaidhealtachd,'
Scottish Studies, 24, (1980), p. 85.

List of Highland parishes referred to by number in Fig. 9.2

Parish name:	No:	Parish name:	No:
Kilmorich	1	Killimuire	18
Lochgoyl's head	2	Lothgear	19
Stratheurre	3	Killmartin	20
Strathlauchlane	4	Killchrenan and	
Killfinan	5	Dalaich	21
Killmodan	6	Clachandysart in	
Killmune	7	Glenorchie	22
Dunoon	8	Inverary	23
Inverchaolan	9	Craignish	24
Rothesay in Bute	10	Killatan	25
Kingarth in Bute	11	Killbrennan	26
Killchislane and		Killinver	27
Kilmichall	12	Killmelford	28
Saddell and Killean	13	Killmore	29
Killkallumonell		Killbride	30
and Skipnish	14	Ardchattan	31
Kilmarna	15	Appine	32
Kilmichael in		Ardgour	33
Inverlussa and		Elanfinan	34
Killmhivocamoch	16		
Killmichael in			
Glasrie	17		

(Withers, pp. 68-69.)

NOTE: The list appears to have been compiled as a check for the distributors of the Irish Bible. Thus, some of the recorded names are the names of chapels and churches rather than actual parishes. (Withers, p. 76.)

many episcopal ministers he continued to carry out the duties in his parish and he was still there in 1697 when he addressed the Synod of Argyll with a request to be received into ministerial communion. His request was rejected. His position cannot have been ameliorated by the fact that he had consistently supported the MacLeans, to whom his family had been traditionally employed as physicians, in their struggle against the house of Argyll though at the same time he remained in Mull for seven years after the Campbell invasion of Mull in 1690. Although his parish was not filled until 1702, Beaton was already in Ireland two years prior to this. He clearly retained the interest in learning evinced by members of the professional families. As well as being a minister, he is also known to have been a practising physician. He probably received a training in classical Gaelic medicine and the Gaelic culture in general from his father, John Beaton of Pennycross, who was the last *ollamh* or chief physician in Mull.[60]

Beaton appears to have brought a sizeable proportion of his manuscript inheritance, which was the manuscript collection of the Beatons of Pennycross, to Coleraine in County Derry which probably indicates that he intended to stay for some time. Edward Lhuyd, the Welsh scholar whom he met there in 1700 and allowed to view his manuscripts, called him a "poor sojourning clergyman" which tends to indicate that he, like many of his countrymen, was seeking employment in the Church of Ireland. As well as a brief visit home in 1701 or 1702 he eventually returned to Mull for good, for he died at Torrelock in the parish of Kilninian in 1714. He may have been there in 1710, for his testament stipulates this as the year in which several prominent MacLeans obliged themselves to pay annual contributions to him.[61]

Some perspective can be given to the flight of these six Argyll ministers to Ireland by looking at the total number of those deprived at the Revolution in this area. In all, it appears that around 21 ministers from Argyll and Bute either were deprived, outed or fled their parishes.[62] At first sight, according to a list of Highland parishes compiled in 1698 which identifies 56 parishes for Argyll and Bute (see fig. 9.2, Parishes of Argyll and Bute in 1698) this number seems to denote a relatively healthier proportion than those deprivations at a national level where more than half the country's ministers were deprived. However, the same list also notes that 14 of these parishes were vacant, which reduces the number of filled charges to 42, so that the number of deprivations at the Revolution for Argyll and Bute exactly matches that in the country as a whole. Moreover, the six out of 42 who went to Ireland, make a significant proportion of about 13% of non-conformists.[63]

B. Highland presbyterian ministers in Ireland: Case studies

Up to the time of the non-subscribing controversy, the Ulster presbyterian church was very eager to receive any Gaelic-speaking minister under its roof, though after this it appears to have been self-sufficient in ministers. During this broad period under consideration at least four, and possibly five

(viz. John Wilson), Gaelic-speaking Scots and one probationer went to the presbyterian church in Ireland. A second probationer was also there as a fugitive from discipline and it cannot be ruled out that he undertook a little preaching while there. It should, however, be noted that there are two people from Argyll who share the same name, that is, Archibald MacLean. The first of these, discussed immediately below, was a fully-fledged minister, and the second Archibald MacLean, discussed later in the text, was a probationer. The minister was the son of the Rev. Alexander MacLean of Kilmaglass in Argyll (who ministered there from 1652 to 1660 and in Kingarth in Bute from 1660 to 1662). Archibald was born in about 1660 and licensed in 1684 by the presbytery of Dunoon.[64] Being ordained in Dunoon and Kilmun, Argyll, on 4 February 1685, he underwent a short succession of charges, resigning from the afore-mentioned parish in 1686, being admitted to Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich in 1686, and then resigning on 6 August 1690. He adhered to presbyterianism at the Revolution and was admitted into communion by the Synod on 16 October 1691. He was then installed in Kilbride in Arran on 7 July 1692 from which charge he resigned in 1698.[65] However, it seems that he was assigned another Highland parish in Islay before he left for Ireland.[66]

It is clear that the reason for MacLean's resignation was because he wished to respond to a call from Ireland. He was so avidly sought by a Tyrone parish that they sent across a representative to request his transportation. It is likely, perhaps, that he had previously visited Ireland on a social basis or was known to Highlanders who had settled there. The presbytery of Kintyre, of which he was a member, recorded on 23 October 1697 the appearance of:

> The Reverend Mr Thomas Kennedy Minister off Donachmore [Donaghmore] in Irland having Commission from the parishioners of the parish of Omach [Omagh] in the Kingdome of Irland (which he presented subscribed by the Elders and several heads of families In Name of the Rest) Impowering him to Crave the presbyteries Concurrence with ane invitatioun in order to a Call The said parish sent to Mr Archibald McLean Minister at Kilbryde in Aran.

The presbytery were not willing to commit themselves to an immediate answer until they had looked further into the matter and had a visitation at Mr. MacLean's kirk in Arran.[67]

As in the case of Mr. John Darroch from an earlier period period,[68] it is evident that one of the major factors for Archibald MacLean's intended transference to Ireland was his general dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in his own parish. In July 1698 the presbytery duly held a visitation of his parish of Kilbride in Arran, where he was admonished for his frequent absences from the presbytery since the last winter Synod. Although the excuse which he tendered that he was valetudinary was upheld, it is clear that MacLean was lacking in enthusiasm for his charge. Though the local heritors and kirk elders declared themselves well satisfied with all aspects of his

ministry, MacLean did not reciprocate these feelings. He complained that "I have several tymes mett with several Indignities & Injuries from severals of my parishioners particularly some offered Violence to my persone - some defamed me to my nighbours & especially to strangers, some did steal my goods & some destroyed them." He offered as a partial explanation for this the fact that he was closely related to many of them which compromised his authority. Hence, by the presbytery meeting of 22 October 1698, MacLean had requested transportation in reference to the lack of success in his labours there.[69]

MacLean then appears to have gone to Ireland for some months, the presbytery of Kintyre recording on 5 April 1699 that he had been "Visiting his father in Law & freinds there."[70] It, therefore, seems that he may have been married to an Irish woman. It has always been assumed that he was, at this stage, declared transportable to Ireland.[71] However, a minute in the presbytery record of Kintyre for 16 January 1700 indicates that he had, after October 1698, been serving the parish of Killarrow in Islay, although this translation has gone unnoticed previously. Yet, by this meeting of January 1700 it is probable that MacLean had transferred to Ireland, when it was stated that the parish of Killarrow should be declared vacant "seing that Mr Archibald McLean thair former minister hes left that Charge."[72] He was, indeed, installed in Markethill, Armagh, at some time during 1700.[73] MacLean remained in Ireland for the rest of his life, earning the dubious recognition of being the first presbyterian minister to suffer prosecution by the ecclesiastical courts of the Established Church of Ireland for celebrating the presbyterian form of marriage. He was contemporaneously known as "a man of varied accomplishments and of resolute temper."[74] It appears that one of his sons, the Rev. Daniel MacLean, remained in or returned to Scotland, being installed in his father's old charge of Kilbride in Arran just a few years after the latter left in 1704. He stayed there until 1720.[75] For more of MacLean see the missionary section of this chapter.[76]

In the same way that there were Establishment ministers who were regarded as culturally sympathetic to Gaelic ideals and aspirations when such ideals smacked of Royalism in the 1640s, there were, equally, instances of English-speaking ministers who were appointed to Gaelic-speaking areas after the Revolution in order to mitigate the Jacobite threat. Such ministers, chosen not only for their uncompromising presbyterianism but also for their inability to speak Gaelic, were particularly desirable politically in areas where there were military garrisons. Such a minister was Mr. William Brodie who was first called in October 1707 and later installed as chaplain to Major-General Maitland, governor of the Fort William garrison in January 1708. The presbytery of Lorn objected to his lack of Gaelic "and no hope that he will acquire it" but were informed "that the Government had firmly resolved never to call a minister that will make use of Irish, it being the Queen's orders to purge the regiment of all Highland soldiers" and that Brodie was suitable in every other way. The Synod overruled the presbytery and Brodie was ordained on 9 January 1708. In 1714 he was referred to as "chaplain with Col. Britton's Regiment."[77] Brodie left with the regiment

for Edinburgh and subsequently departed for Ireland on 5 August 1714, in the run-up to the 1715, when the Synod of Argyll ordered his name to be kept off the roll of ministers. A minute of 10 August 1714 confirmed that he was "in Ireland with the Regiment whereof he is minister."[78] Similarly, Robert Baillie was appointed minister in Inverness because though he had very little Gaelic, the General Assembly saw the necessity for a loyal presbyterian to serve "the most considerable Post benorth Aberdeen of greatest influence in the Highlands."[79]

It was more a case of personal expediency that took a Lorn probationer to Ireland in 1714. Mr. Archibald McLauchlan is first mentioned on 28 January 1713 when asked to supply Mr. James Campbell's parish while he was ill. He neither did this nor did he appear at the next diet of the presbytery on 15 April 1713, as requested. By the July meeting, McLauchlan was pleading lack of finance and "ane impediment in body that at present disabled him for travell." The presbytery was then threatening more serious action. McLauchlan was to appear at the next diet or to write a letter explaining his long absences "and to rectify them of his Resolution When ther to present the Work he hath entered upon, or to Withdraw." Hearing that the letter had been delivered but that McLauchlan gave no positive answer to it, the presbytery meeting of 6 August 1713 appointed him "to be cited legally pro primo to the next dyet, and the Execution to be returned." However, McLauchlan obviously took fright at being called to account by formal execution of summons, and the presbytery meeting of 21 October 1713 were "credibly informed that he is gone for Irland." The case was delayed until this was ascertained, and by 2 January 1714 it was "further confirmed that Mr Archibald McLauchlan is gone to Irland."[80]

By 19 May 1714 there was still no word of McLauchlan's return from Ireland and the matter was, therefore, referred to the Synod for advice. When the Synod of Argyll met on 6 August 1714 it appointed two of the "more experienced brethren" to speak to other presbyteries about the business and to report back. The following day they reported that they had taken advice and had resolved that "the presbytery use all endeavours to be informed if he hath gone to Irland, and if so, to know where he resides, that all meanes may be used to get him back to the country." Clearly the Kirk was in no position to outrightly dismiss any probationers who spoke Gaelic, in view of the shortage of such ministers in the Highlands, however irresponsible their behaviour.[81] With the known rise in Jacobite preparations by the August of 1714, it may also have been that he was suspected of Jacobite inclinations. Certainly, the Synod made the proviso that if he returned he was to be called before them and asked "if he adheres to the present Government of this Church, as he professed and gave under his hand when he was licensed by the presbyterie, And in case he do not adhere to the same, that his licence be declared null which advise the presbyterie resolves to follow." Two months later, on 6 October 1714, Mr. Daniel Morison, minister, informed that McLauchlan's friends said that he was shortly to return from Ireland.[82] Unfortunately, the subsequent details of

McLauchlan's behaviour and movements remain a mystery, for the next presbytery book of Lorn is missing, and this is the last reference to the case.[83]

After the '15 there was a renewed call for Highland ministers to Ireland. Even though there was no evidenced Irish involvement in the '15, it was clear that there was considerable sympathy for the cause in Irish-speaking areas and certainly in Ulster.[84] Thus, the presbyterian church appears to have made sterling efforts to provide ministers for Irish and Gaelic-speaking communities by formulating its first mission policy for the Irish language. The General Synod of Ulster commissioned a letter on 19 June 1716 to the Synod of Argyll "desiring them to send us with all convenient speed a Probationer qualify'd for preaching in Irish; and that they would please to appoint a second Probationer to come afterwards, upon advertisement from the Committee appointed for managing this affair." This refers to the committee set up in 1716 for improvement of Irish in the presbyterian church in Ireland.[85] They were willing to defray the travelling costs of such a probationer by ordaining that "each Presbytery advances him one Guinea."[86] Thus, the session book of Aghadoey in County Derry recorded, on 7 January 1717, the "Charge of bringing Mr m'Lane a probationer to preach in Irish from Scotland 5s Od," indicating that the cost was defrayed among the various kirk sessions.[87] Nonetheless, MacLean later experienced a great deal of difficulty in extracting the said money, in its entirety. So too, that they had only asked for a probationer possibly indicates a recognition on the part of the Synod of Ulster that no fully-fledged ministers would be released from Scotland just after a rebellion. More pertinently, perhaps, there was still a severe shortage of Gaelic-speaking ministers in the Highlands and Islands. Only a few years earlier, in 1709, though largely intended as a comment on communications, the Synod of Argyll had stated "at our synodical meetings there are many tymes scarce the face of a good Presbyterie besides a provincial Synod."[88] On the other hand, probationers were more cost-effective, not receiving as high a remuneration as ministers. In an amendment to the quota given for Irish-speaking ministers, on 18 June 1717, the Synod agreed:

> that the Presbytery which calls him be judge what is to be allow'd to him for each Sabbath day - ten shillings the minimum, twenty shillings the maximum. The Probationers who are to supply that Minister's Congregation during his absence are to have from six to ten shillings, as the Presbytery who sends 'em shall judge.[89]

Though it does not appear that Irish-speaking probationers commanded more.[90]

The letter to the Synod of Argyll from the General Synod of Ulster was subsequently written and approved, and its receipt documented on 11 August 1716. The Synod of Argyll stated themselves "much refreshed to hear the pious Zeall of the Reverend Synod of Ulster," and decided to co-operate with them "in so great and good a designe." They, therefore, resolved to send two

probationers to Ireland at their earliest convenience, namely Mr. Archibald MacLean who was then in Mull, recommending to the presbytery of Lorn "to deal with him to Repair to Ireland without loss of tyme," and Mr. Daniel Campbell who was to go "when ever he is Advertised by the Presbyterie of Kintire for that effect."[91] In the bounds of the Synod of Argyll it was not just the threat to presbyterianism which motivated the ministry but equally the native Irish political threat to Campbell territory, in view of potential involvement of the Irish MacDonnells who claimed hereditary rights to the expropriated lands of the Clan Donald South. Potentially, the Campbells had a great deal to lose from a successful Jacobite rebellion. Thus, in June 1717, the Synod of Argyll was still offering its support and cooperation in exterminating what was essentially a political threat. The Synod of Ulster received a letter from the Argyll Synod "shewing their readiness to assist us in the pious design of converting the Irish."[92] It is interesting to observe that the relationship between the presbyterian church in Ulster and that in Argyll had, by this time, been close and co-operative for well over a century. Moreover, as the political threat receded by the middle of the eighteenth century, neither were there any more Scottish presbyterian ministers nor probationers transferring to Ulster. Though this probably had more to do with the self-sufficiency of the presbyterian church in Ireland, it is significant that there were no further attempts at missionary work to the Irish.

Archibald MacLean, probationer, did go to Ireland, though there appears to be no evidence that Daniel Campbell did so. Little specific evidence remains of MacLean's work there. Indeed, the record deals more with his difficulty in extracting financial remuneration. He appears to have stayed for between one and two years. He was certainly back in Scotland by 1718 when the General Synod of Ulster, meeting at Belfast on 17 June, received a letter from him "complaining that he wanted some of the money promist him by the Synod for preaching in Irish within our bounds."[93] Those presbyteries which had not done so were to pay their dues to his countryman, Mr. Patrick Simpson.

Patrick Simpson was born in Islay, Argyll, in 1682. He was educated at Glasgow University, from where he graduated M.A. in 1707. In the fashion previously established by probationers such as James Tailzeur in 1675,[94] Simpson went to Ireland as a probationer and was later ordained to the parish of Dundalk in County Louth on 30 December 1713.[95] Given the general tendency for future incumbents to work in the parish for some time prior to ordination or acceptance, it is likely that Simpson had been there for at least a year. The reason for his removal to Ireland was given some years after the event. His good work was referred to in letters from the General Synod of Ulster to the Synod of Argyll on 27 June 1716, when the Irish presbyterians were taking steps officially to revitalise their Irish mission. The letters refer to his having been sent by the Synod of Argyll to preach in the Irish tongue "to the poor deluded natives" of Ireland. Moreover, as well as its above-noted request for two probationers to be sent, the Ulster Synod asked for people able to teach the

natives how to read Irish as well as a supply of Irish Bibles.[96] It is a comment both on the inefficacy of the Irish mission policy of the Church of Ireland as well as on the presbyterian church's symbiotic relationship with the Scottish Kirk that Irish Bibles were requested from Scotland to where they had been sent, originally, from Ireland.

Simpson amply illustrated his political integrity by marrying the sister of Malcolm and Archibald McNeill, officers in William III's army.[97] More pertinently, in terms of the prevailing controversy in both Scotland and Ireland over the dilution of Calvinist orthodoxy as enshrined in the Westminster Confession of Faith, Simpson was a nephew of the renowned John Simpson, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University, who was tried before the General Assembly in 1714, 1715, and 1716, for teaching Arminian and Pelagian errors, though he was not finally set aside until 1729.[98] Ulster presbyterianism still maintained the strong links with Glasgow that had been evident since the early seventeenth century,[99] since many of its theology students were trained there in the absence of a university in the province. It is, moreover, significant that two leading lights of the Belfast Society, John Abernethy and Kirkpatrick, had contemporaneously been students at the University, with the professor. Afterwards they corresponded by letter, while most of the students who afterwards joined the Society, studied theology under him.[100] In spite of this connection, Simpson of Dundalk initially subscribed to the Confession, though he joined the non-subscribing party at a later date. He was responsible at the Synod of 1724, for instance, for taking shorthand notes on the case of Thomas Nevin, a non-subcriber accused of Arianism, to which the Synod tried, unsuccessfully, to put a stop.[101]

Gaelic and Irish-speaking communities were always on the lookout for good ministers. Communications between Ulster and Argyll, particularly, were still sufficiently close in the early half of the eighteenth century for each to be aware of what was happening generally within congregations. Thus, when Simpson resigned from his charge in 1721 due to insufficiency of maintenance, this quickly became known in the west Highlands. This, in fact, raises an interesting issue, that his stipend was not increased even though he could preach in Irish.[102] For, in theory, preachers in Irish were well remunerated for their labours, being paid 20s per week, for instance in 1710.[103] Simpson was, in fact, induced to stay on.[104] Yet, it was obviously because of his general dissatisfaction that, in 1722, the parish of Kilmartin in the presbytery of Inveraray, made an attempt to induce Patrick Simpson from Ireland to their own parish. On 31 July 1722, Archibald Campbell of Inverliever and Colin Campbell in "Wiran," commissioners from the parish of Kilmartin, appeared before the presbytery of Inveraray "craveing that the presbytery would use their interest with Mr patrick Simpson Minister of the Gospel at Dundalk in Ireland, now in this countrey of quhom they heard a savory report that he might supply for some sabbaths in their paroch, As also craveing the presbytery would send one of their number to supervise a Call in the said paroch." On the accounts they had heard of Mr. Simpson, the presbytery agreed to invite him to preach in

Kilmartin for one or two sabbaths "as his tyme can allow" and they appointed Mr. John Darroch to go and supervise a call from the parish.[105] Here, it is interesting that some three decades after he had returned from Ireland at the Revolution, the strength of Darroch's Irish connection was still being utilised.

By the presbytery meeting of 2 October 1722 the call to Mr. Simpson had been subscribed by the heritors, elders and parishioners of Kilmartin, and Archibald Campbell of Inverliever and other heritors presented themselves at the presbytery, as did Patrick Campbell of Duntroon and Alexander Campbell of Kilmartin, on 28 November 1722, requesting the presbytery's concurrance. The presbytery decided to put the matter to the vote which carried "by plurality of voices." The commissioners took instruments to carry the decision into practice but by 5 March 1723 the presbytery had received no answer from Simpson to various letters which they had written. Although Mr. James Getty was appointed to write to him again to "press for a speedy answer," there is no further mention of the business in the presbytery record and it must be assumed that Simpson had no interest in the call.[106] Simpson remained in Ireland, finally following his conscience in 1726 by leaving the General Synod and joining the non-subscribing presbytery of Antrim. He retired in 1761, a full 48 years after his ordination.[107]

Another Scot included in the list of Irish-speaking ministers at the beginning of the eighteenth century was John Wilson.[108] He was actually Patrick Simpson's predecessor, having been ordained minister of Dundalk and Carlingford in 1700. However, after two years he resigned the first charge and retained the second, in an obvious rationalisation of parishes.[109] Unfortunately, very little is known of his background. It may be, since Patrick Simpson was the only one of the Irish missioners in 1716 said to have often preached in Irish, that like others in the group, Wilson actually learnt his Irish in Ireland rather than having spoken Gaelic in his native land. There is a lesser possibility (due to the above), that Wilson might have been a second probationer from the Synod of Argyll who went to Ulster on the default of Daniel Campbell.

For ministers in Kintyre and surrounding areas of Argyll, particularly, calls from Ireland presented a viable alternative when they were dissatisfied with affairs in their own areas. Although the Irish often increased their calls in times of political uncertainty and pressure, it was often simply social interaction which brought the ministers from one side of the Irish sea to the other. It is evident that presbyterian congregations in Ulster and Dublin, where there was a sizeable congregation, were regarded as an extension of Scottish presbyterian territory. One such case was highlighted during the presbytery meeting of Kintyre on 27 July 1708. Representatives of the Highland congregation of Campbeltown requested that the presbytery of Kintyre declare their parish vacant "seeing there was no probability that their former Minister would return to them He being settled elsewhere." The date given for their minister, Mr. Lauchlan Campbell's, resignation was 4 July 1707. The

presbytery, however, indicated that they were constrained because the Synod would not approve their declaring him transportable. In the absence of Synodal permission, Mr. Campbell appears to have gone to Ireland nevertheless, at the end of July or beginning of August. The presbytery were informed that he had been "admitted and settled in another Congregation in the City of Dublin in Ireland."[110]

It is evident from the minutes of the Synod of Ulster for 3 June 1707 that the congregation of Capel St. in Dublin had drafted a call to Lauchlan Campbell to join Mr. Iredell who was already minister there. Mr. Iredell, himself, was appointed commissioner to manage the call, which received concurrance from both the Synod and the presbytery of Belfast. More pertinently, "Many Brethren gave a desirable Character of the said Mr Laghln Campbell," which is a testament to the intercommunication between Ulster and Kintyre presbyterian communities. The Synod of Ulster held at Antrim on 1 June 1708 subsequently recorded that the presbytery of Belfast installed Campbell in Capel St. on 16 September 1707.[111]

The Commission of the General Assembly intervened in the case in August 1707, ordering Campbell to remain within the Church and not to go to Ireland, but evidence above indicates that he had already departed. It is clear from the General Assembly's reference to "grievances" that Campbell was yet another minister dissatisfied with his Highland parish, and that the only apparent means of alleviation being offered to him by the General Assembly was to transfer him to another more northerly parish, which he did not happily entertain. The Commission wrote that they had expected him to come in to the Commission but:

> It seemeth not only you, but the presbytery of Kintyre have mistaken the commission's Letters, and their desyn in them as if the commission had desyned to recognosce their sentence anent your Grievances or as if all the relief they desyned for you was to send you under more grievances to the North highlands.

On the first count, they denied being willing to pass judgement on the case from a distance, while with regard to the second the writer assured him:

> such is the Respect they have for you, and desire for your continuing in the church, that they will be ready to use all endeavours in their power, for your comfortable setling, and therefore the Commission have ordered me in their Name, to desire you may not leave this Church nor settle in Ireland or any other place without this Church, bot continue with us till the Commisson and you meet and conferre with you.[112]

This, of course, was no particular testimony to his personal merit but was totally consistent with the Kirk's attempts to preserve its caucus of Gaelic-speaking ministers, hence their alleged willingness to relocate him further north. Such charges were notoriously unpopular, for the financial provision of many charges north of Argyll was unsure and many of the sea-bound western charges suffered from infiltration of Catholicism. The Commission's efforts were in any case too tardy for Campbell had already flown the nest on the presbytery's authority.[113]

In the circumstances, the Highland congregation of Campbeltown had been left in the unenviable situation of neither expecting their former minister's return, nor being able to present another call. The presbytery bravely took matters into their own hands, expediently pointing out that since the General Assembly did not disapprove of Mr. Campbell being made transportable, that they would declare the parish vacant so that the parish could call another minister.[114] Unfortunately, Mr. Campbell's ministration in Dublin was not to prove long and fruitful, for he subsequently returned to his brother's manse in Southend, Kintyre, where he died, unmarried, on 6 October 1708.[115]

More by way of social rather than strictly presbyterial contact, there was reference on 31 March 1720 to another Kintyre minister, Mr. John Campbell in Islay, who explained his absence from the meetings of the presbytery since August 1718 by answering that after the meeting of the Synod he was "necessarily Call'd to Irland, and did what he could before he went off to come to Kintyre & attend the Presbyterie and obtain leave from them to go to Irland, but that he could not get it done." However, he was not in Ireland for the whole of this period and blamed the rest of his inattendance on the weather.[116] Though there were, in all probabilility, instances in the interceding period when John Campbell visited Ireland, he was definitely in Ireland again in 1737, the clerk noting on 11 July that "there was no letter wrote to Mr John Campbell in Isla, as he did not hear of his return from Ireland," though subsequently he did.[117] So too, on 20 April 1737, Mr. James Barbour, a missionary from the presbytery of Mull, formally applied for leave to go and see his friends in England and Ireland during the summer quarter, as also for a letter to the Committee for the Royal Bounty in his favour, promising to supply his charge in his absence. This was granted and was backed up by a request for a locum from the Committee of the Royal Bounty.[118] It is, thus, evident that ministers went to Ireland, as indeed ministers came to Scotland, for purely social reasons, probably to visit relatives and sometimes for extended periods when there might have been family problems to resolve.

IV. SOCIAL INTERACTION AMONG MINISTERIAL FAMILIES - THE MACCALMANS: A CASE STUDY IN OPPORTUNISM

One particularly interesting example, both because of the perspective on mobility during the period which it implies and of the detail with which it is recorded, is an adultery case incriminating one of the MacCalmans of the hereditary ecclesiastical family from Lorn. It specifically concerns the minister Mr. John MacCalman, identified by the presbytery of Lorn as the ex-episcopal minister of Morvern and Janet MacLean who fled to Ireland when pregnant with his child. Although the case technically involves MacLean's rather than MacCalman's flight to Ireland, it is evident that MacCalman had extended contacts in Ireland, even though no evidence survives that he had worked there. Although MacCalman had been deprived of his stipend by act of Council at the re-establishment of presbyterianism, he had continued to baptise and marry people "in planted parishes." He had already been convicted before the presbytery and was also, on 30 January 1706, "sufficiently informed of his light behaviour unbeseeming a persone bearing the name of a Minister of the Gospell."[119]

Although there is a fair-sized report in relation to the case in the Synod of Argyll minutes for 1708, the case takes up a vast number of pages in the records of the presbytery of Lorn. MacCalman's behaviour was first brought to the attention of the Kirk at a meeting at Kilpatrick in Torosay in Mull on 30 January 1706. During this meeting, Mr. Daniel McNeill reported a flagrant scandal of adultery "upon Mr John McCalman late Episcopal Incumbent at Morvarn, with Janet Nian Alaster vc vc Eohin alias McLean." Being called before the kirk session, MacCalman compeared but declined it as a lawful judicatory in his case (because he was a minister), at which point he was summoned before the presbytery.[120] He stated that the woman should be put under oath first since she was single and he married, but as the presbytery noted "this he did, as it seems, because the woman hath fled to Ireland, and cannot be brought present." This, it transpires, had been arranged by MacCalman's relatives. The presbytery saw fit to suspend him by act until he was vindicated of the scandal of adultery without prejudice of proceeding to higher censure if they saw fit.[121]

Following on the main accusation of adultery on 29 March 1707, two of MacCalman's servant lads gave further evidence "that the said Mr John and his servant Woman More NcLauchlan used to ly together." On 28 July 1707 the Irish connection came to light when MacCalman was questioned by the presbytery "Whither he had spoken or transacted with one McIlghlais liveing in Irland for the maintainance of the said Jonet NcLean and her child for some tyme, Or if he had imployed any of his relatives or acquaintances in Muvarn to speak or hauf act with the said McIlghlais or NcCalman his spous to the effect forsaid." MacCalman answered negatively. However, the accusation is too well documented in terms of circumstantial evidence for it to be simply an idle concoction,

particularly since the surname of the Irishman's wife, "NcCalman," is indicative of kinship involvement.[122]

The surviving evidence proves beyond reasonable doubt that the MacCalmans had paid for MacLean's removal to Ireland but problems only arose for all concerned when John MacCalman omitted to keep up the maintenance payments, prompting McIlghlais (Gray)'s intervention with the Scottish judiciary. William Inglis, procurator fiscal and writer at Inveraray, produced a letter from one Archibald MacCalman in Ireland addressed to John MacCalman "craveing that he would do justice to Archibald McIlghlais and Mary NcCalman his spous in Culraine, who were at considerable expences through their harbouring and intertaining Jonet NcLean and her child upon the said Mr John McCalman his account these four years bygone." Moreover, the said letter was evidence in a legal action taken out on their behalf against three MacCalmans who had transacted with them regarding the board and maintainance. McIlghlais further indicated that he would have obtained a decreet against these MacCalmans were it not that Alexander Campbell of "Clifnamabrie" had signified to him that MacCalman's transactors would settle financially with him and that, therefore, he could lift the process. "Clifnamabrie" is presumably Campbell of Cleuchnamacrie or Clanamacrie.[123] MacCalman had obviously defaulted and Inglis went on to produce a decreet obtained in the summer of 1706, in the sheriff court, at the instance of McIlghlais and his wife against Donald MacCalman in "Ledgrinoch" in Appin, and Donald, John and Alexander MacCalman in Ardgour in Morvern who had transacted with them. The names of the transactors indicate the solidarity with which his blood relations were standing surety for MacCalman. Moreover, MacCalman and his relatives clearly had friends in influential positions for, besides the aforementioned Cleuchnamacrie, Donald Campbell, bailie of Morvern had intervened with Inglis to delay the process against the transactors. So as well as having contacts in Ireland, MacCalman also operated an extensive network of contacts on the west coast of Scotland.[124]

The presbytery of 3 September 1707 called various witnesses in the MacCalman affair. MacCalman's son, Donald, stated that the transactors' initial meeting with McIlghlais, at Kirktoun, had been after MacLean's first return from Ireland with her child. Alexander Campbell of Cleuchnamacrie admitted that he had acted for McIlghlais "being a kindly man of the family of dunsafnage whereof he is descended," and alleged that he had heard McIlghlais acknowledge receipt of £40 from MacCalman, in the presence of his wife, in part payment for MacLean's maintenance as well as a guinea the previous year received at Glasgow. Receipt of money was also confirmed by Lauchlan McLauran below. Though MacCalman denied giving McIlghlais money on that account, the evidence of Alexander Stewart, the notary, was incriminating. The latter sent a letter stating that he had received a note from MacCalman in August 1707 asking him to serve McIlghlais with a discharge from himself and his wife to some people in Ardgour in Morvern (that

is, the transactors) of 200 merks contained in a decreet obtained against them.[125] Another of the transactors, Alexander McNeill vc Calman in Ardgour intimated that he was engaged in the affair through McCalman's brother, Nicol MacCalman, and that he "never doubted but Mr John himself would be careful to send the boording to Irland where the child and its mother were to be, and that he would never let him be troubled on her account of that engagement." Clearly, he grossly misjudged the minister! Janet MacLean herself was present at the presbytery of 3 December 1707, having come at McCalman's procurement, but denied having had a child.[126]

The evidence of Lauchlan McLauran from Craigdurinish in the parish of Ardchattan was also incriminating.[127] He deponed that he had seen MacLean in Craigdurinish in his shieling house, where she had stayed for some time with "a male child with her called Archibald of betuixt three and fyve years of age in appearance." She had confessed that she was the mother and MacCalman the father. Lauchlan had asked her "If the child was Mr John McCalmans, who was in Scotland, what made her go to Ireland, to which she answered, that she went there for the safety of his reputation being a persone of such a Character, and likewise for safety of his means." After this she had gone back to the "Wintertown,"[128] where she stayed with MacCalman's wife for seven or eight days, and then had gone, leaving the child behind her. Mrs. MacCalman's servant, Fionghual NcLauchlan, had returned the child to Lauchlan's house for a few days and then, disguising him as a little girl, she had taken him away. When, by 18 May 1708, concern was being expressed by the Synod of Argyll about the whereabouts of the child and the matter had been referred into the hands of the Justice and sheriff depute of Argyll, with MacCalman being obliged to find bail, Fionghual NcLauchlan agreed to give further information to the presbytery of Lorn. She confessed that on her Mistress's order:

> shee carryed away that child out of Craigdurinish to Athol, and shee was ordered to leave the child with Mr John's sister who lives there... And that Mr John's sister directed her to give that child to a poor woman liveing hard by, called Jonet Mcintyre and that shee left the child with that woman accordingly, which woman was a kindly woman of the country of appin being born and bred there.

However, MacCalman's brother, Duncan Roy MacCalman in Appin, later stated that Janet Macintyre had brought the child back from Atholl to his house, the sheriff having secured MacCalman because the boy was missing.[129] The case is interesting from a social point of view for the migration patterns it shows within the MacCalman family from Appin to Atholl and across to Ireland, as well as MacCalman's manipulation of souls within that network. It also provides evidence of two-way geographic mobility from Argyll in the pre-Clearance era, as well as showing Atholl in a light equal to Ireland as the dumping ground for social unacceptables.

Like MacCalman, MacLean still refused to acknowledge her guilt but the presbytery looked upon her as guilty of adultery and in December 1707 had appointed her to do public repentance at Ardchattan, then at Kilmore, Mull and Morvern until the next diet. However, little repentance was induced from either of them, MacLean having withdrawn herself, by January 1708, to Kingairloch in Lismore. Several months later, on 15 May 1708, it was reported that MacLean had not done public repentance and had left Kingairloch to go to Mull where "she frequents the Laird of Kingerloch's [Kingairloch] family, Also at present dwells in Gealasdail in Mull." Moreover, more chickens were coming home to roost. Mary Nian Donach vc Ean vc Conachy, appearing before the Morvern session, also admitted that the child she had fathered some years ago on Duncan McConachy "dear foster brother to Mr John McCalman late Episcopal Incumbent at Morvarn" which he had taken as his own and satisfied as a fornicator on that account, was actually John MacCalman's, also conceived while she was his servant. At its meeting of 21 July 1708, the Lorn presbytery decided to enter on a process of excommunication against Janet MacLean, through the ministers of Mull and Morvern.[130]

On 13 October 1708, more than two and a half years after the proceedings concerning MacCalman had originally begun, the presbytery clerk was appointed to draw up a libel against him listing all his misdemeanours. Amongst other things, this made clear that MacLean had twice crossed from Ireland since first going there, while a subsequent meeting at Kilmore of 9 March 1709 noted that she returned a third time to Craigdurinish where MacCalman was staying, in the August of 1708, and that the child was with her. MacLean left the day after she arrived that August. The child stayed in Craigdurinish for a week, after which he was humiliatingly sent to the ferry at the foot of the Water of Awe and over to Morvern where he went up and down the country begging, each village or town sending someone to accompany him to the next settlement. As for his mother, she returned to Appin "and within a few days finding a boat there bound for Yla, went in that boat in order to go to Irland where shee had been formerly." The process of excommunication against MacLean, which had proceeded to two public citations, was suspended until the next meeting to see if there could be certain knowledge of her removal to Ireland. On 20 May 1709 this was confirmed by the ministers of Islay "who tell that they heard shee had gone through Yla and had farryed to Irland." As for MacCalman, it was decided that he was to be processed with excommunication if he did not appear at the next diet. He was also finally deposed from the ministry, having hitherto only been under suspension.[131]

It appears that the threat of excommunication was sufficiently final to break even the intransigent MacCalman who on 28 December 1709, under process, confessed his adulteries with Janet MacLean and More MacLauchlan but absolutely denied any carnal dealing with Mary Nian Donach vc Ean vc Conachy, on which he was prepared to take an oath. This at least testifies to the effectiveness of excommunication in some cases! MacCalman was appointed "to enter on the

publick profession of his repentance before the congregations of Ardchattan and Killesbuig kerill [Muckairn] in sackcloth." MacCalman's public repentance continued for the whole year, with his appearance in sackcloth for a great many sabbaths. It was reported on 6 December 1710 that "he gave such signes of his serious repentance by many tears, and sensible soul moveing expressiones" and was therefore to be received when his minister and the session saw fit.[132] MacLean doubtless remained in Ireland in the short-term but no more information was given of her or the child. Though MacCalman's social contacts with Ireland are of significance, it is clear that his contribution to the ecclesiastical heritage of the west coast was of little substance.[133]

Furthermore, it is clear that there was fairly close contact and cooperation between the two presbyterian communities in Scotland and Ireland over the subject of kirk discipline. Any offenders who fled before the sanction of the kirk session were subject to the same censure if they fled to a presybyterian community in the other country and could be identified.

V. PRESBYTERIAN COOPERATION

Ulster was still used in this period, as it had been throughout the seventeenth century, as a place of refuge by delinquents from the west coast of Scotland. Yet, due to their geographical proximity, there were particularly close ties between the presbyterian community in Antrim and that in Kintyre. The presbytery of Kintyre recorded on 27 November 1716 "that Agnes Bruce a single woman in this congregation is with child to one Henry Ker a Shoemaker in Ballimenoch [Ballymena] in Ireland and a married man which neither she nor any in the place [knew] when he came here first nor for sometime thereafter." The case was further considered on 18 January 1717. It appears that where the presbytery were fortunate enough to have particulars of the place of residence of the said offender that they took it upon themselves to follow the case through. Thus, the moderator was appointed to write to the minister of Ballymena in Antrim "acquainting him of the said Henry Ker's falling into the said sin and that he deal with him to repair to this place to give satisfaction." Similarly, with the case of Edward Armor and Elizabeth Stewart, brought before the presbytery of Kintyre again, on 3 October 1721, she was enjoined to stay in Campbeltown until the finishing of the process and to appear before the next session. However, "before it met she went off to Irland, and now resides in the parish of Dundalk there," in County Louth, the most southerly tip of Ulster. The presbytery, taking the matter in hand, wrote:

> to Mr Patrick Simson Presbyterian Minister there to use his influence to obliege the said Elizabeth Stewart to repair to this place, to which they had gotten a return, but there being no appearance of her coming hither, the session did likewise referre the whole of this process also to the Presbyterie, and produced the Extract of both processes together with Mr Simson's letter.[134]

Although there are a few examples of presbyteries in Ireland writing to Scotland, in general more contact from Ireland is documented at a Synodal level. There is one instance documented at a sessional level, however, at the meeting of the kirk session of Kilmory, isle of Arran, on 23 December 1708. The brethren recorded a letter from Mr. McCracken in County Down with regard to one "Kathren Duncanson's deserting her husband & the sessions course thair with." The session had received a letter from Mr. McCracken, minister of Lisburn in the south of Antrim regarding Kathren Duncanson who had been formerly in their parish and was "spouse to one Duncan Mcninch for present living at Lysburn in Irland, who after she had lived in the forsaid place with her said husband for the space of a whole year, afterwards deserted him and still since residing in this paroch, who also after many Invitations to return both from her husband and others she continues to refuse." The session, finding her in obvious breach of her marriage vows, appointed her to be spoken with and to return to her husband "and if she shall be found to refuse, They Appoynt the Minister to make publick Intimation of the Matter from the pulpit," using social sanction to forbid anyone in the parish from harbouring her or giving her service or charity. In the final eventuality they threatened to apply to the civil magistrate "to punish her as a perjured & disorderly person," but is is clear, with the frequency of such citations, that the civil authority, then as now, had no effective power in these fundamentally domestic cases.[135]

The incidence of citations for irregular marriage, that is, where the banns had not been proclaimed properly for three weeks in a row, or indeed, not proclaimed at all, shows that this was a general problem in both Ireland and Scotland. It was, perhaps, also more of a problem in the Gaelic-speaking areas because presbyterian clergy had to compete with itinerant priests or with people taking quick visits to Ireland where priests were prepared to marry them on the spot. Being aware of this, the ministers may have concurred in marrying irregularly in an attempt to divert business from the priests. Certainly, on 16 October 1702, the Synod of Argyll recommended to the moderator "ane master John Darroch to give in a list of Irish curats, as baptizes and marries irregularely, within there bounds, to the Justiciars and to addresse him, to take loyall methods, with such persons, and curats for marrying."[136] Clearly, the Synod was still drawing on Darroch's experience in Ireland in the 1680s to assist them.[137]

So too, legislation against irregular marriage could be used as a means of controlling the influx of politically suspect persons, few of whom were more greatly under suspicion than Irish Catholics. This was particularly obvious in 1745 when, just as control was exercised over the west coast fishing fleets by the civil authority, the Lorn presbytery drew attention to the act anent clandestine marriages.[138] Thus, on Tuesday 19 March 1745, the presbytery "takeing to serious Consideration the frequency of Clandestine marriages with in their Bounds in open Contempt of the Laws of the Realm," its members signified their firm resolution "to do all in their power to prevent such pernicious practices in their Bounds."[139]

Equally, in Scotland, people married by episcopalians who had not openly conformed at the Revolution did not have their marriages automatically ratified by the civil authority. With reference to the same practice, there is record in the Synod Minutes of Argyll for 15 May 1708 of the alleged marriage of Mr. John McKinnie and Catherine Clerk from Kilmaglash parish in the presbytery of Dunoon. McKinnie produced a certificate subscribed by a Mr. John Ross "and he being asked how he knew that the said pretended Mr. Ross was a minister or in any capacity to mary him with the said woman, he answered that he was weel acquainted with him and knew him to be the Archbishop of St Andrews Chaplain, and that he was going to the Kingdome of Ireland." Not only is this further evidence for the movement of episcopalians to Ireland,[140] but is a later example of the long-standing connection of ministers from St. Andrew's and Ireland which began in the early seventeenth century.[141] The Synod, nevertheless, suspected Mr. Ross who was clearly not a presbyterian, even though "the said Master John was once Reputed a minister."[142] No conclusion was arrived at, the matter being referred to the next Synod. They were to document their marriage civilly and if they did not, were to be proceeded against as fornicators. In the absence of future reference to the case, it appears that they, in some way, satisfied the Synod.

Another aspect of the session's work was to provide testimonials when people changed parishes. These certificates of transference, requested when people moved congregations, were in the form of personal histories, sometimes detailed from infancy, to indicate whether the person concerned was free from discipline or not.[143] A few notices of such testimonials appear in the record, in both Ireland and Scotland, dating from the early eighteenth century. The Irish examples indicate that even if it was still possible to escape to Ireland as a fugitive, that this form of vetting had not become a dead letter within the presbyterian community there. Thus, in the parish of Larne and Kilwaughter in Antrim on Thursday 20 February 1701, was "produced a testimonial of one Cathren Murtach from Arran dated the 9th of May 1693 signed by Mr Archibald M'Clane Minister and by Patrick Hamiltone, John Stewart elder and James Hamilton elder."[144] The following instance, where the surname indicates a possible Bute inhabitant (though this is not specified), shows what could happen in the absence of a testimonial. "After prayer the Session came to consideration of one Matt Stewart who had a child to be baptised and having no certificate from Scotland where he formerly resided. Resolves the child should be presented by a Sponsor and have Baptism administered upon the parents promise of bringing a Certificate."[145]

The insistence on testimonials from a person's previous parish was equally upheld in Scotland. On 12 November 1712 the Rothesay session reported the case of one "Robert Wallace, a young man born in the parish of Ballentoy in Ireland and now living in this parish" who "presented a testificate of his good behaviour there and the paper being somewhat lacerate and worn desired it might be recorded here that he might have access to a new testificate if he should happen to remove again." This was an indication of the value generally laid on such a document, and the session certainly

saw the request as reasonable. The book then recorded the tenor of this particular testimonial, which is worthy of note as an example of its kind: "These are to certify that the bearer, Robert Wallace, was born in the parish of Ballentoy where he has almost constantly lived hitherto and has behaved himself modestly as becoming one of his age without any kind of reproach, as witnesseth my hand, August 1st, 1712, *Sic subscribitur*, JOHN MARTIN."[146] Yet, it must cynically be wondered how easy it was to counterfeit such documents, illiteracy notwithstanding, or to enforce their requirement at times of high migration and political disturbance?

A. Shared resources

Not only were members of congregations as well as ministers shared between the two countries but also literary resources in a stylised Irish that the educated ministers of both communities could understand, but which was not so accessible to the general community. It was in the late seventeenth century that work began to bring the Bible to Highlanders in a vernacular Gaelic which they could understand. In this they were far behind the Irish who had had a translation of the New Testament translated by Walsh and Kearney and published by Nehemiah Donellan since 1603. In comparison, the first New Testament in vernacular Gaelic did not appear until outwith the remit of this thesis, in 1767.[147] Similarly, the work of William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore in Ireland[148] ensured a translation of the Old Testament in Irish, although this did not come to fruition until 1686, some 44 years after his death. The Highlanders did not receive an Old Testament in Scots Gaelic until 1801, while the appearance of the first fully combined Gaelic Bible was not until 1826.[149] Both the Irish testaments were in Irish as opposed to Roman script. Moreover, it is a pertinent comment on how threatened the Protestant community felt by the Catholics in Ireland that Dr. Andrew Sall, who worked on the printing of the Irish Bible, saw fit to complain to the Hon. Robert Boyle, son of the Earl of Cork, also involved in the printing of Irish scriptures, that he had incurred a good deal of ill-will as well as threats for his work.[150]

The man largely responsible for classical Gaelic translation in Scotland was the episcopal minister, the Rev. Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle, who having translated the first complete metrical Psalter in classical Gaelic, was not unsuited for the task.[151] In the Psalter's dedication to Lord John Murray, Marquess of Atholl, Kirk stated that the work was intended "For assisting of our sagacious Scottish Irish people in their public or private Devotions; specially, seeing experience tells us that this their maternal Tongue either in Ireland or Scotland, is not easily abolisht by the contiguity and commixture of another language, which no doubt is well understood by the present worthy and Laborious Translators of the H. Bible in Irish."[152] This emphasised the current ministerial understanding that scriptures in the classical language were a valuable joint resource for both Irish and Scottish Gaelic speakers. Even if they were not in the preferable vernacular translation, they

were still more readily understandable, with ministerial interpretation, than the scriptures in English.

However, the responsibility of relaying the first scriptures to the Highlanders, involved two other protagonists, namely, the Rev. James Kirkwood, an exiled Scottish episcopalian in England, and the Hon. Robert Boyle, son of the Earl of Cork. Born in Dunbar, Kirkwood was not a Gaelic speaker, but his first appointment after qualifying as a minister was as chaplain to Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, Earl of Caithness. He then held two Lowland parishes, but appears to have travelled to both England and Ireland on being outed from the parish of Minto for refusing the Test Act in November 1681. It was, perhaps, this visit to Ireland which deepened in him a resolve to provide scriptures in a language which Highlanders could understand. Undoubtedly it was the acquaintance he made, at this time, of Robert Boyle which allowed him to carry through his initiative, for Boyle had the financial resources to give practical shape to Kirkwood's desire. Soon after he gained the living of the rectory of Astwick in Bedfordshire in March 1684, work on Kirkwood's initiative began. Boyle had recently reprinted Bedell's Irish Bible and Donellan's New Testament in Irish type at his own expense, and he offered to provide copies of the quarto Old Testaments to be sent to Scotland "to see what reception they might meet with there." 207 Bibles, that is, one for each parish, arrived in Edinburgh into the charge of Colin Campbell of Carwhin, writer to the signet, in Edinburgh, in July 1688. However, the management of their distribution devolved on Robert Kirk.[153]

Kirk, as a friend of Kirkwood's, was at this time corresponding with him about a catechism produced by the Rev. Lawrence Charteris, presbyterian minister and Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University, which Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor had translated into Gaelic. This amply illustrates that upper class involvement was not simply at a financial level. So too, although the Catechism was corrected and re-worked by Kirk, it was Sir Hugh Campbell who attended the printing of 3,000 copies in London, financed once again, by the benevolence of Boyle.[154] Although Kirk took great pains to establish that the Bibles were the property of the parish itself, nevertheless Carwhin allowed many of them to be alienated for personal use.[155]

However, Kirk is best remembered for implementation of his design that the Bible should be printed not in Irish but in Roman script and freely distributed, so that the minister might have an informed audience. He managed to fund the project through the support of the generosity of Robert Boyle and other English benefactors, such as Dr. Stillingfleet, the bishop elect of Worcester, who gave 10 Guineas in spite of his reservations. Some Scots also helped, the Countess of Cassillis and Gairntully, for instance, giving £10 sterling. Kirk transcribed Bedell's and Donellan's Testaments in just over a year, taking the manuscript to London for printing in the summer of 1689. By 1 April 1690 the Bibles were printed. The print run extended to 3000 Bibles, 1000 Testaments

and 3000 Catechisms. Unfortunately, Kirk died on 14 May 1692, before the distribution was completed in 1706.[156] The session of Kingarth noted the receipt of its kirk Bible as well as Bibles for use of the congregation, on 26 July 1696, stating that:

> About this time was given (by donation of the honourable, pious and learned Robert Boyle, son to the Earle of Corck, etc., in Ireland, a principall member of the Royall Societie, an big Irish Bible in the proper character bestowed on the parish Church of Kingarth in Bute to continue there as a Church Bible for the use of the present minister and for the behoof of all the ministers who shall succeed him in that parish), as also twentie small Irish bibles in the Romane Character for the use of the parishioners.[157]

After Kirk's death, Kirkwood continued to further the use of the Irish Bible in Scotland. He was particularly insistent that it be used in schools as the most effective method of evangelisation. To that end, in 1697, he published his *Answer to the Objection against Printing the Bible in Irish, as being Prejudicial to the Design of Extirpating the Irish Language out of the Highlands of Scotland.'* He was also forceful in his counter-attack when a projected reprinting of the Irish Bible in 1703 was opposed by George Meldrum, a member of the Highland libraries committee. Meldrum pointed out that the Irish translation was little understood which had a certain validity. However, Kirkwood's argument that although many Irish words were not understood in the Highlands there were equally many words which were used in Argyll and the Isles which were "not vulgarly known nor used in other counties," as indeed there were even many words in the English Bible which were not understood in the contemporary vernacular, was equally valid.[158]

Devotional texts also travelled in the other direction, from Scotland to Ireland. On Tuesday 7 August 1722, the Synod of Argyll, considering that the Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism were not yet printed "and that there is a Generall expectation from the highlands of Scotland and many in Ireland, that the printing thereof might be expede without loss of time," they, therefore, appointed Mr. Duncan Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan, to go to Edinburgh to attend the press for that end, as soon as he got word from John Campbell, late Lord provost of Edinburgh.[159]

The SSPCK also operated in Ireland (as well as England) and members of the Society in Scotland seemed well aware of the work proceeding in Ireland.[160] Moreover, a manuscript survives, which shows that the Society sought to emulate the success of manufactures and industry undertaken in Ireland, in the Highlands of Scotland. From its formation in 1708, much of the Society's work in Scotland was carried out in the Highlands and the economic changes wrought in some areas of Ulster doubtless served as a useful example for improvement in the Highlands. Since the time of the plantation many areas of Ulster, fertile in terms of land and settlers, had been significantly improved agriculturally and industrially, while its ports attracted business from Britain, the

continent and America. Its economy was undoubtedly more buoyant than that of the Highlands. The document stated that the progress of the Society "did encourage Our Nighbours in Ireland and attempt to follow our Example, with an addition to imploy their Schollars in Manufacture Agricultur and Industry, which is most necessary in Sco'land as well as thair." It also stated the Society's intention to pursue the purposes of its new charter as advertised in the newspapers, and thus, they "also wrote to presbytries to acquaint heritors and others in their Bounds thairof, and to Deale with them to Contribute and give their assistance and Concurrence in so good a work, as we find is done in Ireland." They admitted, however, that "we find very little encouradgement given this way in Scotland Except what is offerred by His Grace the Duke of Gordon," who had given them some land in Lochaber. This presumably refers to Cosmo George, the third Duke of Gordon, who was the first Duke to be raised a Protestant, and therefore dates the document to some time after 1728 when he succeeded his father.[161] The presbyteries were asked to approach likely heritors in their boundaries who would be willing to assist the Society "and desire you to consider the abovementioned encouradgment given in Irland, and to acquaint the Society what ground they will give aither in Few or Leases and how much and quhair and upon what termes and what assistance they will give in furnishing convenient houses and accommodations for prosecuting the designe of the forsaid characters." The heritors in Ireland were said to furnish ground "Some in perpetuity, some in Long Leases for Agriculture, sowing Flax, and Gardening, And for Manufacture, and many thair, give annuall support to this Excellent designe."[162] Clearly, however, the reaction had not been very quick for this was the third letter written to the presbyteries desiring a list of those heritors' who were prepared to work with the members of the presbyteries in erecting schools and facilitating manufacture and improvement.[163]

Not only was there cooperation and exchange of knowledge between members of the SSPCK in Scotland and Ireland but also support for religious instruction and moral improvement between members of the presbyterian communities, though this was extended largely by Highlanders to the presbyterians in Ulster rather than vice-versa.

B. Highland presbyterian missionary work among the native Irish

At the end of the seventeenth century, approximately half the congregations in the Dublin presbytery had firm links with the Ulster Synod, although the presbytery was not officially connected to it. There was frequent correspondence with regard to missionary work among the Irish-speaking population. At the General Synod at Antrim on 5 July 1699, it was signified that the Dublin brethren:

> had a mind to visit the Upper Country, by Preaching, & therefore judged it would be convenient that this Synod would appoint one or two of their number to preach in the Irish Tongue to go along with

> 'em, or any they shall appoint for this Work, so that, while they from Dublin are preaching to the British, the Person or Persons sent by this Synod may be exercised in preaching among the Irish.

The suggestion was approved and the presbytery of Tyrone was appointed to send Mr. Archibald MacLean for some time when the ministers of Dublin called him. His charges were to be met out of the *Regium Donum*.[164] Although, in the event they did not call him, nevertheless, it is worthy of note that this Argyll-born minister was considered one of the best exponents of the Irish language in his time.[165] It is also equally evident that the presbyterian church in Ulster had as large a problem in finding Irish-speaking ministers to evangelise the Irish-speaking natives as the Scots. Therefore, even at this late juncture, they appear to have been partly reliant on attracting Gaelic speakers from Scotland.

Indeed, the majority of references in the Irish record to Mr. Archibald MacLean, minister of Markethill, are in connection with missionary work in the Irish language. The Synod broached the subject at length in an overture about preaching to the Irish, on 21 June 1710, which recognised "the earnest Desire of all true Protestants that the Ghospel may be propogated in its Purity, and particularly that the Papists may be converted." However, appreciating that desires were not sufficient and "to the End that such Prayers may be accompany'd with Suitable Endavours among us," the Synod resolved to employ some ministers to preach to the Irish. They refer to having had this intention for some time, which indeed had been minuted in earlier years, "but the Smallness of our Number, and especially of such as understood the Irish Tongue, has in a great Measure obstructed the Execution of it - at least confin'd it much more than we desir'd." However, since their numbers had augmented over the years, they now found themselves in a better position to undertake such work, especially since there were now several who understood Irish. Those specified as having the Irish language were "Mr McClane, Mr McGrigor, Mr Humpry Thompson, Mr Samuel Dunlop, Mr John Wilson, Mr Archibald Boyd, Ministers, with Mr Higginbothom, Mr Plunket, Mr John Dunlop, Probationers."[166]

A certain strategy had to be adopted for such missionary work. The missionaries were to be sent out in groups of two, comprising a minister and a probationer. The Synod was to assure that the minister's charge was supplied in his absence, and they were to preach in English or Irish as the occasion dictated. Bibles, Confessions of Faith and Catechisms were to be produced for the work, all of which were now available in Irish. Each pair was to work amongst the Irish for three months on a salary of 20s per week, for which every minister was to use his interest to obtain a fund for this good work, and it was hoped that the Dublin brethren would support this. In addition, every presbytery was to "endavour to obtain Irish hopefull Youths, who may be educated in our Way, thereby they may be usefull for obtaining this Desireable End."[167]

However, the next reference to missionary work amongst the Irish does not come until some years later on 19 June 1716. On this occasion the initiative was from the presbytery of Dublin who wrote to the Synod of Ulster "earnestly pressing us to joyn them in the use of all proper means for the conversion of the Irish Papists." The proposition was concurred with. Once again, those ministers who had the Irish language were listed, it being further mentioned that some work was required for all of them to reach preaching standard. Several new ministers and some probationers were also appended - "Mr Charles Lyle, nigh to Straban ... Mr Robert Thompson of Belturbet, Ministers, and Mr Robert Stuart in Tyrone Presbytery, Mr Samuel Irwin in Monahan Presbytery, Probationers" as well as Mr. Patrick Simpson at Dundalk, the only minister to be included amongst those who "have oft preacht in Irish." Patrick Simpson, like MacLean, was also an Argyll man. It is surely significant that out of the three who were said to have preached a great deal in Irish, two were Highlanders, while the third was the Irishman Mr. James McGregor of Aghadoey in Derry who was clearly of Scottish descent and had, moreover, been licensed by the Route presbytery, an area of marked Highland settlement.[168] This tends to indicate the maintenance of thriving Scottish Gaelic communities in Ulster. These had certainly been in existence in the 1690s when the Church of Ireland had employed some outed Scottish episcopalians to preach in Ulster, and were clearly still unassimilated by the second decade of the eighteenth century.

On this occasion, perhaps owing to the stimulus of the 1715, the action was to be well planned and coordinated. A committee of nine brethren was appointed, largely composed of English speakers except for Samuel Dunlop of Letterkenny in County Donegal and Mr. Humphrey Thompson of Ballybay in County Monaghan who were to meet with ministers from Dublin at Newry and at Dungannon in Armagh when they had discussed the matter themselves. In addition, those brethren who were enjoined to improve their Irish were to be erected into two societies for that purpose. The first was to meet for the first time at Dungiven in County Londonderry and the second, of which both Mr. MacLean and Mr. Simpson were members, was to meet for the first time at Armagh in County Armagh. They were to meet at least once every two months until the next General Synod.[169]

At the same Synod Patrick Simpson was appointed to preach in Irish in Dublin for three months, returning every month to supply his own congregation for one Sunday. This tends to indicate that Dublin was either not endowed with an Irish-speaking minister at this juncture, or could not cope with the number of native speakers. McGregor, Higginbotham and MacLean, probably being less in need of practice, were appointed to preach in Irish in such places as the presbytery deemed most necessary, and were to be paid 20s a week. Moreover, it was ordered "that a Charity School be set up at Dundalk for teaching to read Irish, and that each of our Presbyteries give twenty shillings towards it." This, significantly, was Mr. Simpson's parish. Although no indication is given as to whether he would be providing the teaching or not, it seems likely that he would, especially

considering that the Synod also ordered the printing of the Catechism in Irish in June 1716, "with a little short Irish Grammer of a leaf or two subjoyn'd to it." This was to be printed in Dublin, and Patrick Simpson was to oversee the press. Simpson was clearly a scholar, as well as proficient preacher. Every minister was to subscribe and pay for 30 copies of this book. By June of 1717, Simpson reported that the grammar had been finished with assistance from an Irishmen, there being by this time significant differences between vernacular Irish and Gaelic, but that "because it was some time before it could be got well translated" the Irish Catechism had not yet been printed.[170]

Enthusiasm for the Irish Language Societies obviously did not run deep. The Dungiven Society met on the first day but aside from Mr. Higginbottam, did not meet after the first appointment. As for the Armagh Society, Mr. MacLean, minister, said that he had not been alerted to the first appointment but that they met again when he had preached before them. After that, they too had not met any more. Nevertheless, some progress had been made on an individual level which was ultimately where the effort was required, for it was reported that "Mr Samuel Dunlop has improv'd so much in the Irish Language, that he can now preach in it. Mr Lynd and Mr Strawbride can read it. Mr Higginbotham has preacht oft in Irish since the Synod." Thus, in spite of the difficulties of strategic organisation involved in such meetings, the Irish Committee of the Synod overtured that the two Irish Societies be continued and were to meet in August, the first at Derry, where Mr. Dunlop was to preach and the second at Armagh, where Mr. Simpson was to preach. Thereafter they were to meet quarterly. By the Synod of 29 June 1720, however, it was reported that they still did not meet.[171]

The second Archibald MacLean, Argyll probationer, must have arrived some time after the Ulster Synod of June 1716, for he was not present at it. He was employed as an itinerant preacher, under the direction of a committee of Synod, while those Irish presbyterians who spoke Irish were assigned to particular districts.[172] Unfortunately no record exists of the areas in which he preached, rather the Synod was more concerned with various aspects of his maintenance. Thus, on 18 June 1717, it was reported that Convoy, Derry and Monaghan had "not paid their Quota to Mr Archbald Macclane, Probationer from Argyle." At the same Synod, MacLean also desired that testimonials might be given to him since he designed to return to his own country. Whether this was because he was struggling to maintain himself or whether he had completed his allotted stint, is not clarified, but the Synod inevitably overtured that "endeavours be us'd to keep Mr Macclane, Probationer, in the Countrey, in order to his preaching among the Irish." Financial compensation was the point at issue. However, it was agreed that MacLean was to receive £40 per year, to be paid quarterly, in which case he was to provide himself with a house. "By this means the people where he goes, and himself, will be more easy."[173]

One of the obvious means used to detain him was to write to the Synod of Argyll for their concurrence in MacLean's remaining with them. The Argyll Synod of 8 August 1717 recorded the receipt of a letter from the General Synod of Ulster signifying that MacLean had gone to Ireland according to the Synod's appointment, and that "he acquitted himself every way to their great satisfaction." They went on to desire that the Synod of Argyll would not hinder him if he chose to stay in Ulster until the next Irish Synod. Since MacLean was not present at the Argyll Synod and that they did not, therefore, know his inclination in the affair, they appointed Mr. James Getty to write to him to intimate his personal inclination to the presbytery of Kintyre. Mr. Dugald Campbell, junior, was to reply to the Synod of Ulster "to signify this Synods readiness to give all the assistance they can to them in so good a work."[174] A letter was produced from Archibald Maclean which was referred to the Committee of Overtures. The contents were not revealed, but MacLean continued in Ireland, perhaps as a result of the new financial arrangements extended to him. Nevertheless, promises, as ever, were easily made, and though he may have stayed for a while, MacLean had returned to Scotland by the Ulster Synod of 1718.[175]

At the Synod of 18 June 1717 it was overtured with respect to the other Archibald MacLean, former minister of Kilmaglass in Argyll, that he "preach in part of the County of Ardmagh, Monahan, and Tyrone, at Benburb, Dungennan, Stewarton, Cookestown, and Minterbirn, Kinaird, VeniCash, LoghGall, Kedy, and Monahan town." He was to agree with his own presbytery when to go and to have his own congregation supplied. As for Mr. Simpson, he was "to preach in any place of the County of Downe where he may have an Irish congregation and audience; in any part of the County of Ardmagh not allotted to M^{r} Macclane; as also in part of the County of Monaghan." It is obvious from these very large allocations how much of the burden of Irish preaching was left to these Highlanders. More significantly, perhaps, it was stipulated that "the Ministers in whose congregations the Irish sermons are to be should carefully visit the Irish after such sermons, in order to promote their conversion."[176]

It is clear that the mission to the native Irish was taken very seriously, for efforts were also made at the Synod of 1717 to reduce the size of two frontier presbyteries which contained the greatest number of Irish-speaking Catholics. These presbyteries suffered from too large and too scattered congregations so that the ministers found it hard to fulfil the appointments made for them by the presbytery as well as overseeing such a vast district. Indeed, the complaint might as easily have come from a Highland parish. Fortunately, in the same way as the Scottish Kirk felt able to subdivide some of its more unwieldy presbyteries, such as that of the Outer Hebrides or Long Island in 1742 or as it had created the Synod of Glenelg in 1724, so too, the Ulster Synod divided the presbytery of Monaghan into the presbyteries of Augher and Longford, and Convoy into the presbyteries of Strabane and Letterkenny. Unfortunately, although the latter division remained, the

former two had to be expediently reunited after six years, doubtless because sub-division had not ensured more ministers.[177]

By 17 June 1718 missionary efforts undertaken by the presbytery of Antrim were bearing fruit "amongst the Irish Papists of Killilagh and Killmakevat." The precise location of these areas is not stated, but there is a Killyleagh in County Down, and a Kilmakevoge in Kilkenny in Leinster.[178] Although the major work had been done by Mr. Abernethy, the Synod, out of "concern for the welfare of their souls, and, for their further encouragement," appointed the Irish-speaking Archibald MacLean and Patrick Simpson to go and consolidate the conversion, which they did. The presbytery of Dublin and the Synod of Ulster continued to co-operate in their missionary work. The Synod of June 1717 commissioned a letter to the presbytery of Dublin requesting it to share some of the necessary costs of the mission. So too, an overture was laid before the Synod on 22 June 1719 regarding the supply of the Highlanders and Irish in Dublin and its environs with preachers in their own language. It had received a petition from the Highlanders and others in Dublin recommended by the presbytery there, as well as a commission from the Highlanders to Mr. McNeill and others he thought fit to consult regarding the petition. Thus, "having an account of fifty pounds per annum bequeath'd by Dr Williams for the Encouragment of an Irish Preacher, and fifty pound sent by Mr Reynolds and Mr Evans, Ministers in London, which fifty pound is now in Dublin, besides considerable sums expected for the same use," the Synod approved of the petition and decided to do all it could to encourage the plans.[179]

Accordingly, Mr. Simpson was one of three ministers appointed to go to Dublin, where they were to spend three months in turn preaching in Irish to the Highlanders and others that might join them. The next Synod of 21 June 1720 reported that they had duly fulfilled their appointment. Four of the Dublin ministers were to aid progress of the work by meeting "with other dissenting Ministers in Dublin, and other Gentlemen that are willing to engage in this work, in a Society, to prepare a place and make what other provision is necessary to begin the said preaching in Irish the first Lords's day in August." In the following year, on 29 June 1720, it was noted that "The Society for preparing what is necessary for the preaching in Irish have a commodious place for these preachings." So, too, another petition was received from "the Highlanders and Irish Papists who attend the preaching of the Gospel in Irish in and about the City of Dublin," where they regarded that there was a prospect of winning souls. Once again, Simpson and the same two Irishmen were appointed to go to Dublin to preach in Irish to the Highlanders and native Irish.[180]

Conclusion

What is most interesting to note is the extent of the dependence of the Irish Church on Scottish episcopalian and presbyterian settlers during the early part of this period, and certainly pre-1720. This can be explained initially by conditions during the Restoration period which, if not outrightly hostile, were inconducive to the tolerance of presbyterianism. Following the Revolution, this balance began to be redressed by the influx of Scottish episcopalians. Yet, the situation was still markedly different in Ireland than in Scotland where, in the former, presbyterians had the status of dissenters. In terms of the translation of Gaelic and Irish-speakers between the two communities, the movement was largely in one direction, namely from Scotland to Ireland. Although the Church of Ireland could possibly be castigated for insufficient attention to provision of an Irish-speaking mission to the native Irish, the presbyterian church there compared favourably. This is, perhaps, largely because it also maintained close links with the Scottish Kirk which made distinct efforts to improve a similar situation in the Highlands and Islands. The dearth of accomplished Irish-speakers in the presbyterian church in Ireland probably arose as a result of a combination of factors. These include the large numbers of Lowland presbyterians in the Ulster church, the general lack of enough competent Irish-speaking ministers in either country, as well as lower conversion rates from the native Irish simply because the presbyterian church did not have legal status in Ireland. What is more significant was that Highland ministers went to Ireland at all, given the profound problems which the Kirk had in addressing its own deficiencies in the Highlands and Islands. Indeed, there is very little evidence of movement from Ireland to Scotland, except of those ministers who were of Highland origin in the first place.

In contrast, there is no evidence of ministerial translation from Scotland to Ireland, in the last four decades of this period, except in a social capacity. This undoubtedly reflects a self-suffiency within the Irish presbyterian church which was by then amply able to supply its own congregations, and to expand under the auspices of a moderate degree of legal toleration by the Irish establishment. For, up to, and during the early part of the period under consideration, the presbyterian church in Ulster had still been regarded very much as an offshoot of the mother Church in Scotland. Many ministers in the Irish Synod had been licentiates of the Scottish Church and educated in Scottish universities, and had readily followed the same system of discipline and government. Until the early eighteenth century the Irish branch of the church still agreed with the doctrinal views of the Church in Scotland and showed no digression from the constitutional principles of presbyterianism as practised in Scotland.[181] What is apparent by the end of the period, however, is that, in Ireland, the presbyterian church had come of age and cut its umbilical cord with Scotland.

During the early eighteenth century, particularly following the 1715, the Kirk in Scotland began to make a concerted effort to deal with what it saw as the profound problem of Catholic infiltration in

certain areas of the Highlands and Islands. It attempted, but not with total success, to plant ministers in vacant parishes bordering on Catholic districts, as well as to send missionaries to Catholic districts for several months in the summer season.[182] Indeed, a comparison of the numbers of Protestant ministers who went as missionaries to Ireland during this period, that is, six episcopalians and five or six presbyterians, compares very unfavourably with the numbers of Irish priests in, or sent to, the Highlands during the same time. From 1690 to 1760 there were, by comparison, at least 31 Irish Catholic missionaries working in the Highlands and Islands, as well as an unnamed lay Capuchin in 1695 who was, in all probability, also Irish as were most of the missionaries at that time.[183] That is, there were nearly three times as many Catholic missionaries in Scotland as there were Protestant missionaries in Ireland, though there may have been more who survived unrecorded in both cases. By the end of the period, the Kirk was beginning to reap the fruit of its effort in the Highlands and Islands. Particularly following the '45 rebellion, it accrued more support from the civil authorities as well as continuing its efforts to provide the area with Gaelic-speaking ministers. By 1760 the Kirk no longer felt so threatened by the Catholic community and, though not eradicated, it was left more to its own devices.[184]

NOTES

1. William Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present,* (Edinburgh, 1968), pp. 103, 107; J. C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923,* (London, 1969), pp. 149-52, 157.
2. James Seaton Reid, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* 3 vols., (London, Dublin and Belfast, 1837), II, pp. 464-65. For the list see Appendix no. XX, pp. 519-20.
3. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 13-14; *Irish Fasti,* p. 87.
4. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 101.
5. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 21-24, 66, 90-91; A. C. Anderson, *The Story of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* (Newcastle, (Co. Down), 1965), p. 52; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 101.
6. See Chapter 7, section III C. Highland ministers in Ireland from the Cromwellian occupation to the Revolution, 1650-1689.
7. William Ferguson, 'The problems of the Established Church in the West Highlands and Islands in the Eighteenth Century,' *RSCHS*, 17, (1969), pp. 16-21; Victor E. Durkacz, 'The Church of Scotland's Eighteenth-Century attitudes to Gaelic preaching,' *SGS*, 13, part 2, (1981), p. 146.
8. See later section I, The significance of Jacobitism.
9. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 92-103, 131-32, 138; Anderson, pp. 57-61.
10. See below, section III A. Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism.
11. 'The Church of Scotland's Eighteenth-Century attitudes to Gaelic preaching,' pp. 147-50, 153.
12. W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region,* (London and New York, 1988), p. 136.
13. 'The Church of Scotland's Eighteenth-Century attitudes to Gaelic preaching,' p. 154.
14. Highlanders undoubtedly first settled here in trading and commercial capacities. See Chapter 13.
15. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 138-41; Anderson, pp. 61-62.
16. Reid, III, (1853), p. 209. The background to the presbytery of Dublin should be briefly noted here. In 1696, a union had been effected between the presbyterian and independent congregations of Leinster and Munster which had led to the formation of the presbytery of Munster. The Dublin presbyterian ministers had linked with this presbytery to form the 'southern association.' By 1716, there were six presbyterian congregations in Dublin, which can be placed in two divisions. Moreover, it appears that some Dublin ministers were members both of the southern association as well as the Synod of Ulster. The Capel Street, Plunket Street and Usher's Quay congregations were distinctive, for the purpose under view, for having been in connection with the Synod of Ulster and moreover, having been under the charge of the presbytery of Belfast. The Wood Street, New Row and Cook Street congregations, on the other hand, though nominally presbyterian and meeting as a presbytery, were basically independents. Although all the Dublin ministers met together in a meeting which they called a presbytery, it was more technically an association or 'ministerial conference,' for it did not seek to exercise any presbyterial authority over its members. In 1726, at the time of the non-subscription controversy, the latter three congregations joined with six other dissenting congregations in the principal towns in the South to form the presbytery of Dublin,

afterwards called the southern presbytery of Dublin, though their ecclesiastical views were more congregational than presbyterian. The subscribing ministers of the south, on the other hand, established the presbytery of Dublin which came under the jurisdicition of the Synod of Ulster. (Reid, III, (1853), footnotes to pp. 209, 237; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 99.)

17. See section V B, Highland presbyterian missionary work among the native Irish.
18. Reid, III, (1853), p. 215.
19. *Scotland 1689 to the Present,* pp. 110-11, 121-22.
20. 'The Problems of the Established Church,' p. 22-23.
21. *Scotland 1689 to the Present,* pp. 113-14.
22. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 230-31; Anderson, p. 64.
23. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 239-40, 248-327; Anderson, pp. 65-67; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 103. A similar situation occurred in Dublin, for which see footnote 16, above.
24. Anderson, p. 67; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 102.
25. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, II, 1721-1777,* (Belfast, 1897), p. 157.
26. Anderson, p. 67.
27. SRO CH2/273/1, Mull presbytery, 1729-1762, fol. 40. The presbytery were sympathetic to Erskine's view, advising its commissioners: "'Tis our Advice you side the most Moderate Party, with respect to Mr Erskin's Affair; as it is our Opinion, That if he be Chargeable with Nothing, but Defending the Rights of the Christian People, in the Choice of their Pastor, he ought to be treated with all Tenderness & Charity, by such as Differ from him and his adherents. "
28. Anderson, p. 71.
29. Rev. D. H. Whiteford, 'Jacobitism as a Factor in Presbyterian Episcopalian Relationships in Scotland 1689-90,' part 1, *RSCHS*, 16, (1966-68), pp. 137-39; *Scotland 1689 to the present*, p. 102; 'The problems of the Established Church,' p. 18.
30. Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843,* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 16.
31. Rev. D. H. Whiteford, 'Jacobitism as a Factor in Presbyterian Episcopalian Relationships in Scotland 1689-1714,' part II, *RSCHS*, 16, (1966-68), pp. 188, 193-94, 201.
32. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 123-24.
33. *Scotland 1689 to the Present,* p. 119.
34. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 203-04. The Establishment was anxious at this time, to secure both the loyalty and the numerical strength of the presbyterians and passed resolutions in the Commons which exempted those who had taken a commission in the army or militia from prosecution under the Test Act, even though the Test Act was not itself repealed until 1780.
35. He wrote on 9 April 1716 that "It is then surely for the public safety that there should be no law to hinder the protestants of this countrey to unite against our common enemy. The body of our dissenters consist of the middling and meaner sort of people, chiefly in the north, and in the north there are not many of them

estated men when compared with those of the Established Church, so that when their disabilities shall be taken off their want of fortune, and interest, will always hinder them from coming into the militia in any invidious or dangerous numbers, so that by the passing that part of the law before you as it relates to the militia we shall be strengthened with their hands without endangering the public peace." He did not, however, feel the same way about their entry into the army, which clause, if passed, "would be very highly to the prejudice of the king and his service." (PRONI T448, fols. 280-81.)

36. See section V B, Highland presbyterian missionary work among the native Irish.

37. See below, the case of Mr. William Brodie, section III B, Highland presbyterian ministers in Ireland: Case studies.

38. As shown in Chapter 7, it was assumed that those ministers who spoke Gaelic and were, thus, culturally assimilated to the Gaelic cause, were one step nearer to being politically disaffected. A prime example is the case of Mr. James Stewart, Gaelic-speaking minister of Kingarth in Bute, which was reported by the presbytery of Dunoon on 23 and 24 April 1746. At the time of the '45 rebellion Stewart seems to have uttered expressions which were regarded as politically suspect. According to the evidence when he read the 'Commissions Seasonable Warning and Exhortation' regarding the rebellion, he appears to have attempted to modify it with his own comments. With the benefit of hindsight, these comments seem perfectly suitable for a man of the cloth, and were basically an exhortation for moderation. Some amongst the many complaints, for instance, were that he had said "That there was much more noise made of Robberies and Disturbances they were making than he believed to be true," as also that "there was a great noise made that they were to bring in Popery amongst us but he thought they were in no Danger at this time Nor did he think it in a kings power to do so." Furthermore, he "could not believe that the harsh Names there given applicable to the unfortunate NobleMen and GentleMen engaged in the unnatural and unhappy Rebell Army, that they should be called without Distinction, Robbers, the Practisers of open Violence, Men of no Property themselves and the Constant Invaders of the Property of others Tho he believes inded there are many of the common People in that unnatural Army who deserve these Names." Finally, it seems eminently sensible that he "Advised them to sit still as the safest way and not to take up Arms at this time." However, the presbytery's decision to consult the General Assembly on the matter with a view to proceeding to a formal libel against him, indicates the extent of their fear. On 10 June 1746 Stewart was suspended "from the Exercise of all the parts of the Ministerial Office." He was, nonetheless, subsequently restored, for he was chosen as moderator on 12 November 1751. (SRO CH2/111/5, Presbytery of Dunoon, 1737-1761, fols. 92, 94, 97, 99, 153.)

39. SRO CH2/568/1, Minutes of the Synod of Glenelg, 1725-1749, fols. 148-49. For "Irish preacher" read Gaelic-speaking preacher.

40. SRO CH2/568/1, fol. 150.

41. *Fasti,* IV, p. 130.

42. British Library Add. Ms. 35,447, Hardwicke Papers, XCIX, fol. 151.

43. Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878,* (Montrose, 1970), p. 150.

44. BL Add. Ms. 35,447, fol. 153. When the Clanranalds abandoned Catholicism in the eighteenth century, although they were not personally hostile to their Catholic tenants their factors had artfully supplanted and ejected them, replacing them with Protestants from North Uist, Skye and Harris, while the Catholics were expatriated to friendlier parts. (Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, *Journal and Appendix to the Scotichronicon and Monasticon,* I, (Glasgow, 1847), p. 626.) It therefore appears that the majority of these settlers were from the Isles.
45. BL Add. Ms. 35,447, fol. 153.
46. Reid, III, (1853), p. 15.
47. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I, 1691-1720,* (Belfast, 1890), p. 5.
48. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 13.
49. Reid, II, (1837), Appendix, no. XX, pp. 519-20.
50. In addition to these two, a further 23 ministers remained in Scotland, one of these returning to Ireland in 1695. See Reid, III, (1853), p. 18.
51. SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, 1655-1706, fol. 68.
52. 'The Problems of the Established Church,' pp. 18-19.
53. *Fasti,* IV, p. 94. He died in the following year, 1698, and if this was the same man, he may have been seeking to return to his native land in this knowledge.
54. *Fasti,* IV, p. 23. There is evidence that some of these ministers were actually assisted in their flight to Ireland, as documented on 13 June 1696 when the Faculty of Advocates considered "a petitione given in to the Faculty by Mr. John Park sometyme minister at Carriden that the petitioner being to goe to Ireland where he is hopefull to obtain freedome to preach the gospell and haveing nothing to support him in his intended journey nor to maintain his wife and numerous family and therfor begging the Faculty would extend some of their charity for his releife, the Dean and Faculty allow the petitioner £30 for his reliefe and ordain their thesaurer to make payment to him therof." (John MacPherson Pinkerton (editor), *The Minute Book of the Faculty of Advocates I, 1661-1712,* Stair Society, 31, (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 169.)
55. *Fasti,* IV, p. 56.
56. *Fasti,* IV, p. 62; J. B. Craven (editor), *Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles 1560-1860,* (Kirkwall, 1907), pp. 151, 166.
57. *Fasti,* IV, pp. 49-50.
58. *Fasti,* IV, p. 75; Craven, p. 151.
59. *Fasti,* IV, p. 13.
60. John Bannerman, *The Beatons, a medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition,* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 36-38, 127; *Fasti,* IV, p. 114.
61. *The Beatons,* p. 38.
62. *Fasti,* IV, pp. 2, 6, 9, 13, 23, 29, 31, 40, 50, 56, 58, 60, 62, 73, 92, 94, 96, 106, 112, 117, 119. Owing to the severe shortage of ministers in the Highlands, however, there were a number like William Campbell,

minister of North Knapdale, who later conformed and was accepted by the less radical presbytery of Perth, and Dugald Lindsay who retained his charge till 1728 though he never conformed to presbyterianism. (*Fasti,* IV, pp. 16, 86.) One secondary source has noted that in Argyll all but three ministers were interrupted in their tenure but some subsequently recovered their charges. (Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843,* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 8.)

63. C. W. J. Withers, 'The Highland Parishes in 1698: An Examination of Sources for the Definition of the Gaidhealtachd,' *Scottish Studies*, 24, (1980), pp. 68-69; Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland James V to James VII,* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 366. Note that in the calculation of the 56 parishes, joint charges have been noted as one parish and not separately as for the distribution of the Bible for which this list was compiled, and is therefore an accurate representation of the number of charges at this time. It should also be noted that if Alexander Campbell, mentioned above, was also the former minister of Kilmore and Kilbride, that this percentage would be even higher.
64. *Fasti*, IV, p. 56; *Irish Fasti,* p. 116.
65. *Irish Fasti,* p. 116; *Fasti*, IV, p. 56.
66. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 94.
67. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 70.
68. See Chapter 7, section III C. ii Mr. John Darroch minister of Glenarm and Cushendall: Case study.
69. SRO CH2/1153/1, fols. 78-79, 82, 84.
70. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 86.
71. *Fasti*, IV, p. 56.
72. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 94.
73. *Irish Fasti,* p. 116. Although MacLean is the first documented presbyterian minister of the Markethill presbyterian congregation, there had been presbyterian families there since 1607. 'Between 1607 and 1611 eighteen Scottish families settled under the protection of Mr. Henry Acheson who obtained a thousand acres from James I.' It is thought probable that there were presbyterians among the ministers there from 1607 to 1634, even though some were episcopally ordained. (Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, *History of the Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1610-1982*, (Belfast, 1982), p. 635.)
74. *History of the Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, p. 635. No fewer than four of MacLean's sons, as well as two of his sons-in-law were ministers to Scottish, though not necessarily Highland, communities. It should, however, be noted that the Irish spelling of the name was MacLaine.
75. Archibald MacLean's other sons were the Rev. Thomas MacLean who ministered in Monaghan, Ireland, from 1718 to 1740, the Rev. Archibald MacLean who ministered at Banbridge, Ireland, from 1720 to 1740, and the Rev. Alexander MacLean who served in Ballynahinch, Ireland, from 1735 to 1742 and in Antrim from 1742 to 1759. In addition, one of his daughters married the Rev. John Menogh, minister at Magherally, Ireland, and another, the Rev. Robert Milling, minister of the Scots Kirk of Leyden from 1702 to 1710, at the Hague. (*Irish Fasti,* p. 116. Note that the *History of the Congregations,* only mentions

three sons, that is, the ones who remained on Irish soil. Indeed, like that of Dugald Campbell of Letterkenny (see Chapter 5, last page of section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections, and Chapter 7, section III B. Case study of Mr. Dugald Campbell), the dynasty of Archibald MacLean also constituted in itself a new ecclesiastical family.

76. See section V B. Highland presbyterian missionary work among the native Irish.
77. *Fasti,* IV, pp. 129-30.
78. SRO CH2/557/5, Synod of Argyll, 1708-1727, fols. 156, 163.
79. *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region,'* p. 137.
80. SRO CH2/984/2, Lorn presbytery, 1707-1714, fols. 305, 307, 313, 316, 321-22, 329.
81. The later case of Francis MacDonald which began in 1743 is one in point. A former priest in the Kinlochmoidart region and a probable committer of incest with his sister Catherine, the Establishment was prepared, unusually in presbyterian terms, to overlook his horrendous sexual crimes and welcome him into the fold as a Royal Bounty missionary in nearby Strontian. His familiarity with Catholic controversy, his unparallelled knowledge of the area and his ability to speak Gaelic, obviously outweighed his fundamental sins against Christianity. The presbyterian Kirk also had its price! ('The Problems of the Established Church,' pp. 25-28.)
82. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 347, 354-55, 358.
83. The next book of the presbytery of Lorn begins in 1729.
84. See Chapter 4, section III. Jacobitism 1691-1760 - Native Irish scheming and non-participation in the cause of the Scottish Gael, for details.
85. Mr. Alexander Sinclair and Captain Malcolm McNeill were appointed to write the letter. It should be noted that Captain McNeill was the brother-in-law of Patrick Simpson, minister of Dundalk, for whom, see below. (*General Synod of Ulster, 1691-1720,* p. 403.)
86. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, 1691-1720,* p. 403.
87. J. M. Barkley, 'The History of the Ruling Eldership in Irish Presbyterianism,' 2 vols., (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1952), II, p. 166. This includes appendix extracts from Old Session Minute-Books.
88. 'The Problems of the Established Church,' p. 21.
89. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 441.
90. See Patrick Simpson below.
91. SRO CH2/557/5, Synod of Argyll, 1708-1727, fols. 196-97.
92. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 422.
93. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 457.
94. See Chapter 7, section III C. i Mr. James Tailzeur, first minister of Enniskillen: Case study.
95. *Irish Fasti,* p. 121.
96. SRO Argyll Survey, I, 28, bundle 547.

97. These two brothers were very active members of the Dundalk congregation. *A History of the Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* states that they were ancestors of Sir John McNeill, an engineer who came from Scotland towards the end of the the seventeenth century. He built his house on the site of the old manse occupied by his kinsman, the Rev. Patrick Simpson. However, according to the pedigree of the McNeills (see fig. 11.6), they were related to, rather than being ancestors of, John McNeill. Archibald was his full brother, and Malcolm was a half-brother from his father's second marriage. So too, the only sister in the pedigree whose marriage is not stipulated is Elizabeth McNeill who, therefore, must have married Simpson. Archibald McNeill was instrumental in the building of what is now known as the old presbyterian church in Dundalk, which was the second church erected for the presbyterians there. His brother Malcolm was equally philanthropic, building a presbyterian church at Ballyscanlon, 3½ miles from Dundalk. (*A History of Congregations in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, p. 452.) Thus, the contribution made by the McNeills of Kintyre to the presbyterian community in Ulster was very significant. See also Chapter 11, section I C. xiii McNeills of Gigha and Taynish (Gallochelly, Carskiey, Tirfergus, Losset, and Ugadale.)
98. Arminianism was the denial of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and overpowering grace, and Pelagianism the denial of original sin.
99. See Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant initiative.
100. Drummond and Bulloch, pp. 31-34; Reid, III, (1853), pp. 237, 405.
101. Reid, III, (1853), footnotes to pp. 297, 298. Arianism or Unitarianism was the assertion of the unity of the Godhead rather than the Trinity. These notes were eventually use by Nevin to write a 300-page account of the proceedings.
102. *A History of Congregations in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, p. 451.
103. For further details see section V B, Highland presbyterian missionary work among the native Irish.
104. *Irish Fasti,* p. 121.
105. SRO CH2/190/2, Presbytery of Inveraray, 1691-1702, fol. 89.
106. SRO CH2/190/2, fols. 90, 93, 98.
107. *A History of Congregations in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* p. 451; information from the Presbyterian Historical Society Record card index, Belfast. He died twenty years later, in November 1781, at the grand age of 99 and was buried at Ballymascanlan.
108. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 211. See below, section V B, Highland presbyterian missionary work among the native Irish.
109. *A History of Congregations in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* p. 451.
110. SRO CH2/1153/2, Presbytery of Kintyre, 1707-1723, fol. 53; *Irish Fasti,* p. 92.
111. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 131, 144. Note that there is a discrepancy here with the *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church*, p. 92 which records that he was installed at Capel St., Rutland Square, on 10 September 1707. The discrepancy perhaps arises from an original mistranscription of '10' and '16', or more probably from the Scottish *Fasti* which also records the 10th.

112. SRO CH1/2/26/2, General Assembly Papers, fol. 181.

113. SRO CH1/2/27/2, fols. 155-56 is a letter from P. Campbell, moderator of the presbytery of Kintyre, from Campbeltown on 4 June 1707, to the Commission, defending the presbytery's action in making ministers transportable within the Synod of Argyll.

114. SRO CH2/1153/2, fol. 53.

115. *Irish Fasti,* p. 92. He was the son of John Campbell of Kildaloig, chamberlain of Kintyre, who was a great friend and correspondent of Wodrow, the minister and historian. (p. 92.) Once more there is a little controversy over the place of death. *A History of Congregations in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* p. 427, records that he died in Dublin in October 1708. Undoubtedly, he was buried in Kintyre where his tombstone lies, but he may have either returned to his brother's manse when seriously ill, or his body have been returned after his death in Dublin.

116. SRO CH2/1153/2, fol. 280.

117. SRO CH2/1153/3, Presbytery of Kintyre, 1724-1748, fols. 159, 207. He was recorded at the meeting of 7 February 1745 as a representative for the ensuing General Assembly.

118. SRO CH2/273/1, Mull presbytery, 1729-1762, fol. 61. Barbour had been ordained missionary in Strontian on 27 May 1730. Interestingly, he had declined calls to Torosay in Mull and Kilmallie in the presbytery of Abertarff in 1731 and 1733, though finally accepted the call of the parish of Morvern in 1742. (*Fasti*, IV, p. 117.)

119. SRO CH2/984/2, Lorn presbytery, 1707-1714, fol. 56.

120. Ministers could be tried only by the presbytery. He might also have refuted the session as an episcopalian, but there is, then, little reason for him later complying with the presbytery.

121. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 55-56.

122. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 96, 101.

123. Major Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, *The Clan Campbell,* 8 vols., (Edinburgh, 1916), IV, p. 43. A reference in this volume gives no indication of the geographical area identified with this house but states that the branches of Combie and Ederline on Loch Awe are descended from it. Alastair Campbell of Airds says that this was a branch of the Campbells of Dunstaffnage.

124. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 102-03, 109.

125. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 108-09, 132, 135. Note that Gray is the anglicisation of McIlghlais, glas being grey/blue.

126. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 123, 130.

127. A grassy islet in Loch Etive, opposite the coast of Bonawe in the parish of Ardchattan in Argyll, called Duirinnis or Duirnish which would seem the most likely location. (Groome, Francis H., *Ordnance Gazeteer of Scotland,* 6 vols., (London, 1882-85), II, p. 382.)

128. Refer to the explanation of *baile geamhraidh* in the section entitled Gaelic society, in the main introduction to this thesis.

129. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 123, 130-32, 159; SRO CH2/557/5, Synod of Argyll, 1708-1727, fols. 34, 36.

130. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 134-35, 143, 151, 153, 159.

131. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 159, 170, 181.

132. SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 210, 213, 239.

133. Another equally infamous minister from this period, connected with sexual misdemeanour in theory, if not practice, should be mentioned briefly in a footnote. Mr. Daniel McLachlan, who had been ordained to the parish of Ardnamurchan on 18 September 1734, soon proved his marked ineptitude for the ministry by publishing a "Scandalous Pamphlet in Defence of Fornication." Consequent on the disturbance caused by the pamphlet, entitled "An Essay upon Improving and Adding to the Strength of Great Britain and Ireland by Fornication," he deserted his parish and travelled to Ireland, and from there to England without the consent of the presbytery of Mull. On 13 June 1735 a libel was sent to him in London by which he was charged with neglecting and forsaking his ministerial duties and travelling abroad to Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other places in Scotland, Ireland and England, as well as having written the pamphlet. Moreover, it was stipulated, in terms of his stipend, "That no more of what is allowed for Pious Uses, go to support a Man who seem [sic] to Covet the Sacred office of the Ministry, merely for the sake of filthy lucre." McLachlan was, thus, deprived. He was subsequently imprisoned which, the presbytery were informed on 28 September 1737, induced a renunciation and recantation of the pamphlet in front of the bishop of Rochester. He was released and went to Jamaica. (SRO CH2/273/1, Mull presbytery, fols. 51-53, 62.) It has been suggested that McLachlan was probably an episcopalian who reluctantly found his way into the Establishment seeking a living. To this extent his lurid tract has been seen as 'a satire on the presbyterian obsession with the subject of sexual immorality.' This, however, was not apparent to his critics! ('The problems of the Established Church,' p. 25.)

134. SRO CH2/1153/2, Presbytery of Kintyre, 1707-1723, fols. 186, 188-89, 313. Two cases which run consecutively in the session book of Kingarth, from an earlier period, are particularly interesting in that they illustrate the different approach to handling illicit pregnancy where the first woman is from an Irish parish and the second from the locale. On 16 April 1682 "Delated Isbel N'Kaw quho hes fled from Ireland being with child. Ordains her to return back presently otherwise to find caution that she shall go backe and that she tarry no longer in the parish till it be known quho is father of her child, quhich she oblidgd herself to do." Clearly the session did not want to take on the responsibility of providing for the mother and child from the poor fund. However, when, a few days later on 23 April 1682 "Jonat Stewart, being sumond and call'd, confest that the child she brought forth was to James Hamilton, Woodside," she was "ordained to satisfie publickly the next Lords day and because she hes nothing she was not unlawed since she had nothing to pay." (Henry Paton (editor), *The Session Book of Kingarth, 1641-1703*, (Edinburgh, 1932), p. 131.)

135. SRO CH2/214/1, Kilmory kirk session, 1718-1723, fol. 83.

136. SRO CH2/557/4, Synod of Argyll, 1701-1707, fol. 45.

137. See Chapter 7, section III C. ii Mr. John Darroch minister of Glenarm and Cushendall: Case study.

138. In that year, the burgh records of Campbeltown recorded an embargo on all shipping in the harbour "in consequence of an order from the Lord Justice Clerk to the Honourable Commissioners of the Customs." (Argyll and Bute District Archives BC/1/2, Burgh Records of Campbeltown, 28 September 1739 - 29 September 1767, fol. 31.)
139. SRO CH2/984/3, Lorn presbytery, 1729-1771, fol. 164.
140. See above, section III A, Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism.
141. See Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.
142. SRO CH2/557/5, Synod of Argyll, 1707-1727, fol. 31.
143. Barkley, I, p. iii.
144. Barkley, II, Appendices - 'Extracts from the old Session Minute-Books,' p. 121, (extract from the Larne and Kilwaughter session book, 1699-1701.)
145. Barkley, II, p. 131, (extract from the Larne and Kilwaughter session book, 1720-1826.)
146. *The Session book of Rothesay, 1658-1750*, p. 285. For use of testimonials as indicators of mobility in the Lowlands in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century Scotland, see R. Houston, 'Geographical mobility in Scotland, 1652-1811: the evidence of testimonials,' *Journal of Historical Geography,* 11, 4, (1985), pp. 379-94.
147. Rev. D. MacLean, 'The Life and Literary Labours of the Rev. Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle,' *TGSI*, 31, (1922-24), p. 337.
148. See Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.
149. MacLean, p. 337.
150. Victor Durkacz, 'The source of the language problem in Scottish education, 1688-1709,' *SHR*, 57, (1978), p. 29.
151. The Synod of Argyll had produced the First Fifty Psalms of David in 1659 but Kirk was the first to complete all 150 psalms. However, Kirk's work was limited by his use of both the classical language and Irish orthography, and was less understandable than the Synod of Argyll's publication of the further 100 psalms in 1694 which were in the vernacular. (MacLean, p. 334.)
152. MacLean, p. 335.
153. MacLean, pp. 338-40.
154. MacLean, p. 339.
155. MacLean, p. 342. Only 108 can be traced to parishes.
156. MacLean, pp. 347, 350, 352, 355-56.
157. *The Session Book of Kingarth, 1641-1703*, pp. 186-87.
158. 'The source of the language problem in Scottish education, 1688-1709,' pp. 33-34.
159. SRO CH2/557/5, Synod of Argyll, 1708-1727, fol. 286.
160. Evidence, indeed, survives of an Irishman leaving money to the Scottish rather than the Irish branch of the Society. The bequest dates from 1738, which was the year in which the presbyterians received freedom from prosecution for celebrating presbyterian marriage. It may be totally coincidental, or it may be in

celebration of this that it was noted on 7 December 1738 that Hannibal Hall, a Dublin surgeon had written to his friend Warner of Ardear(?) and "Informed me that he had in his Will and Testament left to the society for propagating Christian Knowledge one hundred pounds sterling, payable within a year of his Death." (SRO GD95/10/148, SSPCK Records.) Thus, as late as this, the two presbyterian communities, now quite separate in terms of administration and jurisdiction, were still promoting each others' missionary endeavours. There is, however, no direct evidence that this money was used in the Highlands.

161 Sir James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage,* 9 vols., (Edinburgh, 1904-1911), IV, p. 551. Alexander, the second Duke of Gordon was out with Mar in the 1715 and at the Battle of Sheriffmuir on 13 November 1715, but then returned home and surrendered to the Earl of Sutherland. He was imprisoned, pardoned and his estates restored and does not appear to have taken an active part after that in public affairs. Following his death in 1728 his wife, Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of Charles, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, determined to bring up her young family as Protestants. The General Assembly sent her a letter of thanks for this in 1730, and moreover, the government settled a pension of £1000 p.a. on her in 1735.

162. SRO GD95/10/153, SSPCK Records.

163. The document prior to this in the SSPCK collection, no. 152, is docketed "Plans for Manufacture." It lists: "Lewes at Stornoway, Skye portrie or Danevagan, Glenelg, Maryburgh, Fort Augustus, Brae Mar, Blair Atholl, Cairston in orkney and Kirkmichall" and probably indicates the sites they hoped to develop.

164. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 38. *Regium Donum* was the money allowed by the King.

165. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 42; *Irish Fasti*, p. 116.

166. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 211. MacLean, as is already known, was of Highland origin, and appears to have been the only definite Highlander amongst those who spoke Irish. See above, section 3B Highland presbyterian ministers in Ireland: Case-studies. The Irish *Fasti* indicates that James McGregor was Irish and that Humphrey Thompson was educated at Glasgow and ordained in Ireland, but no information is given as to his place of origin. (*Irish Fasti,* pp. 115, 122.) The latter is listed in Glasgow University matriculation records as a theological student, on 10 December 1695, as "Humphredus Thomson Scoto-Hibernus (pastor de Balybay in Hibernia)." It is also possible that he was the Humphredus Thomson who is noted in the 4th class in humanities in 1688, since most theology students did an Arts degree before proceeding to theology. (Cosmo Innes (editor), *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from its foundation till 1727,* 4 vols., Maitland Club, 72, (Glasgow, 1854), III, pp. 244, 146. I am grateful to Lesley Richmond, deputy archivist at Glasgow University for making the connection here.) John Dunlop was Irish, John Wilson was born somewhere in Scotland, educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh and might possibly have been Highland. Archibald Boyd was Irish but sounds of Scottish origin and like McGregor, had been licensed by the Route presbytery. Robert Higginbotham was born in Co. Antrim, Patrick Plunket was an Irish convert from the Roman Catholic church and John Dunlop was from Co. Donegal. (*Irish Fasti,* pp. 95, 124, 90, 105, 119.)

167. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 211-12.

168. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 401-02; *Irish Fasti,* p. 115.

169. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 403.

170. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 403, 422.

171. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 421, 439, 541.

172. Reid, III, (1853), pp. 210-11.

173. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 422, 440, 447. Some were of a different opinion and moved that since there were now several with the ability to preach in Irish, that MacLean could be spared. The matter was put to the vote and it was decided that MacLean should be encouraged.

174. CH2/557/5, Synod of Argyll, 1708-1727, fols. 204-05.

175. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 447, 457.

176. Those Irish ministers capable of preaching in Irish were also assigned missionary work but it appears to have been less. Mr. Higginbottam, for example, was appointed "to go to Athlone and preach among the Irish in those parts, as he has encouragment; and also to go and preach in Irish at Dublin, if invited." Mr. McGrigor, alone, seemed to carry an equal burden, being assigned the "County of Derry, Antrim, and part of Tyrone, Mahera, Dawsons Bridg, Coah, and Monymore." Mr. Dunlop was to preach in the bounds of the presbytery of Convoy and the County of Donegal. Being, also, firm believers in the power of the fast, one was ordained to be kept about the conversion of the Irish in their bounds. (*Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* p. 440.)

177. Reid, III, (1853), p. 211; 'The problems of the Established Church,' p. 23.

178. *Census of Ireland for the year 1851,* pp. 934, 936. Though there is a Killelagh in Co. Londonderry, it seems more likely, since the work was undertaken in conjunction with the presbytery of Dublin, that this refers to Co. Clare.

179. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 461, 440, 497.

180. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I,* pp. 521, 497, 540-41, 534.

181. Reid, III, (1853), p. 234.

182. Noel MacDonald Wilby, 'The "Encreasce of Popery" in the Highlands 1714-1747,' *Innes Review,* 17, (1966), p. 101.

183. See appendix, secular itinerary 2.

184. 'The Problems of the Established Church,' p. 28.

CHAPTER 10
CATHOLIC LINKS BETWEEN IRISH AND SCOTTISH GAELS, 1690-1760

Introduction

The abdication of James VII and the ensuing first Jacobite rebellion of 1689 definitely affected life on the mission, though whether to the extent the missionaries would have wished their benefactors to believe, is debatable. The major difficulty for the missionaries was always the interruption of the lines of communication, which brought the all important salary to them. When David Burnet, the former dean of the Chapel Royal in Edinburgh, wrote from Dublin to William Leslie, the Scots agent in Rome, on 27 May 1690, he indicated that "wee borrowed as long as wee could get people that would lend us but our credit for that point is exhausted the countrey extremely poor for want of comerce, and the being harassed be the souldiors wee can get no more to borrow." Food supplies were also genuinely scarce, so that when on his way to Ireland Burnet passed through Badenoch, Lochaber and Mull, he could not buy even a stone of butter or cheese to sustain him on his journey. Nevertheless, in spite of all the difficulties, a number of Irish priests continued their ministrations on the Highland mission at this time, making ample use of Jacobitism to encourage their communities and urging them not to take the Oath of Allegiance.[1]

Arguably the most significant development for Catholicism in this period was the appointment in August 1694 of Mr. Thomas Nicolson, the first vicar-apostolic or missionary bishop to Scotland. This provided Scottish Catholics with their first fully-fledged bishop for 91 years. Though Roman Canon Law was no longer backed up by civil authority, amongst his clergy and faithful congregation the judgements of the vicar-apostolic were accepted as spiritual law. He could and did, ordain and confirm, but decisions over marriages held no legal sanction in the country and could be overturned by the presbyterian clergy. He acted basically as a delegate of the Pope, which is why the style was 'vicar-apostolic.' However, because of the prevailing post-Revolutionary attitude, it was two and a half years before this titular bishop of Peristachium was able to take up his position. The situation became less tense for Catholics with the signing of the treaty of Ryswick on 20 September 1697 by France, England, Spain and Holland. With the recognition of William's sovereignty by France, the fears of a French-backed restoration were mitigated. Nevertheless, things were decidedly less favourable under the presbyterian regime, and, at the same time, the mission also suffered from the effects of the famine of the 1690s.[2] In order to deal with the situation and hold the mission on a tighter rein, Bishop Nicolson drew up a series of disciplinary regulations in 1700 which, after approval by Propaganda, were given to the clergy in 1706 and remained as guidelines until 1780.[3]

Also significant was the submission of the Jesuits in Scotland to the authority of the secular bishop on 7 February 1701, lack of which had caused marked conflict on the mission in the seventeenth century. The Jesuits were still working in the Highlands as well as its peripheries,[4] but, by this time, tended to operate more in the fashion of the other seculars on the mission, no longer exclusively from the houses of patrons, which probably facilitated their submission.[5] As if, unwittingly, to counter this new solidarity, a presbyterian drive in the Highlands began with the foundation of The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), on 18 August 1708. Well over 50 Protestant schools had been established by the second decade of the eighteenth century. Anti-Catholic work was also supported in the gift, or Royal Bounty, in 1723, of an annual sum of £1000 by George I to promote Protestantism in the Highlands and by the formation of the Royal Bounty Committee, to the same end, in the following year. The Established Church was also prompted in 1724 to reduce the charge of the Synod of Argyll by establishing the new Synod of Glenelg, comprising parishes of the Synods of Argyll and Ross. Nevertheless, the work of the Kirk and the SSPCK progressed in the Highland districts in direct proportion to the amount of support given to them by local landlords and heritors. Thus, it was not until outwith the period under view, in 1774, that Protestant schools were erected in the major Catholic enclaves of South Uist, the Small Isles, Glengarry, Knoydart and North Morar and Fort Augustus.[6] A presbyterian document, 'The State of Lochaber and the Countries bordering on it with respect to popery,' written in 1718, confirms that in the Braes of Lochaber, Glengarry, Knoydart, both Morars, Moidart and Arisaig "thair is no Schooll in all the bounds."[7]

As in the seventeenth century, numbers of missionaries in the Highlands waxed and waned according to the political climate of the time, as well as personal and financial circumstances. The anti-Catholic climate continued under Queen Anne, but as was most often the case, the political motive was to the fore. The proclamation of the penal laws in 1702, 1704 and 1705 was designed largely to disarm support for Jacobitism.[8] Nevertheless, the prevailing political attitude, compounded by the deaths of many of the old missionaries, reduced the number of priests on the Highland mission to only four in 1705, that is, no more than had operated there under the first Franciscan mission during the early part of the seventeenth century. To help with this situation and in view of Nicolson's advancing age a coadjutor, James Gordon, was consecrated on 11 April 1708, giving the mission its second bishop. Persecution of Catholics increased, particularly at times of Jacobite plotting and unrest. This connection between Catholicism and Jacobitism, even if exaggerated, was not totally unfounded, with such as the secular priest James Carnegie (alias Hall) in close communication with the Old Pretender. In 1714 the first seminary in Scotland was opened since the Reformation, on Loch Morar, but was closed after the '15. Following the rising, Bishop Nicolson was captured in March 1716 but managed to escape. On his death in 1718, Bishop Gordon succeeded as second vicar-apostolic and being in poor health, was likewise given a coadjutor, in the form of the aged, loyal Jacobite John Wallace, consecrated in 1720. However,

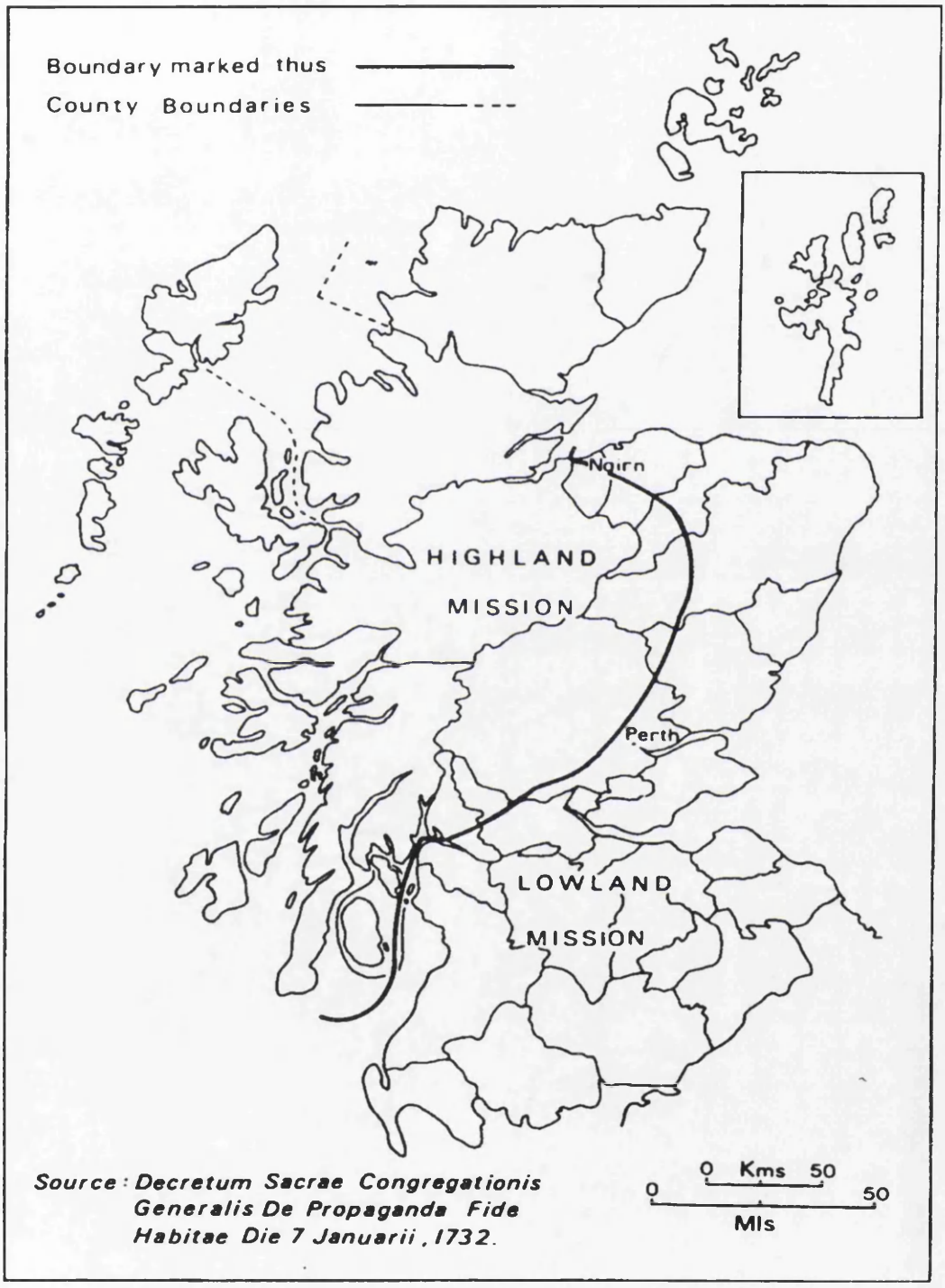
underground Jacobite plotting grew during the 1720s and small bands of military troops, encouraged by bounties, were sent to arrest priests in 1726. At the same time, the Royal Bounty Committee, established in the previous year, worked to increase Protestant missionary activity in the Highlands. To counter this Protestant encroachment, the bishops recommended the appointment of a specifically Gaelic-speaking vicar-apostolic.[9]

In 1727, in preparation for the new bishop, the Scottish mission was divided into two vicariates of the Highlands and Lowlands. (See fig. 10.1, The Catholic Gaidhealtachd, 1732.) This was achieved largely on the basis of linguistic division, though Gaelic-speaking Glenlivet and Strathavon were kept in the Lowland vicariate because Gordon's seminary at Scalan was in Glenlivet. After some delay, the first bishop of the Highlands was eventually consecrated in 1731, in the person of Hugh MacDonald, a son of MacDonald of Morar. On Wallace's death in 1733, Colin Campbell, a younger son of the family of Lochnell, expected to be appointed as coadjutor but relations between him and Bishop Gordon had begun to break down and he was passed over. It was, perhaps, partly because of this personal grudge that Campbell was instrumental in sustaining accusations of Jansenism against Gordon and further stirring discontent among Highland missionaries. Nevertheless, the priests' discontent over paucity of funds was also ripe for exploitation and there was probably an element of inter-clan rivalry which affected the situation. The end result was the promotion of one of the major conflicts of the eighteenth century mission.[10]

I. THE DYNAMIC SECULAR INITIATIVE: PHASE 2 - 1690-1715

In the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, a general overview of the state of the mission was provided in a letter from Burnet, the vice-prefect, to Mr. Talon who was still one of its major benefactors. He wrote from Dublin, on 20 June 1690, where he had been sent by Dunbar to greet James VII in his name, and to give a report on the Scottish Catholic mission.[11] Burnet proceeded to give an account of all the missionaries on the Highland mission. Passing through the Highlands on his trip to Dublin, he had seen Mr. Mongan who told him that Messrs. Devoyer and Cahassy, Hannat and Harnet were working in the mainland Highlands but that their strength and health was much diminished because of inadequate nourishment. All communication with the Lowlands was blocked by the enemy. Mr. Carolan was said to be well, and living in the Isle of Barra. Mr. Ryan was in the Isle of Eigg and also well, and Mr. Trener was in that area of his mission closest to the Lowlands, probably Braemar, where Burnet had spent last winter, and where they had often met together.[12] As for Coan, it was now more than 20 months since he had apostatized and married the daughter of a person of quality whom he had previously debauched, to everyone's great scandal.[13]

Fig. 10.1
THE CATHOLIC GAIDHEALTACHD, 1732



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Charles W. J. Withers,
Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1981,
(Edinburgh, 1984), p. 64.

Burnet mentioned also that he hoped the King would give him permission to go to Paris so that he could find a means to provide for his brothers on the Scottish mission. The request was granted for Burnet's next letter was from Paris, on 2 September 1690, to Mr. William Leslie, the Scots agent in Rome.[14] He had clearly been aiming to go to Rome, for the letter stated that he had been called back to the mission, and that therefore his design of seeing Leslie "and exposing our missions caise to our patrones is broken of." He, therefore, urged the agent to continue with the same himself "to any who may be touched with compassione and moved to yeeld us Releef." The case to be put was that their King's kindness had encouraged them to augment their number so that there were now 27 priests on the Scottish mission. This undoubtedly refers to the King's order of 1686 for Scottish priests on the continent to return to Scotland, but the unstated implication is that in the changed circumstances the mission could not afford to sustain so many. Moreover, the Highlands was somewhat of a missionary outback with a high turn-over of personnel. The missionaries mentioned on the Highland mission are the same as those in the previous letter, that is eight Irishmen, with the addition of Munro, the Scot.[15]

A letter from Fr. James Bruce in Ratisbon to William Leslie, written sometime in 1690, provides an enlightening indication of the manner in which the Irish were seen to comport themselves on the mission. He stated that his information came from one "Mcclealand born in the lewes" who was with them in Ratisbon.[16] He also made reference to Cornelius Coan whose flagrantly scandalous story continued for several years in apostasy. In a letter to Mr. Talon from Skye, on 8 June 1691, Mongan and Cahassy wrote, referring to Coan, of "The fatal fall of one of our comerades." They blamed the moderacy of their superiors who listened to his excuses and his promises of doing miracles on the mission. However, they said that even the Protestants were horrified by his conduct.[17] Coan was imprisoned on Seaforth's direct order. Coan's ill-treatment threatened, in addition to large arrears of feu-rents in Lewis and a parliamentary decreet for the return of a bond, further to compromise Kenneth MacKenzie, fourth Earl of Seaforth and avid Jacobite, who was not himself released from prison until 1697.[18] It is in the latter years of the decade that the concluding episodes in the Cornelius Coan story come to light. The Synod of Argyll seems to have championed Coan's cause, undoubtedly more as a lever against Catholicism than because of any true insight to his character.[19] Its information probably came from that gleaned by Lieut. Walkingshaw who was sent by the Privy Council to investigate his imprisonment. The MacLennans, tacksmen of Little Bernera, guarded Coan but he was moved before the party arrived there.[20] (See fig. 10.2, Secular period 1690-1760: incidence map.) The affair was referred to in the register of the Synod of Argyll on 3 June 1697, and is useful in confirming the presence of other priests in the vicinity. Mr. John McLauran reported that he, Mr. Daniel Campbell, and the agent to the Synod, had spoken to the King's Advocate "anent liberating D. Cornelius O Coan and apprehending Patrick O kerulan and Richard Arnot Jesuits in Barra and South Uist."[21] There was also trouble in Skye, for the representatives spoke of writing to Sir Donald McDonald "to compesce [compass] tumult in his bounds, which obstructed the brethren of Sky there Supplying

the vacancies there." The Advocate had written to Col. Hill, Governor of Fort William, who accordingly had apprehended some priests and sent them to Edinburgh and the Advocate intended to lay down a method for liberating Coan.[22] In September 1697 Seaforth was ordered to produce Coan and his keeper before the Privy Council. Seaforth did not comply, concocted an account of the affair, and deepened his unpopularity by starting a riot in Chanonry against one of his creditors. He was ordered south in February 1698 and released on bail. On 19 May 1698 the clerk to the Synod of Argyll was appointed to draw up an address about Coan for the Council, representing his miserable condition and to consider methods for his liberation. The Council was also to be asked for an order to Brigadier Maitland, who replaced Hill as Governor of Fort William early in 1698, to secure trafficking Jesuits in the bounds of the Synod. When Seaforth appeared before the Council again in July 1698 without Coan, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. The method of Coan's release was not mentioned by the Synod of Argyll which, on 7 June 1699, recorded the presentation of a letter of thanks from him for their "paines and diligence in procureing his liberatione," but he was handed over at the instance of Lady Seaforth in August 1698, in an attempt to mitigate her husband's situation. Seaforth was not released until March 1700 when no proof could be found to link him to the riot of 1697. The government also found themselves disillusioned with Coan who was initially willing to testify against Seaforth, but proved evasive when questioned, was also sent to the Castle and ultimately banished.[23]

The first communication which survives directly from the mission itself, dates from a year after the Revolutionary upheavals, in 1691. On 8 June of that year, Anthony Mongan and James Cahassy wrote from the Isle of Skye to Mr. Talon, taking the opportunity to send a letter by a Jacobite ship which had docked there. The strong awareness of the power of religion as a bolster for political beliefs is revealed in the letter, the missionaries stating that "we have never been more necessary in these countries here than since the troubles, as much for affirming our poor Catholics in their faith as for encouraging them to hold firm for the King while awaiting His Majesty's help."[24] Clearly there was also the hope that there was more than spiritual justification for sustenance of the mission at that time.

Financial considerations were still to the fore. In 1694 the missionaries were said to receive only 25 crowns a year allowance, but because of the special circumstances of the country in time of rebellion "they must of necessity spend more then ever they did befor, because they dare not stay with catholiques that have means to gie them a piece of meat least they be aprehended with them, and Imprisoned." It is noteworthy that there had been no increase in the lump sum allocated to the Scottish mission, that is 500 crowns a year, since 1650.[25] It appears, moreover, that there had been a reduction in what they had come to expect from their clerical brethren in France, for "the vast allowance the clergy of france has given the king hinders them from giving us one farthing of charity as I expected."[26]

A letter written from the mission to Mr. Talon, some time after August 1694 is particularly interesting, in that appended to it are the names of most of the Irish priests on the Highland mission, six in all. It was probably written at one of the annual meetings called at Gordon Castle and was signed by Ryan, Cahassy, Mongan, Hannat, Carolan and Harnet, with only Devoyer and Trener, of the Irish priests, being absent.[27] The priests happily began by stating they had only had the opportunity to write to Talon once, not knowing whether the communication got through. They tactlessly wrote that what had disturbed them most was that they had not heard from him which had led them to fear that he was dead. This would have been an irreparable loss for the nation in general but especially for the Christians in Scotland, because of his zeal and charity. They were, therefore, most happy to hear that he was alive and was continuing to give generously as before! Their attitude can, to some extent, be excused by the fact that they had received little support for the last six years, indeed since the Revolution.[28]

Little appears to have been forthcoming from Talon during the previous few years, for the Irish missionaries indicated that they were sure he was not wanting in his desire to assist, rather that they had been remiss in telling him of their need and the condition of the Highland Catholics. They also informed Talon of the death of Mr. Devoyer, following a six month illness:"we have suffered a great loss by the death of the very worthy Mr. Devoyer who God called to himself to crown (as we hope) his exemplary life. He died on the 20th August last." This, therefore, fixes his death at 20 August 1693.[29]

In general, however, the Scottish superiors and their connections in the Paris College remained far from satisfied with the Irish. Writing to William Leslie in Rome on 13 June 1695, Louis Innes informed, as he had told him in his previous letter, that "I had sent home two Irish missionaries, and a schoolmaster, who have cost pains enough and great expenses, near twice as much as so many of our own would have done." Moreover, in his opinion, "we will never be well served in that country till we have of our own," and that that would not occur until Leslie had managed to settle *viaticums* or allowances for them as well as pensions for schools in the Highlands.[30] In the year 1695-96, when it was reported that Catholics were conspiring against the person of King William, persecution against Catholics had a direct affect on the Highland mission. Priests were actively searched for and Messrs. Robert Munro and Hugh Ryan were taken prisoner in Strathglass, probably in late 1695 or early 1696. In May of 1695 Ryan is recorded as having gone herring fishing in the Hebrides, a probable code reference to mission work, where there was said to be "another of the same trade." A letter of Mr. Munro's from Paris, 12 November 1696, referred to the capture and imprisonment of Ryan whom he left "in a dying condition at Edinburgh."[31] Ryan was the second of a total of three Irish priests seized on the Scottish mission.[32] Munro and Ryan were first kept in Aberdeen and then in Edinburgh. Munro was eventually banished to Flanders, but Ryan lingered in prison, ultimately dying in November. The penal laws were re-enacted and

enforced in both Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland, the Williamite government was wary of a Jacobite invasion of the country with French support. The Catholic clergy, whose sympathies with James VII and II were apparent, were particularly suspect. The first act of the parliamentary session of 1697 provided for the banishment of all Catholic clergy exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that is, bishops, and also of all regular clergy. Regulars were regarded as a greater menace than seculars because they were more dependent on the Pope's authority, they held greater sway with the people and were regarded as more irreconcilable to the government. Arrangements were made for the transportation of those clergy affected by the act from the beginning of 1698. About 700 regulars seem to have left, many having been given government passages to the continent.[33] Some went to the Highlands of Scotland instead. A supporting act was drafted in Ireland in 1698, entitled "An Act for the more speedy reducing of Ireland to conform to the Established Church," which enforced attendance at Protestant churches on all Catholics or they were to lose their estates, while in Scotland a proclamation was passed on 4 March "anent seminary Priests, Jesuits, and trafficking Papists," confirming all previous penal laws against Catholics. However, it must be said that none of the clergy in the Highlands were taken on this occasion.[34] Moreover, in spite of this and of the extensive famine of the decade, it appears true that 'The contention that the resultant persecution of Catholics "was the worst yet known" in the Highlands has validity only with respect to the virtual absence of persecution hitherto.'[35]

In all probability, full information about all the Irish priests on the mission, at any one time, has not survived. En route to Rome in the summer of 1698, where he was being sent to assist the aged Scots agent, William Leslie, John Irvine (alias Cuttlebrae) reported from Paris, on 5 September, that there were ten missioners in the Highlands, eight Irish and two Scottish.[36] In the following year, 1699, a large injection of Irish personnel came to the mission in the form of six Irish Franciscans which, indeed, could almost be viewed as a third Franciscan initiative. They had, undoubtedly, been encouraged to come to try and make good the three losses which had occurred in the previous year. Three of them crossed from houses in France, while the other three were escaping from the persecution in Ireland. James O'Shiel, Anthony Logan and a priest called O'Beirne, about the latter of whom little is known, all came from France.[37] Charles O'Hara, William Heachean (or Hachen/Hackeen) and Colin McFie, on the other hand, came from Ireland.[38] It was probably two of these missionaries from France who were mentioned in a letter from Louis Innes on 22 June 1699. His tone indicated that he was reluctant to send any more Irish to the mission and that it was only of necessity that he did so. "As to these two Irish marchands, I am not much for encouraging those of that nation any further than necessity requires: but I think these must go." The reasons he gave were firstly that the King wished them to go and perhaps more importantly, had given them *viaticums*. Secondly, he was concerned that Mr. Trener's mission in Braemar and Glengairn be supplied, and thirdly, by his recent correspondence with Rome he had learnt that the mission allowance was to be doubled for the next two years, which would allow

them to augment their number. On 10 March 1701 the Jesuit, Mr. Strachan, wrote to Louis Innes at the suggestion of the bishop about all these Irishmen. He stated that a priest called Nisbet was "much afflicted that those who were last adjoined to the company, are so weak every way, and so raw and void of improvements necessary for trade."[39]

In the interim, Bishop Nicolson's Report of 1700 was no more encouraging. Of those Irishmen who had come in the last decade of the seventeenth century, the report stated "The other Irish priests were of the order of St. Francis like Messrs. O'Shiel and Logan who came from France, whom sheer necessity compelled us to use." It appears that the main factor mitigating against the success of the Irish priests as missionaries was that:

> the harshness of the life that it is necessary to lead in this country, and above all the difficulty of travelling there, so frightened the people who were not at all accustomed to it that they scarcely knew any more how to find Irish priests who wanted to come; only having, in effect, the natives of the country who could serve there with the most success and bear the toils, because the air and the land are natural to them.[40]

One of these new Irish missionaries, James O'Shiel, was first placed in Braemar by Nicolson. A little is known of O'Shiel's background, namely that he hailed from a respectable family in the diocese of Down and would, thus, have been familiar with Scottish settlers. He had completed his higher study in Rome and taught in Prague but was sent by his Franciscan superiors to Ireland where he presided as guardian over the mission until 1698. In that year the regulars were proscribed in Ireland and O'Shiel had to flee to France from where he went on the Highland mission, perhaps thinking that he might have an opportunity to remain in contact with neighbouring Ireland.[41] However, his educational background appears to conflict with some initial, less favourable comments about him.[42] A late eighteenth century report written from many original sources states that within the space of two or three months he had converted sixty people:

> but in a short time a Jesuit came to that country and told him he had been sent thither by his Superiors, and that the station belonged to him; and as the Irishman was a stranger in the country, he easily drove him from the station; and yet the Jesuit did not know a word of the Erse, which was the only language used there at the time, and was consequently unfit for the country.

Although the bishop is said to have confirmed him in his post, the intimidation of ministers and a military garrison which was placed there, apparently cooled the fervour of the people's desire for conversion. Significantly, this trouble occurred after the Jesuits had supposedly yielded to secular authority over the mission. It begs the question of whether they had in spirit. There was no confrontation for Fr. O'Shiel was simply removed to South Uist where he was serving in 1700.[43]

From the perspective of the Irish priests there is only the extant letter of William Ryan, who came on the mission in 1695, dated 13 September 1699, and probably written to Louis Innes, priest at the Scots College.[44] He states that he retired from his "laborious employ, to change climate, in order I should receive physic," and that he does not have hopes of returning. Of the Irish missionaries in the last year of the seventeenth century, he mentions his comrade Mr. Mongan, who expects his return. This tends to indicate that Ryan was on the Moidart, Skye and Small Isles section of the mission. Mr. Cahassy was said to be still alive, but weak and infirm and "although he cannot run the hills, yet he cannot be idle there." He also records that two monks have fled from Ireland because of the act of parliament, that one of them was keeping Harnet's place and that the other was looking after Carolan's mission, because he was unwell. He asks that Innes will further the bearer of the letter, Peter Hogan, "in hopes the Lord would give him a vocation to help the mission hereafter." However, if Hogan did go on the mission, his name certainly does not appear in any of the source material.[45] Mr. Mongan, on the other hand, was to prove one of the longest-standing Irish missionaries. (For areas in which the priests served, see fig. 10.2, Secular period 1690-1760: incidence map.)

A. Case-study: Mr. Mongan, first resident missionary in Skye

The most prolific Irish informant for the period from the Revolution to the Union, indicative of his seniority on the mission, was Mr. Mongan. Nothing has yet come to light to indicate his origins in Ireland but it would seem most likely from the personal name evidence which notes three septs of Ó Mongáin in Limerick, north Connacht and County Tyrone, that he came from either of the latter two. There was an *erenagh* family (lay lords holding church property) in Termonomogan in County Tyrone, Ulster, always called Mongan rather than the variant Mangan. So too, the family from north Connacht were sometimes known as Mongan, though the weight of evidence linking Ulster priests, in general, with the Scottish mission makes a Tyrone origin more probable. Towards the end of 1694, he was sent to Paris to represent the condition and requirements of the mission. In a letter to William Leslie in Rome, dated 20 December, he particularly drew attention to the problem of the long-term sustenance of the Catholic community. While the priests' work might be admirable it did not endure. He believed that only the provision of Catholic schools could have long-term benefits and establish a permanent clergy in the Highlands and Islands. This would need finance and proper management.[46] Mr. Louis Innes also wrote on the same day to Leslie, recommending that Mongan return to Scotland, straight away, to continue work with the other two Irish priests.[47] He also indicated that one of the primary reasons for having sent Mongan on the mission initially was to set up a school. When he got back to Scotland he was to establish a school for which he was well qualified "being a good humanist and designed for that seven years ago when first sent, but there is not one farthing to bear his expense back."[48]

Mongan wrote a letter on 28 May 1695 to Louis Innes, principal of the Scots College in Paris. Written from Camphere in Holland, it gave details of several who were setting out for Scotland by means of a vessel which was going to disembark just 16 miles from Castle Gordon. "I am going to the North to order the affairs of my master the son of My lord Tarbat."[49] Daniel Ryan was going as a "palfernier" or groom and the other Mr. Ryan was "un pescheur D'harangs" (literally "a fisher of herring") a probable metaphorical 'fisher of men' who was going to the Hebridean Isles where he had a brother in the same job. This would appear to be Hugh Ryan's brother, William.[50] He spoke of the danger of detection by the Scottish Consul in Rotterdam, but whatever happened he was going to the Highlands disguised as a sailor.[51] More than this, if it was possible to commit such passion to paper, Mongan appears, at least outwardly, to have been the most touched by the Highlanders' plight.[52] Mongan so conducted his service on Skye that he was created provicar of the Isles in 1700, with Mr. Munro receiving the same honour on the mainland, so that they could relieve the bishop of some of the regional burden of responsibility. However, trouble in relation to the Irish continued, blowing up on this occasion in the form of slanderous attacks against the person of Mongan himself. Columba MacLennan, the Wurzburg Benedictine serving in Knoydart, circulated malicious rumours about him which he accredited to Louis Innes. Mongan was accused of being contentious and of having embezzled a considerable sum of money. When he eventually heard the rumours, Anthony Mongan wrote to Innes on 26 May 1699, in a letter which gives a poignant indication of some of the psychological difficulties under which the missionaries could labour.[53]

Neither did it appear to be the only rumour circulating against Mongan. For he mentioned that he had also incurred the "common displeasure of Camerades" by the false rumour that he had defrauded the mission of three thousand livers he had received from Innes in France. Money, or more patently, the lack of it, was still the bone of contention among the missionaries. He justifiably pointed out that the truth of the matter was neither known by Innes nor those in Ireland, since they were not on the mission. He, therefore, requested him to counter it with the testimonies of his brethren "the Contry gentlemen," and his superiors.[54] Mongan finished with the information that he had intended, because of the general misery of the times and his own infirmity and many dissatisfactions, to leave the mission, especially since many friends had retired such as Messrs. Harnet, Trener and Ryan, yet had been pulled to stay by the necessity of the people.[55]

However, these malicious stories against Mongan, received little credence from the bishop. Mongan had sent his letter of 26 May to the principal's brother, Thomas Innes in Glenlivet, to be forwarded. Thomas had assured his brother that MacLennan was indeed a "mauvais esprit" or "bad spirit." Moreover, it appears that MacLennan had no love for Hibernians in general, for he is said to have "endeavoured to ruin the Irishmen's credit in the west" and was likely to be dismissed. Thomas added, however, that it was necessary to pacify Mongan, and that he "must be managed."

He stated his good opinion of Mongan which they all shared and that MacLennan's behaviour had cheated them all. It was a view shared in writing some years later by Bishop Gordon.[56] However, because of the acute shortage of missionaries, it had not been felt expedient to remove MacLennan. Undoubtedly under pressure, Mongan may have taken a short trip to Ireland in 1699, according to the Annual List. He was still working in April 1701 when he was said to have been contemplating leaving the mission. Mongan was praised, at this time, as the "best and painfullest of our Highland labourers," and interestingly, in spite of his apparent insufficiency of lettering, O'Shiel who was by this time in South Uist, was thought to be next best in capability to him. Having spent the winter in the Hebrides, Mongan wrote to Innes from a meeting of the clergy at Fochabers, on 18 May 1701, of the "comfortable remedy of your kind letter which has entirely settled my afflicted mind, and perfectly restored me to the affection and confidence of those whom a sinistrous rumour had wrested from me." Hindsight, however, was to prove that Mongan did not feel entirely confident in the support of his superiors.[57]

Mongan's letter of 27 May 1701 to Mr. Louis Innes, principal of St. Germain, marks Innes as one of Mongan's benefactors, for he thanks him "for the very timely help that you sent me without which I can assure you it would have been very difficult not to say impossible to act as usual on the mission."[58] He also referred to Nicolson's visit of the Highlands and Islands during the summer of 1700 of which he had sent a report, according to the bishop's instructions. When the bishop had been in those places himself he had not had time to investigate everything because he did not understand the native language. Mongan, on his own account, was given the job because there was no area in the Isles or mainland whose inhabitants he did not know, by name and face, as well as by conduct and conscience, having by this time spent more than thirteen years serving them. Mongan's letter is also significant in backing up statements about the general religious state of missionaries sent on the mission. Having praised the efforts of those who have gone before, he went on to say that "It is true that there are some regulars just now, but in truth, these, with the exception of one or two, are scarcely fit to serve." He added that "if some good clerics are not soon sent to help them, I fear that things will not go so well."[59] This time, therefore, Mongan asked Mr. Innes for "temporal" assistance, asking him urgently to get some honest clerics.[60]

Shortly after this, in June 1701, Mongan was the first priest since Ryan in 1695-96, to be arrested. It is clear from a reference in the Synod of Argyll minutes on 12 June 1701, that Mongan's mission was gaining converts. The minutes refer to one "Lauchlen Mac bheartich vic finguon" [MacKinnon] in "I sean uachdarach, Scalpa," an island off Skye, who "Did beatt and blood Mr Martin Macpherson." The Synod, therefore, appointed the brethren of Skye to give in a list of abettors of priests, prelates and Jesuits. On 16 June 1701 a letter was commissioned by the Synod to Brigadier Maitland about apprehending the priests and suppressing the Catholic schools in Moidart and Arisaig. The commander duly took note, as is evident from the thanks communicated

to him on 16 October of the same year "for apprehending a priest the last summer" and exhorting him to proceed to suppress trafficking Jesuits in the Isles and to seize Mr. Panton the popish schoolmaster in Arisaig.[61] The priest referred to here is clearly Mongan. Maitland sent him to Edinburgh in the hope of receiving the 500 merk reward then offered for Catholic priests. Mongan was eventually banished under pain of death for re-entry.[62] The increasing number of detachments of soldiers stationed in the Highlands, especially as the threat of Jacobite activity loomed, imposed a greater vigilance on most Highland priests.

As for Mongan, his difficulties were to continue in exile. His letter of 12 July 1703 from Ponguin, France, to the principal's brother in Paris, indicated that due to the troubles he was having on the mission he had been forced to quit it. Doubtless his imprisonment had further disinclined him to return to the rigours of the mission, but the reason that he gave was that he felt "abandoned by those in whom I had the greatest Confidence," which, in light of previous correspondence, probably refers to Louis Innes. He had not expected such treatment after fourteen or fifteen years on the mission. Moreover, not only he, but according to Mongan, all his fellow missionaries, appear to have been maligned at Rome. "It shal appear to my most sensible grief how much the wel disposd people of the highlands wil be loosers when they'l have no more the assistance of these Irishmen so much cry'd down, and misrepresented."[63] Nonetheless, this reads somewhat ironically in view of the thoughts which Mongan himself had expressed in his earlier letter of 27 May 1701. He appealed to Innes' own experience of the Highland mission who knew "of the little fruit don amongst them by the two only natifs who are Missioners amongst 'em. I don't name them you know them well." These were presumably MacLennan and Munro. This statement is also a very clear indication of the extent of continued Irish manning of the mission.[64]

In a plaintive and incriminatory letter to Thomas Innes on 19 November 1703, Mongan indicated that he had been pleased to receive Innes' letter of the previous July, but was surprised by the indifference he had shown since. He indicated that though he wished to return to the Highlands, yet, taking into consideration "what had befallen me, how I was dealt with, and relying upon the advice and direction of those to whose management I have abandoned myself" he had decided to accept the cure which he had been offered. However, he was well aware of the difference in the current and past situations, stating that the miseries and labour he had suffered in the Highlands were nothing to the inner satisfaction he had enjoyed, whereas in France there was seemingly plenty on the outside but nothing but labour and dolour on the inside, a theme to which he was to return two years later.[65] A subsequent letter of 7 December 1703 revealed a lack of native interest on the Scottish mission as a whole. Mongan wrote that he was "heartily sorry and Concerned for the frequent disappointments you met with in your Contry youth after so much pains and expences about them." Moreover, the lack of Highland candidates for the priesthood was specifically

lamented, for Mongan said: "I know what is partly the Cause of those disasters in the highland youth as being not a stranger to Their temper and genius."[66]

Mongan, writing once more to the principal's brother on 12 April 1704, referred again to his sadness about the lack of Highland students, mentioning specifically one Neil Beaton, whom it appears from his earlier letter of 7 December, had been under Mongan's care when he was in the Highlands and had probably been inspired by him to study for the priesthood.[67] However, four months later Mongan said that he had just received a letter from Beaton "intimating his final resolution or rather dissolution, which is occasioned not by any pretence of insufficiency butt by the pernicious impressions he has received from bad examples and suggestions in such and like other Cases." Mongan requested Innes to advise him to return home which was less dangerous than throwing himself amongst soldiers. Clearly Beaton intended to join the army.[68]

In his letter of 27 April 1705 Mongan gently chastised Innes once more for his lack of communication about his friends in the Highlands and requested information about "what Irish Churchmen (if there be any) that serves amongst them." He understood that Mr. Cahassy had died and wished to know for certain. Mongan, however, had received no reply from Innes by 21 November 1705 when he passed an interesting comment on the pre-Union political infighting which he hoped would divert attention from Catholics. He thought that "the project of ruining the catholick interest in Scotland will be lett aside dureing the difference between the Scots and English which I'm afraid is not so much fomented as I wou'd wish, and consequently the English penny and policy shal prevail against the honest party."[69]

Innes finally deigned to reply to Mongan on 25 November 1705, by which the latter learned that Cahassy had died. Mongan praised Cahassy as the only worthy missionary left in the Highlands, whose people "have never suffer'd more detriment then by that holy churchmans death, whose only shadow as I may say so was sufficient to edify the poor people, and keep in and force the very church men to their duty."[70] Concerning the other missioners, Mongan was not so charitable. He stated that it was not difficult to see how so few of the churchmen were inclined for the mission. More specifically he stated that "some leaves it, that mission, for to com to their one [own] ends and interest, and som other go there indeed by the same motifs." He also suggested that better methods be taken to examine and encourage churchmen who are appropriate for those places, for "when those are onely sent there of late who are not onely useless but very improper for better regulated contrys, no wonder if so many disorders falls out which if not prevented will I fear me occasion the loss of those once so well instructed people." Propaganda Archives concur with Mongan in finding the Irish missionaries in the Highlands too "little instructed and not very zealous."[71] As for Mongan, his ardour for the Highland mission remained very intense. In this letter he went some way to explaining why this was, saying that he would sincerely be more

content to be deprived of his life, "since I look upon scotland as my contry haveing abandonned ease and interest & friends & relations to serve there."[72]

B. Bishop Nicolson's visitation of the Highlands in 1700

1700, the year prior to Mongan's departure into exile, was one of intense activity for Nicolson who, at one of the mission meetings at Gordon Castle, formulated a strict set of regulations for his priests to follow. From May to August of that year, he also made an extensive tour of the Highlands and Islands mission so that he had first hand knowledge of its state.[73] An account of the visitation survives in French. It is important in that it gives details of the priests serving in each area, from which it is possible to identify those who were Irish. The first Irishmen identified (with the exception of a retrospective glance at Mr. White) are two in Morar, where the visitation arrived on the outward journey on 13 June 1700. They went to the Isle of "Bath" (Eilean Ban) on Loch Morar, between north and south Morar ("Morar-mhic-Alaster" on one side and "Morar-mhic-Coule" on the other):

> and after having taken some decisions with Mr. Cahassy, whose infirmity obliged him to stay on the island with Mr. Ratray [Munro's alias] and several other priests, the bishop sent them all back to their people except Mr. Mongan and Mr. MacLennan, whom he decided to take in his company in the isles to serve as interpreters and to help with the functions.[74]

On 21 June 1700 the visitation arrived in Canna. All the inhabitants were said to be Catholic, of whom about 100 were confirmed. "They were served by Mr. Charles Hara under the direction of Mr. Mongan who goes there from time to time and to the neighbouring isles."[75] On 23 June they reached South Uist where the miserable Mr. Coan was brought into the picture by default, being declared responsible for all the scandals that had occurred in that region and Benbecula since he had left the faith. "...nearly all the scandals occurred through the lack of good workers, and those amongst them who were not, gave themselves up to more freedom by the distance that they were from the superiors."[76]

Significantly, the report pointed out that Uist had been without a proper priest for the past two years.[77] The position had been filled by "by some who came and went and a Franciscan monk banished from Ireland who seemed a good enough man, but not having sufficient letters Mr. Osheil was sent there, being prescribed the most appropriate rules to remedy the disorders and to put everything back on a good footing under the direction of Mr. Mongan, provicar."[78] It is, thus, evident that, as in the Protestant Kirk in the seventeenth century, so too in the Catholic Church, isolated parishes in the Highlands frequently became repositories for priests who were not considered up to standard. In the Highlands and Islands many of these seem to have been Irish, but

the total inability of the Scots colleges on the continent to provide even inadequate priests stands as a greater indictment. Indeed, the question of creating native missionaries and encouraging young Highlanders to study for the priesthood was to the fore at this time, but Highland students were less popular than Lowlanders in the continental colleges. The main problem appears to have been, as elucidated by Mr. John Irvine from Rome on 18 April 1701, that the "vyne irritats ther sicklish braine!"[79] Nonetheless, though insufficiently lettered, O'Shiel appears to have been up to his appointment in Uist which was the largest Catholic community on the mission, and he earned high accolades. Barra was also, at this juncture, served by a refugee from Ireland. The report notes that "we only have one of the Franciscans banished from Ireland to put there, waiting until God would provide for it." There were also said to be six other inhabited isles near Barra, under MacNeill, of which Vatersay was the most considerable, and each had a chapel.[80]

The appearance of so many new priests on the mission did not go unnoticed by the Protestants. On 19 October 1700, after Nicolson's visit, the Synod of Argyll took note of a letter from the presbytery of Islay representing that "there are severall priests come from Ireland to the northern Isles perverting the people and that there is one Mcinaish now in their presbyterie professing his repentance for deludeing the people of Saint Kilda, and alledging that John the Baptist useallie appeared to him."[81] The reference to the priests is quite clear. Further, the report may be suggesting that this Mcinnes was a deluded convert of theirs who had gone on to pervert the people of St. Kilda, prior to the island's first sustained encounter with Protestantism in 1710. Before this the minister of Harris, John Campbell, visited the island in 1697 accompanied by Martin Martin.[82] The second edition of the latter's *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,* published in 1716, revealed that Mcinnes' first name was Roderick. Martin Martin noted that he could not read, but "obtruded a false Religion upon the credulous People, which he pretended to have receiv'd from St. John the Baptist." He allegedly communicated with the Baptist on a hill which he designated as sacred so that if a beast ate grass on the hill it had to be killed immediately and eaten, but always in the company of Mcinnes! The religion which he professed appears to have been some debased form of Catholicism, for he taught the people of St. Kilda that they each had a tutelar saint in heaven to intercede for them whose feast days were to be observed, and he taught the women a hymn which he claimed to have been given from the Virgin Mary. On the minister's arrival in the island in 1697, however, Roderick made a public recantation of his imposture. The presence of a priest on St. Kilda was clearly felt to be a threat to the growing presbyterian communities of Lewis and Harris. When the party left the island Roderick was taken to Harris with them and ended up living in Skye, probably the strongest Protestant community in the Islands.[83]

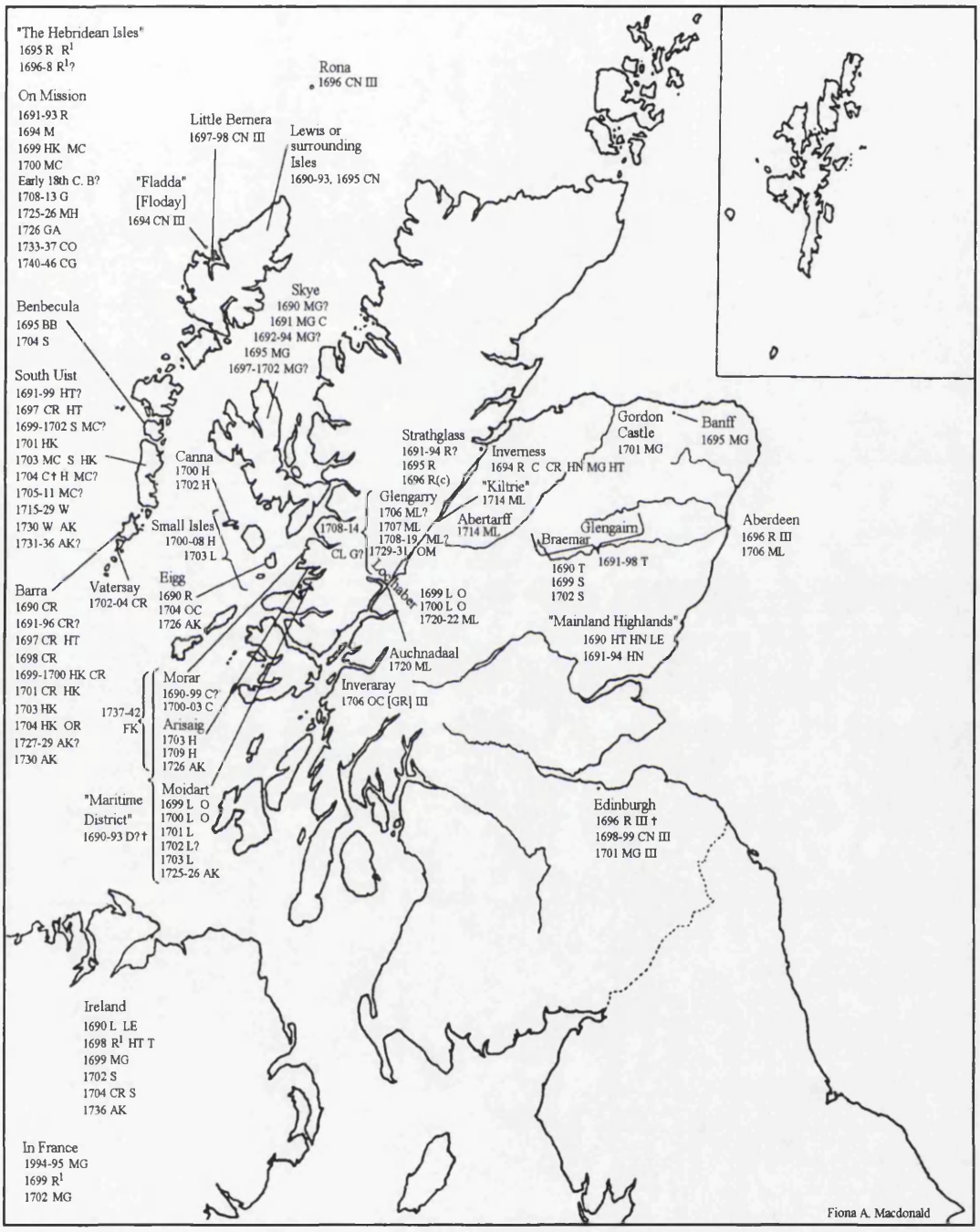
Since the Highlands and Isles were at such a distance from Nicolson's base in Preshome, in the Enzie district of Banffshire, the bishop found it impossible to cover them all himself, so two provicars had been appointed in 1700, Mr. Munro for the Scots, "and for the Irish Mr. Mongan

who has the capacity and talents with several years' experience in the mountains."[84] The bishop had given them more faculties and authority than the others and bestowed the dispensation of many powers and weighty cases which the lesser capacity of some of the missionaries hindered him from giving to them all. He also gave them each visitation rights within their own area, instructing them to give or send him a written report each half-year detailing the exact state of their area.[85]

In a report written in about 1702, Mr. James Gordon, priest in the Enzie, also gave a further update on the service stations of the Irish priests. He divided the priests into two main sections, that is, 'Benedictines and Franciscans,' and 'clergymen.'[86] There were said to be five Irish Franciscans, three of whom were from Ireland and two who had been sent for by the bishop, from France. Fr. Heachean was stationed in Barra, Frs. McFie and O'Shiel in Uist, and Frs. Logan and O'Hara in Moidart and Arisaig who also served the Small Isles. The point is made that these regulars had no superior other than the bishop and were dependent on him like the secular clergy, which is a clear attempt to define the secular nature of their appointment. Nonetheless, the mission still relied, to a certain extent, on the independent finance of the regulars. The five Franciscans, for instance, received allowances from the mission but only two of the Benedictines did so. Whether MacLennan was one of these, cannot be ascertained from the evidence. The two Irish clergymen are named as Mr. John Cahassy, in Morar, and Patrick Carolan, said to have been *non agendo* on the small island of Vatersay near Barra. (See fig. 10.2, Secular period 1690-1760: incidence map.) Gordon also stated that the bishop was planning to promote Mr. Peter Fraser to Holy Orders, so that Fr. O'Hara could devote himself entirely to the Small Isles. It was also a significant development that all the clergy missioners were said to have had fixed stations in which they stayed constantly. Thus, one of the main deficiencies of the mission in the latter half of the seventeenth century had been addressed, and from this point, sustenance of the Catholic pockets of population could be carried out efficiently. Gordon also indicated that the priests still depended a good deal on the nobility for help and protection, and the ability to work with greater freedom. All the missionaries continued to meet once or twice a year to report to the bishop.[87] The extent to which the mission was still dependent on regular clergy should be noted, even though they operated as seculars. In the 1705 report, Gordon recorded eight priests in the Highlands and one in Gaelic-speaking Deeside. Of those, only one was a secular.[88]

Just four years after Nicolson's visitation of the Highlands and Islands, in 1704, a pretended plot claiming that Jacobites and Catholics intended to bring about a revolution in favour of James VIII attracted further persecution of the Catholics. By the meeting of the General Assembly in Edinburgh, in March, the persecution was at its height. In the Highlands Mr. Munro, the Scot, was seized for the second time by a party of soldiers in Glengarry. He died within three days. The General Assembly, in an address to the Queen supplicating the suppression of popery, made mention of the daily growth of Catholicism and of the infinite number of priests in the north and

Fig. 10.2
SECULAR PERIOD 1690-1760
INCIDENCE MAP



D = Devoyer	R = H. Ryan	LE = Lea	HN = Hannat	CR = Carolan	S = O'Sheil	ML = Mulligan	MH = McHenry	G = Gusman	
C = Cahassy	R[1] = W. Ryan	HT = Harnet	[GR = Ross]	OC = O'Callaghan	MC = McFie	AK = A. Kelly	B = Brullaghan	III Imprisoned	
M = McNeill	CN = Coan	T = Trener	O = O'Beirne	CO = Connor	GA = Gallagher	FK = F. Kelly	OM = O'Mulrian	† Died	
MG = Mongan	OR = O'Raigan	L = Logan	H = O'Hara	HK = Heachean	BB = Am Brathair Bochd	CL = Cluan	CG = Colgan	(c) Captured	

the Highlands. They estimated that there were six priests to one minister in those areas. Two of the Irish Franciscans are said to have left the mission and returned to Ireland.[89] One of these was undoubtedly Carolan who had been ill for some time in Vatersay. The other may have been O'Shiel who is last heard of on the mission in 1704 when he was in Benbecula. O'Shiel ultimately went on to greater things in his native country. After his service on the Highland mission he returned to Ireland and according to Dr. MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, in a report to Propaganda in 1713, he registered as a secular priest in which capacity he worked for ten years in his native Down. He was eventually made bishop of Down and Connor in 1717.[90]

With the death of Cahassy in the same year, this presented somewhat of a crisis for the mission. Bishop Nicolson sent to both Ireland and the continent for help, for although some youths had been sent to the Scots colleges in Paris and Rome since his appointment, the majority of them had not continued. So too, Thomas and Louis Innes wrote from Paris on 16 November 1704 to James Gordon, then in Rome, indicating that the extreme lack of staff on the mission should be stressed. "I say the *extreme* want, for by all the letters from Scotland it appears that the want is most extreme in the highlands especially, all the Irish being gone and the places they were formerly in abandoned."[91] In order to help Bishop Nicolson on a mission which was beset with problems, in July 1705, James Gordon was appointed coadjutor under the title bishop of Nicopolis. It proved difficult to set up and sustain Catholic schools but the most pressing need was for missionaries. For the year 1705 the Rev. James Thompson reports that: 'The Bishop some time before had procured from France and Ireland, Irish priests and friars, at a great expense, for the Highlands. Two of these friars soon left the country; a third, who stayed some time longer, soon followed them....'[92] The mission was in such a precarious state of decline that even the missionaries themselves were said to have entertained thoughts that it might fail.[93]

C. New Irish personnel

A directly opposed but corroborative viewpoint concerning Irish participation on the Scottish mission is provided by a very detailed, though undated, account among the General Assembly papers. This account, which can be accurately dated from internal evidence to 1704, appears to have been compiled with a view to facilitating the capture of these priests.[94] "Old father Casey" is portrayed as "a Grand promoter of the popish interest" who was permanently resident in a dwelling house in an island in Loch Morar.[95] MacLennan, the Scot, is also mentioned as still in Arisaig and Knoydart. A third priest, Fr. Patrick O'Callaghan ["O'Kalligan"], has not previously been noted in any of the Catholic sources. He is said to have resided habitually in the Island of Eigg and "sayes Mass in the dwelling-house of one Lachlane mcDonal vic lachlane" there. Clearly O'Callaghan, identified as middle-aged, had come to Eigg at some time since Nicolson's visit in the summer of 1700.[96] This priest, who went under the alias of Thomas Campbell, was apprehended with a

probable assistant, a man called George Ross (alias MacDonald), on 5 January 1706. It is likely that the latter assumed the medical profession by way of disguise for he was found with a recipe for curing corns by means of boiled roots, lilies and roasted black snails on his person. He was on trial before the justice depute of Argyll on 15 January 1706, suspected of being a trafficking priest.[97]

James O'Shiel who had been sent, after his débâcle in Braemar, to South Uist, is specifically mentioned as being in Benbecula and is identified as being under middle age. Colin McFie, sounding more Irish under his contemporary nomenclature of "McOvie," is noted as staying, for the most part, at Ormacleit in South Uist where he was personal chaplain to MacDonald of Clanranald. He was identified as "a lustie bodied black haired young man."[98] It should, however, be noted that though McFie was an Irish Franciscan, he may have had connections with Colonsay or Lochaber. Colonsay was the original home of the MacPhies, but there were also MacOvies associated with the Camerons of Lochiel, at the west end of Locharkaig in Lochaber.[99] In 1704, Heachean was in the Isle of Barra. He is referred to simply as "father William," and is said to have been in Barra since the "distraction" of the priest there before him, which refers to Patrick Carolan. According to the report, the previous priest "fell out upon the back of some difference betwixt him and the laird of Bara anent a soum of money which he alledgeth he had given the laird and which the laird denieth. And only continuing since in that distemper he remains now confined in ane Island of Barra called Water shaw [Vatersay]." Another priest in that area also comes to light, not previously noted in any Catholic correspondence, by the name of "oraigan," that is, Ó Raigan, who "officiats with the said Father william" in Barra.[100] O'Hara is not mentioned, but according to a secondary source was at Cahassy's deathbed in September 1704.[101] (See fig. 10.2, Secular period 1690-1760: incidence map.) In terms of how the priests conducted themselves socially, it appears that they generally dressed in ordinary Highland attire "and armour," except when performing services, so that their office was not readily distinguishable. By the same token, they were often skilled in other professions, as was Thomas Campbell above.[102] Mr. Angus MacDonald, the episcopal encumbent in South Uist, also came under attack for fraternising with the Irish priests because he "carries very laxly keeping frequent and familiar converse with the preists who are daylie perverting the few who are protestant in his paroch." The natural Jacobite inclination of the episcopalian ministers, many of whom were suffered to remain in their charges after the Revolution because of a lack of presbyterian clergy in the Highlands and Islands, was always a matter of suspicion for the Kirk.[103] Thus, in June 1706, the Synod of Argyll recommended that the presbytery of Skye "look more after the Popish Bounds within their Presbyterie, and that they take more inspection of the Long Island, and of the Episcopal Incumbents as to their doctrine and Discipline and attendance on their Charge, and to make report."[104]

Although there was a slow growth in native priests, Irish priests continued to be recruited to the mission in the early eighteenth century. Fr. Peter Mulligan, an Irish Augustinian, was persuaded to

go on the Highland mission by Mr. James Gordon when he was in Rome for his consecration as coadjutor at the beginning of 1706. Travelling via Holland from Paris, they arrived on 27 July in Aberdeen. 1706 was said to have been a quiet year on the mission, with little in the way of persecution. Mulligan seems, very quickly, to have taken on the alias MacDonald, by which he is more often mentioned in contemporary records. A presbyterian document, probably dating from about 1710, notes that "Mr Peter Mcdonald constantly resides at abertarph and Glengary."[105] Neither had Bishop Gordon been idle in France, for there he had persuaded two Irish Dominicans, Peter Cluan and John Gusman, from the convent of St. Clemente at Rome, to come on the mission. They were to follow afterwards.[106] Bishop Gordon wrote to William Leslie from Brille, on 21 June 1706, stating that "we have seen their obedience from their General which gives them licence to go to Ireland, but does not restrain them to it only and we know that their General's inclination is that his Religious who are fitt for missions, help such as are most destitute."[107]

There was further potential Irish recruitment to the mission in the same year. In 1706 a priest called Bourke also showed interest in the Highland mission. In a letter dated around 1706, from a Fr. Bourk to William Leslie, referring to the mission, Bourk said that his namesake, Mr. Bourke, had gone away the previous Wednesday and asked that Leslie recommend him to Duke of Perth.[108] A letter from the same year, also unspecified in terms of month, may identify Bourke. In 1706 Fr. Redmond Bourke wrote to an unknown recipient saying that "Frs. Peter Colman and John Gusmane," two religious of his order, had lately come from Rome in order to serve on the Scottish mission, stating that they had indicated that the recipient was desirous to find more of the same order for the same purpose. "Therefore if you please sir to furnish me with a little money, as you was pleased to furnish the two aforsaid religious men mentioned, I will in the name of God vinter my life to serve christians with all discretion imaginable for not onely I speake Irish and English but yett I speake Spanish and frinch." He added, by way of *curriculum vitae*, that he had preached in Irish for twelve years in Ireland and had converted some in the north of Ireland "that is to say, near Sligoe and in those places adiacent to the County of farmanaugh which is partly in the nort of Irland."[109] He obviously regarded the north of Ireland as a sufficient training ground for Scotland. However, a letter dated 26 March 1707 from Patrick Cusack, superior of the Community of the Just at Nantes, to the principal of the Scots College, points out that Bourke had been asked to defer his resolution until the Spring which he had done, but by this time, through the instrument of his superior, he "desirs you will be pleased to honnour him with your answere."[110] The correspondence identifies Bourke as a Dominican, and confirms that he was a good preacher. There is, however, no surviving evidence that he reached the mission.

Nonetheless, there was an ample Dominican presence on the Highland mission in the first half of the eighteenth century, though there were no Irish Dominicans there by the end of the century. Although the attempt to re-establish a Scottish Dominican presence had fallen into abeyance after

the death of Patrick Primrose,[111] a number of Dominicans subsequently came to work as seculars on the mission. Apart from those already mentioned, one Fr. Dominic Brullaghan (or Bradley) may also have worked in the Highlands. Brullaghan was a strolling friar from Coleraine priory, and was the brother of the bishop of Derry, Dr. Patrick Brullaghan. He mainly evangelised the areas around Derry in the early eighteenth century, and here, as well as in Coleraine, he was well known in Irish as 'An Brathair Bán.' He is mentioned as one of a handful of eighteenth-century friars who took occasional visits to Scotland where they worked from time to time. Although his place of operation is not mentioned it is highly likely, given the Highland connection with Derry and Coleraine, that he visited the Highlands.[112] He also wrote a book on missionary practice in Britain in which he stressed the differences in the ways priests worked in various areas. He stated that missionaries in Scotland were not likely to be assigned to any particular district, but worked where they could to advance "the glory of God, the Catholic faith and the salvation of souls." This statement certainly qualifies the extent to which missionaries in the Highlands were assigned to particular districts and tends to contradict Gordon's report of 1702, above. It indicates that even if things had greatly improved since the seventeenth century, priests on the Highlands and Islands mission still travelled a good deal more than their Irish contemporaries expected to.[113]

In the year 1707 Bishop Gordon decided, as had Bishop Nicolson in 1700, to undertake a tour of the Highland and Island mission from which the latter was precluded because of ill-health. He set out on 5 June accompanied by Mr. Daglish (or Douglas), a deacon from Rome who spoke Erse whom he later ordained as a priest towards the end of the trip, on 25 July, at Borrodale in Knoydart. All the principal Gaelic-speaking Catholic communities were visited.[114] A list surviving from 1707, which notes the distribution of missionaries in the Highlands, was probably compiled during, or as a result of, Gordon's tour. It is useful because it establishes the missionaries by denomination and number, in specific districts, so that it is possible to attempt to match priest to denomination. There was a Jesuit in Strathglass, an Augustinian in Glengarry, a Benedictine in Knoydart and the Isle of Skye etc., a Franciscan in the Isles of Canna, Eigg and Rhum and another Franciscan in Morar etc., a secular priest in Arisaig, and a Franciscan each in the Isles of Uist and Barra.[115]

Understandably, with the Jacobite attempt of 1708 when the French fleet appeared off the coast, Catholics again came under surveillance and parties of soldiers were garrisoned around the country. In 1709 the SSPCK, a powerful agent of anti-Catholicism, also began to open Protestant schools in the Highlands.[116] Nevertheless, converts continued to be attracted to the Catholic church, most actively in Strathbogie, Glenlivet, Strathaven, Braemar, Strathglass and Glengarry.[117] Persecution increased as prominent Catholics were summoned before circuit courts and ministers pursued the lower echelons. Some of those converted in Glenlivet and Strathaven left the church under the continuous pressure from ministers and J.P.s. However, a spirit of moderation prevailed

from 1711 to 1714 and there were said to be good harvests in Lochaber, Glengarry, Strathglass, the Enzie and Strathbogie in 1711.[118] Some of these harvests, it appears, came from those who had reconverted to Catholicism after a period of episcopalianism. There was, moreover, a significant inclination towards Jacobitism in many episcopalian communities, and this factor cannot be overlooked both as a factor in their conversion and as a reason for inciting presbyterian fears. A presbyterian document dated 29 May 1714 states that "In the Countreys of Glenlivet & Strathaven in the presbytery of Aberlour, priests are very Insolent & busie, and have seduced some to apostatize, and others who had renounced popery are now fallen back to their former delusions."[119]

The next Irish priest to arise in conjunction with the Scottish mission was Mr. John O'Niel. His letter of 21 January 1713 from Prague seems to indicate, indirectly, a pleasure at being accepted for the mission, but that he was awaiting clearance from Rome. "I shall in all things correspon(d) with my obligation and the expectation you may have of me. If that viaticum were but once obtained from Rome, I would not tarry a minuit, but depart imediatly." He also asked the recipient to write to Bishop Gordon and inform him of his resolution. Moreover, O'Niel's academic training is, perhaps, indicative that the period of employing ill-qualified Irish priests was over, for he indicated that he was a fully fledged master of Arts.[120] Once again, there is no evidence that he came to the mission. Several of the Irish seem to have been discontent with the mission in this year and were threatening to leave. On 12 July 1713 Bishop Gordon wrote to Thomas Innes in Paris: "When I was in West I persuaded M. Mulig. (who brings in prodigious numbers) and the two Doms to stay one year more." He did, however, expect them to depart in the following year. Although the two Dominicans, Cluan and Gusman, probably did leave the mission, for they are not heard of again, Mulligan was persuaded to stay and did not leave the mission until 1722. A Protestant account of 1714 refers to him living in Abertarff, sometimes in Glengarry, and keeping mass in MacDonald of Kiltrie's house. (See fig. 10.2, Secular period 1690-1760: incidence map.) Yet, it appears he remained discontent in his work, for Bishop Gordon wrote of him again, on 16 October 1717, that: "I have great difficulty to keep the laborer I brought home with me, who is one of the most usefullest," however he saw fit to add, "though he does not please me so well as at first." He also indicated that others of the missionaries in the west did not please him at all.[121]

Nonetheless, the numbers of Catholic priests in Scotland in 1713 seemed abundant to Protestants, and certainly Nicolson and Gordon felt secure enough to open a seminary on Loch Morar. That it should be opened in this staunchly Catholic MacDonald country was of particular significance, not only in religious terms, but because it probably fuelled presbyterian political paranoia. Certainly, the threat presented to presbyterianism by popish priests and Jesuits in Scotland was expressed in a joint anti-papal, anti-Catholic pamphlet printed by John Moncur and written in December 1713. Noteworthy, for the purpose in hand, was the placement of "Mr Peter Mcdonald about Glengarry."

However, the pamphlet also identified those areas where Catholicism had the ascendancy. There were besides:

> 6 or 7 Priests in the Bounds of the Presbytery of Skay, and some about Lochaber, and Bounds of the Presbytery of Lorn, and many more who are traveling through the Country, suspected to be Priests and Missionaries from Rome, going under borrowed Names, and pretend to be in other Imployments, and severals of the rest are Blood Relations to Families of good Note in the Places they most haunt.[122]

The identification of priests again in the presbytery of Lorn, within the bounds of the Synod of Argyll, is notable. However, they are less likely to have been in Argyll than in those parishes which were separated from presbytery of Lorn to constitute the presbytery of Abertarff, on 19 May 1724, within the Synod of Glenelg, that is, those of Boleskine and Abertarff, Kilmallie, Kilmonivaig and Glenelg.[123]

II. IRISH PRIESTS DURING THE GROWTH OF THE NATIVE SECULAR MISSION IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although it is evident from various presbyterian sources that the Kirk was perturbed by the growth of Catholicism in the Highlands and Islands, particularly prior to the 1715, the Synod of Argyll did not make any specific mention of trafficking priests from 16 October 1701 until its next reference on 8 June 1720, though there are occasional references to 'popery.' The date of the last reference must, therefore, be seen to represent a new Protestant assault on Catholicism and appears to have been in response to an influx of personnel (such as had not been seen on the mission since 1699) which may have resulted in the defections to Catholicism from episcopalian, non-juring ranks.[124] Nonetheless, little evidence can be found of a particular increase of Irish personnel at this time though Irish priests continued to come on the mission for many years, and it may be that the information has not survived. The native Scots contingent was also growing. There were eight Scots priests in the Highland Vicariate in 1733. This had risen to eleven by 1743 though one was an invalid.[125] There were, in comparison, only two Irish priests on the mission from 1733 to 1743.[126] On 8 June 1720 the Synod of Argyll appointed a representation to be made to the Commission of Assembly regarding the lamentable circumstances of several parishes within their bounds because of the growth of popery, particularly mentioning the Braes of Lochaber, and because of "a great number of trafficking priests that are of late come in, besides these who were in the Countrey formerly." However, the only priests alluded to by name in this document were Fr. Peter MacDonald or Mulligan, who had translated from Glengarry to permanent residence in Lochaber, and Mr. Gregor McGregor who had filled his place in Glengarry.[127]

In a letter of 31 July 1722, Bishop James Gordon, gave further information about Mulligan. He indicated that he would keep Mulligan, but that Mulligan was not pleased with "Rob. the Recollect" and if possible would gladly be rid of him.[128] This Franciscan (Recollect) has not been identified elsewhere, though is likely to have been Irish and was probably a short-term labourer who soon left the mission. On 29 August 1725, the Scot Niel McFie wrote from Rome to Mr. Thomas Innes, vice-principal of the Scots College in Paris. The letter was a request for "the sending of Father Galagher an Irish fryar to our mission," who appears to have been a Capuchin.[129] The letter also contained a recommendation, so that the principal did not think that Gallagher spoke at random. "He has a good stock of learning, especially what's requisite for our mission, and knows the Irish tongue better then any in the Convent."[130]

In another letter to Thomas Innes, Regent of the Scots College in Paris on 11 November 1725, McFie showed that the lack of tenacity apparent in some of the Irish missionaries at the end of the previous century still prevailed:

> I know full well that there's a great difference to be suppos'd still betuixt the passing assistence of strangers and the affectionate zeal of our countrey people in order to support or propagate the catholick religion in these parts; for I have known some Irish there who skipt of for Ireland as soon as they mette with some hardships which a missioner in these parts must necessarily expect, and so left the countrey in a miserable condition, there being no other missionars nigh hand at that time to prevent the disorders that ensued.

Much of this was probably due to the mission oath. Moreover, it appears that McFie's comments had been induced by Innes' negative reaction to his recommendation of the Irish friar Gallagher. McFie therefore indicated that he would not have recommended Gallagher if he did not know him to be a person shaped for the Highland mission.[131] In a third letter to Thomas Innes on 24 February 1726, McFie informed that Gallagher had received clearance for going on the mission and would leave at the end of March. He trusted that he would prove equal to his recommendation, but expressed his sadness that the mission still had to be supplied by foreigners at all.[132]

The Rev. John Thompson's account for 1725 states that: 'Two Irish priests also came to the Mission this year from France, the one a Dominican and the other a Recollect; which proved a very seasonable relief in the present circumstances.' In all likelihood these were Anthony Kelly, the Franciscan, and the Dominican Bernhard McHenry.[133] 1726 was a fruitful year, financially, for the Scottish mission which, as a result of accounts sent to Rome in the previous year about persecution of Catholics, was granted an extraordinary subsidy of 500 crowns by Propaganda which enabled them to procure more hands.[134] In some areas, such as Glengarry, Catholics had increased three-fold and persecution was said to be the worst encountered in 160 years. The

situation would, therefore, seem to indicate that persecution was proportionately linked to an increase in converts to Catholicism. However, the increase may reveal a concealed defection to Catholicism by Jacobite episcopalians following the persecution and notable decline of episcopalians after the 1715 rebellion. As for the persecution, it was probably also linked to fear of post-Union economic unrest which seems to have been inflamed by Jacobites, for after attending to meal riots in Glasgow in 1726, military units were sent to the Highlands to arrest Catholic missionaries.[135]

Anthony Kelly, the Irish Franciscan, was mentioned further in a letter from George Douglas in Arisaig, on 2 February 1726, to Dr. James Grant, mentioning that "Mr Anthony and Hugh have separated. Anthony for the Iles and Hugh for Moidart." By the 21st of the same month, Brother Kelly, as he signed himself, had established himself in Eigg from where he sent a letter to Mr. James Gordon in Edinburgh. Unlike many others, he stated that he was "able to undergo tolerably the Highland mission as to the bodily labour." His only request was that he be allowed to wear the habit, and almost uniquely among the missionaries, he is found stating "as for mony I pray you nominate none for me I only desire an alms of Cloaths."[136] However, Bishop Gordon did not set great store by him, referring to him on 20 January 1626 as "very simple and not having great prudence."[137] On 1 June 1726 "O kellie" is mentioned in the Protestant record as one of five priests suffered to reside in the countries of Moidart, Morar and Arisaig.[138] In 1728, if he had not gone there before, Kelly is known to have been serving in Barra where he remained in 1730.[139] (See fig. 10.2, Secular period 1690-1760: incidence map.) It also seems that Kelly had an alcohol problem, for Bishop Gordon wrote again, on 6 November 1729, of "his old inclinations of wronging himself with drink."[140] Nevertheless, when Kelly was eventually called back by the superiors of his order in 1736, Bishop Hugh MacDonald wrote a stunning testimony of his worth: "If poor Anthony Kelly should come back, I would willingly dispense with all the rest." In a report to Propaganda, MacDonald further described him as "a most worthy and apostolic man who was on this mission for many years and did an immense amount of good."[141]

Indeed, Kelly is a name which appears consistently on the mission in the eighteenth century but like 'Ryan' the name was held by several different missionaries. In a letter from Walkerdale, on 13 August 1737, Bishop James Gordon wrote to Mr. Alexander Robison, in Edinburgh,explaining the connection between the two. He indicated that Mr. Kelly came from Ireland about the time Mr. Peter Grant went to Moidart, and that he was "a Cusin of t'other M. Kelly, who promises to come himself in 2 years." However, it does not appear that Anthony Kelly ever came back on the mission.[142] Further information is given in a letter from Mr. George James Gordon at the seminary at Scalan, to Mr. George Gordon at Mortlach on 21 November 1737: "That the Irish Franciscan lately come over, called F: Francis Kelly (a cousin of the pious Franciscan F: Anthony Kelly at present a provincial of his order in Ireland,) is setled in Mr Lesly's place in Arasaig and

Clanranald's Moror."[143] There is also mention of a third, Peter Kelly, who was cited in a note, dated October 1738, giving details on Irish affairs, for reputed fabrication about the Scottish mission.[144]

By 1729, of the two Irish friars then on the mission, one is said to have died and the other to have gone back to Ireland for health reasons. Hence Bishop Gordon wrote to France for more to replace them.[145] The two who left the mission were, in all likelihood, Gallagher and McHenry, for Kelly was still on the mission in the 1730s. A letter of Bishop Gordon's to Monsr. Michel Fribourg, merchant in Paris, on 6 November 1729, referred to the arrival of M. Ryan. This was Fr. Michael O'Mulrian, an Irish Dominican, mentioned in the Annual List for this year who arrived in about July. He was sent to serve in Glengarry.[146] On 21 February 1730, Mr. Carnegie[147] wrote from Paris to Abbé Stuart, Scots agent at Rome, of a potential recruit to the Highland mission:

> We have got here a priest born in Ireland of Scotch parents, he past his philosophy and divinity with applause at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and was to be a presbyterian minister, but becoming a Catholick he returned to Ireland, not to his parents who are bigot presbyterians, but to the Catholick Bishop of Dublain who ordained him, and put him to serve in a Chapel in that town, but he thought he would do better to come here and improve himself, and then go to the highlands, so we give him here all the encouragement we can.[148]

Unfortunately, the priest is not named, though the similarities between this and the case of John Campbell below, cannot fail to be noticed, and would explain Campbell's deployment to a Scots college.

Although the Scottish mission had been divided into Highland and Lowland vicariates since July 1727, it was not until the consecration of Bishop Hugh MacDonald, titular bishop of Diana, on 18 October 1731, that it received its own bishop. Moreover, MacDonald was the first fully indigenously-trained priest in the Highlands since the Reformation.[149] The full extent of his remit was outlined in a letter from Mr. Patrick Leith, an Edinburgh-based priest, on 25 March 1735: "I am inform'd from aberdeen that B. Mcdonald has got under his Charge all the midle highland Countries such as your two Strathdown and Glenlivet, Glengirn Braemar, and wherever the Erse is the current language. And the Jesuits in those places are ordered to send him as soon as possible, the exact number of their hearers."[150] It is interesting to note that the other suggested contender for the position of Highland bishop was Irish. This was a Dominican called Ryan who was, undoubtedly, the O'Mulrian who had come on the mission in 1729. However, following almost a century of fairly indifferent direction of the Highland mission from Ireland, latterly under Archbishop Oliver Plunkett of Armagh, it had clearly been decided that a native Scot could deal more effectively with the task.[151] Certainly, when he took office, MacDonald regarded it as a

serious problem that, aside from a few true seculars, the majority of his missionaries were Scots or Irish religious who had no real obligation to the mission other than their own commitment, which rigours and hardships could soon wear down. In an attempt to remedy this, he and Bishop Gordon decided to re-open the seminary on Loch Morar. It should also be noted that the practical difficulties, experienced by the Established Kirk, in working in the Highlands also applied to the Catholics. This is evident, for instance, with regard to the language problem. On 20 August 1733, Bishop Hugh MacDonald lamented to Mr. William Stuart at Hamburg, the lack of labourers who spoke Gaelic: "You'l easily observe how necessary it's that any students there who had any thing of the Highland language should endeavour to keep it, and lickwise that I should be informed when you have any vacancy, because necessity requires that for a time, those who have our language should be sent to the Colledge."[152]

Four years later, in June 1737, the missionaries Colin Campbell and John Tyrie were still lamenting the insufficiency of missionaries in the Highlands. In the northern and Highland areas both the gentry and the people alike revered the Catholic faith so that wherever a missionary stayed he soon brought many to the faith which exacerbated the problem.

> But this is so evident in the Highlands that whole countreys have often demanded earnestly Missioners to instruct them in the Catholick faith, yet so feu are the Missioners that none coud be sent them, since the feu that are, cannot sufficiently serve them who are already Catholicke because of the roughness of the Countreys, and the Catholicks living much despersed and in several different Isles, which occasions that every Missioner can scarcely visit all his flock once in two years.[153]

Campbell and Tyrie were major protagonists in the main source of conflict under which the mission laboured in the early part of the eighteenth century, namely, what has come to be known as the Jansenist controversy. Jansenism was a particularly harsh form of Catholicism whose doctrine was much akin to Calvinism in terms of strict morality, asceticism and ideas of determination. The Scots College in Paris became very Jansenist in outlook but accusations of Jansenism in Scotland, with their undoubted associations of presbyterian taint, were particularly dangerous.[154] Jansenism or perhaps more correctly, the threat of it, really began to impinge upon the mission in the late 1720s and Irish priests on the mission were also implicated in the controversy. Those in connection with the Scots College in France were on their guard. On 5 July 1729 James Carnegie (alias Mr. Hall), a secular priest on the mission (and secret Jacobite agent) wrote to Edinburgh with fears about Michael O'Mulrian whom Bishop Gordon had accepted with a view to replacing Gregor McGregor, whose complaints of Jansenism against the bishop were beginning to gather force. He indicated that O'Mulrian began to show his colours as soon as he came to Edinburgh, declaring himself a great enemy of the French because of their Jansenism. Ironically, the Irish replacement for Mr. McGregor appears to have been as vehement an anti-Jansenist as himself! "Our people

have got it, both Bishops and Priests, that Mr. Ryan the Dominican that cam from your parts and is gone lately to the highlands is to stay but a short time there as a spy over Bishops and Clergy, and then is to go to Ireland to be Bishope, in the mean time he is to oberve if he sees anything of Jansenism...." He went on to state that "if many such come amongst us we will soon go to ruin."[155] While this did not quite occur, certainly the anti-Jansenists were to wreak havoc in the next few years on the mission.

The high point of the controversy came in 1733 when Colin Campbell succeeded in persuading Bishop Gordon, senior vicar-apostolic on the Scottish mission, to elicit subscriptions to the papal bull *Unigenitus* of 1713 which had condemned the main tenets of Jansenism. A Formulary was drawn up for all missionaries to sign which repudiated not only Jansenism but also Baianism, as well as subscribing *Unigenitus*. Significantly, all but one of the Scottish clergy signed it.[156] However, from all accounts it appears that those who accused Bishop James Gordon of Jansenism, namely the above-mentioned Scots Colin Campbell and John Tyrie, as well as Gregor McGregor, the latter of whom first laid written charges against the bishop, were mainly using such accusations as a lever for their own discontent. Having been created pro-vicar in 1728, Colin Campbell's particular grievance was of having been passed over in 1731 for the post of first Highland vicar-apostolic and again in 1735 for coadjutor. As a kinsman of the Duke of Argyll, Bishop Gordon, in particular, felt that Campbell would have evened up the hierarchical bias in favour of MacDonalds on the mission. However, the fact that the Clan Campbell had stood on the Government side in the '15 rebellion was, by the same token, thought to mitigate against him. So too, Tyrie's support for the campaign probably stemmed from a desire to escape from his marginal posting in the Highlands. Support was received also from the Jesuits and Scots Benedictines, the former in an attempt to thwart the dominance of the mission by seculars, and the latter in a probable attempt to divert some of Propaganda's funds to its own priests. The so-called 'Pilgrims,' Campbell and Tyrie, also masqueraded as champions of the poverty-stricken mission. The main grievance in the Highlands was still lack of money, the priests receiving but 28 crowns a year which according to a letter of June 1737 was, in reality, so small that "some are forced to leave small debts behind them when they dye, which is some kind of reflexion upon Religion." Campbell and Tyrie were fully utilising to their own advantage the financial discontent which had been rumbling since last vented by the Irish at the end of the seventeenth century.[157]

An interesting memorial survives from Campbell and Tyrie, to King James VIII and III, dated June 1737, which refers to the death of the missionary Mr. William Stuart "who for these many years bygone was Procurator of our Clergy Mission," that is, Scottish agent in Rome. The main content of the letter requests that Stewart's effects, since he died intestate, should go to support a missionary in Scotland.[158] The Pilgrims' action is consistent with decisions laid down by them in a scroll of 14 April 1735, entitled *Instructions for Mr. John Tyrie.* Though allegedly a consensus of

Highland priests at a meeting on the Isle of Morar, the document is a forgery by Tyrie but is a useful indication of their grievances, one of which was a demand for a greater say in the management of the mission's funds. They particularly wished the Cardinal Protector's assurance that they received a fair share of any legacies bequeathed to the mission.[159] Stuart had an interesting heritage in terms of Highland/Irish connections. The letter indicates that "all what Bishop Gordon and the Missioners of Scotland knou about him, is that he was born in Ireland of Scots parents," studied at Prague in Bohemia and spent some time in Scotland after the Revolution. Having been ordained in Rome in 1694, he had accompanied Bishop Nicolson to Scotland after his consecration, arriving in England in early 1696, before proceeding to Scotland in the following year. After a year in Scotland, according to the letter, Stuart was sent by the Mission to Rome with William Leslie, then procurator, and by his means was made "superior of the Convertits," and in 1703 succeeded Mr. James Gordon as agent or procurator for the Scots clergy mission. "He was indeed originally descended of Stuart of Appin but neither that family or any other can (instruct) his being their nigh Relation, nor was he ever heard by any of us who studied in the Scots Colledge and were in some respect under his direction, speak of his Relations, further than that he was a Scots Highlander." Apparently, he had forgotten how to speak his native language, though he still understood it.[160]

Material in the Archives of Propaganda Fide also shows that investigations into the shortcomings of Scots mission personnel, at this time, extended as far as Ireland. The Archbishop of Armagh received letters from several colleges in Italy, from Alexander Lawson, catechist at the hospital for the converted in Borga and from Peter Grant, agent for Muria, in 1740, concerning John Campbell, a student at the Scots College in Rome. It appears that there was some duplicity involved in the provision of Campbell's testimonials. The Principal of Ireland claimed in a letter to Sir Thomas Sheridan, former tutor of the Young Pretender (and later one of the 'seven men of Moidart') that the only correspondence he had had with Campbell was a commendation in Latin with his seal attached, though Campbell's letter of attestation had allegedly been sent to one Savage, a clergyman in Paris. The Principal claimed that a letter produced in his name was a forgery. A subsequent report on John Campbell indicates that he was dismissed from the Scots College in Rome after the second year theology class, for persistent obstinacy. Significantly, Campbell was born in Ireland of Scottish parents and had converted from Calvinism, arriving in Rome in 1738. His attendance at the Scots College, when he could easily have attended an Irish one, shows the extent to which the Ulster Scot identified with his roots.[161]

Overall, it is hard to speak in terms of a specifically Irish attitude towards Jansenism on the mission, since from 1729 to 1742 no more than two Irish priests have been noted as Highland missionaries in any one year. What can be said is that O'Mulrian, the one Irish priest recorded for his anti-Jansenist stance, was dealt with summarily by the bishop. He was ordered from the

mission in October 1731 on suspicion of a crime against chastity but given that contrary views had been expressed about his anti-Jansenist attitude as early as 1729, it is, perhaps, more likely that such suspicions were used merely to effect his removal.[162]

The end of the period under review was characterised by the exercise of extreme caution in the Catholic Highlands. As previously after the '15, Catholics came under attack following the 1745 rebellion. In 1747 a pamphlet was published anonymously in London, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, who had been honoured for his services against Jacobites after the '15.[163] One of the papers published in the pamphlet was a 'List of the Popish Missionaries, in the Lowlands and Highlands of Scotland, as they stood Anno 1740.' Of 25 missionaries only two, by this time, were Irish. Both were published, unlike most of the others, without Christian names. They were O'Kelly and O'Colgan, that is, Francis Kelly and Dominic Colgan.[164] Describing many of these papists as cruel and barbarous thieves, murderers and traitors, who constitute a standing army for the Pretender, the writer particularly singled out the MacDonalds. "And amongst these, McDonalds more especially, will be found a great body of relentless Foes to the Protestant Names." Indeed, by 1700 the increasing number of MacDonald priests had earned them the nickname 'the priesthood of Aaron.'[165]

Although, by the mid-eighteenth century there were more Highlanders taking orders, the desire for Irish labourers persisted, latterly, more as a political consideration. Bishop Hugh McDonald wrote from Edinburgh to Monsr. L'Abbé Grant, care of Mr. Riddoch at the Scots College in Paris on 9 May 1755. He stated that he had two hopeful apprentices ready to send to him, but that they were having difficulty in finding ships to take them at present. He then made a very pertinent comment: "It's true in the present situation it were better they should be of any other name than McDonalds as that name is more obnoxious to the Government than any other," yet he carried on to lament that unfortunately "the most of our westerns are of that suspected Clan." This, led him to favour the Irish: "therefore it wou'd be of great use, if you cou'd find some good Irish Labourers there who wou'd have the charity to com to our assistance, since they might expect more tolleration than our owne people, as we are credablly informed."[166] Indeed, this turns into a somewhat ironic justification of the Irish whom the Scottish superiors had been trying to replace with indigenous clergy for so long.[167]

III. RESULTS OF THE MISSION

Although this thesis deals specifically with the contribution of the Irish in the Highlands, it is impossible to arrive at a meaningful assessment of their work unless seen as part of the overall work of conversion on the Catholic mission during this period. Whereas earlier discussion of the

mission to the Highlands was almost coterminous with a discussion of the contribution of the Irish missionaries, by the early eighteenth century native dominance had been established in the priesthood. The following discussion, therefore, places the Irish contribution within the context of the general expansion of Catholicism at this time and of the presbyterian campaign to limit it.

A. The Irish contribution to the work of conversion

Albeit the Irish presence was small by the '45, the codification for the mission laid down in Bishop Nicolson's report of 1700 admitted to having been influenced by Catholic practice in Ireland, notably the introduction of the idea of public penitence for scandalous crimes like fornication. It had been abolished by rulings in several of the Scottish Catholic mission assemblies about 20 years previously, that is, around 1680 because it was considered contrary to modesty, humanity and the common practice of the church. They had, however, been obliged to continue with it until they, more or less, had freedom of worship because the Protestants used the technique, and the fact that they did not use it became yet another subject for invective and calumny, as if there were no need among Catholics to obtain pardon or to confess crimes. Indeed, because it was a custom in the kingdom, there was apparently nothing that scandalised Protestants or Catholics more than to omit this practice.[168] Although it was sanctioned in Nicolson's statutes of 1700, his history of the technique has been revealed to be inaccurate. The practice of public penitence had been present in the Medieval Church and had been retained by the Protestants. In the post-Reformation Catholic congregation, the penitent was called to the altar or made to stand up in the gathering. The sanction was often applied, as in the Protestant Kirk, for sexual offences or marriage by a minister. The practice continued to be used, according to the draft of the statutes, for fear "lest the discipline of the Church seem too lax, if penitents are received back on easier conditions among Catholics than they would find among heretics."[169]

The contribution made by Irish priests to the Highland mission during the earlier part of this period was still considerable. Including those priests who were already on the mission in 1690, a total of 21 Irish priests worked on the Highland mission in the two decades from the 1690 to 1710. However, from 1711 until 1746, when the last of the Irish priests on the mission left for the continent, only a further eight Irish priests came to work in the Highlands and Islands. The first of this final wave of Irish missionaries, Anthony Kelly, did not come until 1725, that is, 17 years after the last Irish priests, Frs. Cluan and Gusman, came on the mission in 1708.[170]

Neither was it simply at the clerical level that the Irish made their contribution to the Highland mission but also in terms of Catholic education. One of the causes Bishop Nicolson's report identified for the lack of continuity of Catholicism in the Highlands was the absence of Catholic schools which were considered to be one of the major instruments in attracting Highlanders to the

faith and possibly to the priesthood. This had resulted in the chiefs and tacksmen attending Protestant schools where, with the learning of letters, they also learnt hatred and aversion for Catholicism.[171] Though a Scot called Cheyn kept a school for more than 20 years, this had subsequently been taken over by a series of Irishmen, though the report maintained that they had done little of value, and were not particularly motivated to succeed.[172] According to the report, this had encouraged the Catholic authorities to think that there were many difficulties in having schools in the Highlands. However, those on the mission were said to have experienced the contrary, though the fact that the schools did not provide an initial abundance of youths for the priesthood, may have accounted for their views.[173]

Where the Catholic *fine* took matters into their own hands and imported Catholic schoolmasters from Ireland, this also became a matter for their harrassment. Thus, on 13 October 1704, the Synod of Argyll, noting that "there is a popish Schoolmaster in Lochbuy's house appoints the moderatur to address the Irishe pepil of the shir, to take loyal methods, with Lochbuy, and the said schoolmaster; as accords of the Law."[174] Yet, Lochbuie ultimately felt constrained enough by the power of the Kirk to concur with its wishes, though he appears to have taken his time, possibly while pressure was brought to bear on him. The presbytery of Lorn reported on 13 March 1706 "that Lochbuy hath dismissed the popish schoolmaster that was in his bounds, and that he is gone for Ireland." However, this proved to be a ploy, and by 4 March 1707, the schoolmaster had simply transferred his services to another Highland gentleman, or had been recalled from Ireland. The Irishman is also identified in this next reference, "The presbyterie being informed that hew o donill who was a popish schoolmaster sometyme at Lochbuy, is harboured by Alexander McLauchlan in Coll teaching his children." Once again the Kirk sprang into operation, appointing the moderator of Lorn presbytery to write to McLauchlan "to put him a Way from that employment of teaching his children, and to shew him his hazard if he refuses to do it." As soon as the discovery had been made, it is clear that fear of kirk censure in Argyll was strong enough to goad McLauchlan into action. For in the following year, at the presbytery of 15 May 1708, it was reported that "Alexander McLauchlan in Coll hath put away from him hew O donill the popish Schoolmaster, and hath taken another protestant boy in his stede."[175] In general, it appears that on Mull, as Martin Martin had stated in 1695: "The Inhabitants are all Protestants, except two or three, who are Roman Catholicks," and these seem mainly to have been in Lochbuie's territory. Here, it should be remembered that the greater part of the island had fallen to Argyll in the 1670s, who had used his powers as heritable justiciary to seize the estates of the indebted Sir John MacLean of Duart. The natives of the Isle of Rhum, whose proprietor was MacLean of Coll, were also stated to be Protestant in 1695,[176] but Martin Martin's wholesale fervour for protestantism must be drawn into question, when a report by the Synod of Argyll in 1720 shows that about a third of the population of the island were Catholic.[177]

B. Catholic expansion

With regard to the expansion of Catholicism, it was not just a case of consolidating those areas which had been re-infiltrated during the seventeenth century, but some inaccessible areas where there had been little religion at all had also been taken under the Catholic wing by the eighteenth century. These areas did not always become entrenched beds of Catholicism, for this was dependent on the residence of a priest. For example, although in the 1640s the MacDonalds of Keppoch of the Braes of Lochaber were said by the Royalists to be not averse to orthodox piety, they were singled out by Devoyer and Lea in 1687 as being people without God and without religion because of their continuous cattle reiving. Clearly, little had been done to establish the true spirit of Catholicism in Lochaber in the 43 years since the Royalists made a brief stay there. Fr. White also visited the area in 1672, but it needed more sustained attention than this which it was not to receive until the early eighteenth century. The work was begun by the Irish Dominican, Peter Cluan, who served in an itinerant capacity in the areas of Glengarry and Lochaber from 1708 to c. 1714. On 9 July 1712 the presbytery of Lorn reported that "popery is full increasing, and particularly in the Braes of Lochaber." When they had visited Lochaber the previous sabbath, they only received one child, which was three nights old, to be baptised because a minister had not been there for a quarter of a year. Hence, all the rest had gone to the priest for baptism "who takes the parrats obliged to conforme to his way before he give them that benefit." Mull was also regarded as an endangered territory, for the General Assembly was requested to erect schools, not only in Lochaber and near Castle-Tirim for the Moidart region, but also in the Isle of Mull, which amply identifies those areas regarded as "overgrown with popery."[178]

A representation of 9 June 1720, from the Synod of Argyll to the General Assembly, stated that when the parish of Kilmonivaig, which included the Braes of Lochaber, was planted with Protestant settlers, there were only four families which professed the popish religion. Lately, about 400 people had converted, including the followers, relations and dependants of the lairds of Glengarry and Keppoch where the Irish Augustinian, Peter Mulligan, better known by his contemporaneous alias of MacDonald, was said to have taken up residence.[179] This certainly accords with evidence of the late seventeenth century of the generally irreligious state of Lochaber and seems to date the advent of substantial Catholicism in the area to the early decades of the eighteenth century. 'MacDonald' was also said to have recently ventured to Auchnadaal, about four miles from the garrison of Fort William, where he publicly invited the people of the town to hear and join him and where he converted some families. Of the 400 converted, "upwards of Seventy have been perverted since Candlemess last," that is, since February 1720.[180] To prevent the growth of popery in Lochaber the Synod recommended the speedy planting of the parish of Kilmonivaig. They also recommended that the presbytery of Lorn settle Mr. Archibald Campbell, probationer, there.[181] He was said to be unwilling to take up the appointment because of the low

stipend and lack of a manse, kirk or preaching house. Therefore, it was recommended that he be settled there on the express condition that if the grievances were not removed within three years, he would be transportable after that time.[182]

'MacDonald' was, amongst others, also responsible for evangelising the nearby country of Badenoch where according to a Royal Bounty Committee memorial of 10 May 1726 "Popery has of late made great progress." Catholicism there was promoted by the Dukes of Gordon who held land in area and whose followers largely came from the MacKintoshes, MacPhersons and Farquharsons who formed the Clan Chattan. This Irish priest apparently held the position of bailie of regality to the Duke in Lochaber and the surrounding country, and according to the memorial, one method of persuasion which 'MacDonald' used to gain converts was "Threatning the Heads of Families with the Duke's Displeasure." The Duke at this time, Alexander, second of Gordon, was a Catholic though his son was raised a Protestant. He had assisted the work of conversion by charging "a great many Protestant Families to remove from their possessions. And this to make way for some of the Popish McDonalds in the Braes of Lochaber which strikes a terror on the Protestants in that Country." The memorial also confirms the Synod of Argyll's report of 1720 that hundreds had been converted in the area. It stated that in recent years about 300 had apostatized, so that by 1726 "There are about Six hundred Papists in the parish of Kilmanivaig where there were few within these twenty years."[183]

Yet, though there were definite signs of increased Catholic conversion in Lochaber, Badenoch, and the nearby, isolated region of Glencoe, there seems to have been an element of pragmatism in some of the people there, who were prepared to use either religion to their own ends. Certainly conversion continued, for the minister of Lismore, Appin and Glencoe complained on 27 March 1729 "that some Effectual Course is not taken with the New Apostates to popery in that Country."[184] The expansion of Catholicism in Glencoe, particularly, was mainly a political statement against the Establishment following the massacre of 1692. Mr. Archibald Campbell, who became minister of Glenorchy and Inishail in Lorn in 1731 seems to have been prepared to make minor concessions. The presbytery of Lorn records, 20 October 1730, that when MacDonald of Keppoch was marrying the daughter of Robert Stewart of Appin, Keppoch did not have time to stay and hear the banns pronounced, so Stewart had asked Campbell to marry them without having them read. Campbell had refused until Keppoch threatened to invite a Catholic priest to solemnize the marriage instead.[185]

C. Presbyterian counter-attack

However, there were also more rigorously applied external factors which restricted the spread of Catholicism in the Highlands and, consequently, the contribution which the Irish were able to make

there. With the exception of the conversion to Catholicism of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck in the late 1690s, the policy of containing Catholicism within the bounds of the Synod of Argyll, to the south-western bounds of which the first Irish priests on the Highland mission had confined their mission, was particularly effected by Campbells and continued well into the eighteenth century. On 12 June 1701, for instance, an address was to be drawn up for Mr. John Campbell, justiciar depute and brother of the Earl of Argyll, to put the laws into execution against Catholics in Skye. For, undoubtedly, with the first permanent priest, the Irishman Anthony Mongan, by then in Skye, Catholicism was on the increase there.[186] In a letter of 16 May 1701 Mongan pointed out the good foundation which the people of the mission had had in religious instruction, having had "the good fortune to be instructed by clerics equally knowledgeable and zealous as Messrs. White, Horan, Devoyer, etc." but that these good missionaries were for the most part dead or returned to their own country and that the few left were broken with age and sickness. Having recently been created provicar of the Isles by Bishop Nicolson, he was speaking of the island mission as a whole rather than simply about Skye.[187] Catholics continued to be kept under close surveillance within the jurisdiction of the Synod of Argyll. For example, in June 1706, the Synod of Argyll appointed an address to be drawn up to the justice depute of Argyll "to cause summond all the popish gentlemen within their bounds and within the Duke of Argyles Jurisdiction to Compear befor him at Inveraray to give in Securitie that they intertaine no priests in their bounds or houses and that they oblidge themselves to send in their children to Inveraray to School to be educated protestants."[188]

Information in a letter from Mr. Patrick Leith, on 1 May 1729, indicated the extent of sanctions against Catholics other than excommunication. It shows that though Protestant domination of Argyll was unquestionable it was not exclusive:

> Within these 2 or three days I had accounts from Inveraray that the poor papists are hardly dealt with in Argyleshire. They are but very few & 'tis resolved to keep them so. They are warned to remove from their tacks & ane Gentleman after having refus'd to consent to his removal, was by a Warrant taken up a traficking papist, (when he design'd to come to Edinburgh to suspend a Decreet given out against him for his removal as a habite & repute papist) & put in the tolbooth of Inveraray. I got a Memorial sent him of Instructions how he ought to do, with a Petition to be given in for his Liberation to the Justiciary Lords now on their Grant in that Country what effect it will have, God knows. Warrants (as the persecuted Gentleman writes me) are out against Colin or any others may happen to be in that Countrey: but I suppose no body will be in danger that way, tho' good people must be very much discouraged, when so used every where.[189]

The Colin referred to in Leith's letter was probably Colin Campbell, one of the 'Pilgrims' of the forthcoming Jansenist controversy. Owing to his relationship to the Duke of Argyll and his

extensive connections in Argyll as the second son of the Lochnell family, he undertook after his conversion to bring back Catholicism to an area which the Irish had largely abandoned (apart from visits to Islay in the 1650s) a century earlier in 1629.[190] Indeed, Campbell has been credited with a final attempt at Catholic expansion in the first half of the eighteenth century in that through his work he nearly succeeded in extending the Catholic enclave to Mull.[191] In a representation to the Synod of Argyll of 9 August 1728, Mr. James Stevenson, minister of Ardnamurchan, lamenting the unmanageable size of his parish (which included Sunart, Moidart, Arisaig and Morar), pointed out that Colin's brothers, Alexander Campbell of Ardslignish and James Campbell of Eriska and his whole family, had apostatized to popery in 1727. He stated that twenty-four families of Protestants had, by this conversion, been removed from Ardslignish, Camisnakell and Gortnafarn in Ardnamurchan which had been planted, for the most part, with Catholic tenants and servants. More Catholic servants had been brought in from Moidart, Arisaig and Morar and no Protestants were allowed in the family. Moreover, "The said Alexander Campbell of Ardslignish and James Campbell of Eriska have brought one Bishop Gordon from the north Master Coline Campbell and Hugh MacDonald priests, and Entertained them in their Family."[192] Campbell and his brothers appear to have gone to Mull where Colin seems to have established his mission headquarters. However, Colin finally relocated with his converts to Ardnamurchan where they could be sustained by Catholic priests in the nearby maritime region, the report readily admitting that even at this stage of the eighteenth century, the Reformation had "never had a footing" in Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, Kinlochmoidart and "Bellfinla." James Campbell, who went on to train for the priesthood, later returned to Lorn from where the Lochnell family originated. On 2 September 1747, Mr. John McVean, minister of Lorn, indicated that among the few Catholics in his parish was Mr. James Campbell, brother of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell.[193] Their elder brother, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, proprietor of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, remained firmly loyal to the Government though the fact that he was prepared to tolerate their presence on his land perhaps indicates that he did so with a view to protecting the family inheritance. Nonetheless, between the introduction of Catholics and of 300 workers who had come into the area to work in Murray of Stanhope's lead mine, many of the old Protestant parishioners had felt compelled to remove from Ardnamurchan and had gone to Lorn, Mull and other places, and others who were neither friendly to the Kirk or the Government had been set in their place. Lochnell was, therefore, earnestly entreated to use his authority to disappoint the bad consequences resulting from the perversion of his brothers while the Synod of Argyll threatened "for their own vindication and to Show their Endeavors to prevent the Encroachments of popery upon the shire of Argyll ... to print the whole of this affair if a stop be not speedily put to such Encroachments upon the shire of Argyll."[194]

In southern Argyll the presbytery of Dunoon took umbrage, on 23 March 1714, at paying the quarter centesima which the General Assembly was asking to defray the costs of sending missionaries to the popish bounds. They replied that they sent their own missions to Moidart,

Ardnamurchan and Glengarry, and thought it hard, therefore, to have to pay for other places, especially when the General Assembly totally neglected the popish areas of Argyll.[195] It might be thought that this was because, being in the south, its marches were not under threat from Catholicism. However, it should be remembered that the parish of Rothesay in Bute came under the jurisdiction of this presbytery which evinced a strong connection with Antrim in Ireland.[196] Moreover, the Royal Bounty memorial about popery of 10 May 1729 particularly highlighted the bounds of the presbytery of Dunoon, amongst others, as an area where popery most prevailed.[197] Nevertheless, in general, Catholics cited in Argyll represented a declining and much coerced minority. On 5 November 1735, for instance, the presbytery of Kintyre appointed a letter to be written to the Committee of the General Assembly in answer to an inquiry about the state of popery there. The reply was that "there are no papists in their Bounds but vagrant persons, some of whom Comply and some return to their own Country."[198] The implication is that many of them were visiting Irish vagrants or labourers from elsewhere in the west Highlands moving to Ireland via Kintyre.

The presbyterians were also relatively successful in keeping Catholicism at bay in the Isle of Lewis. The two episcopal ministers there had conformed at the Revolution, one of whom particularly, Kenneth Morrison, minister of Stornoway, was instrumental in helping reduce the influence of MacKenzie of Kildun, under whom Irish priests had been brought to the island in the late 1680s, and in helping to establish presbyterianism there. Neither Bishop Nicolson nor Bishop Gordon went to Lewis on their Highland visitations in the first decade of the century because of the ascendancy which the presbyterian Church enjoyed there.[199] Nonetheless, Frances, Countess younger, of Seaforth, was still being pursued before the Privy Council, in 1704, at the instance of the Earl of Cromarty and Lord Justice Clerk, two close kinsmen of her son, the fifth Earl, and the Queen's Advocate, for sending the young Seaforth abroad to be raised a Catholic. [200] Certainly, the Royal Bounty report of c. 1737 shows that the presbyterians still did not regard Lewis as exclusively Protestant territory. The scandalous Irish priest, Cornelius Coan, having done little to promote the cause there in the late seventeenth century,[201] the impetus had reverted to the indigenous MacKenzies. The presbytery report indicated that formerly there were no Catholics on the island except those of MacKenzie of Kildun but one of his sons, having received a Catholic education abroad, was expected home shortly in orders, and it feared that "popery is beginning to encrease in this Island." This refers to one of the sons of Colin MacKenzie of Kildun, son of the George MacKenzie who had first invited the priests to Lewis in the previous century. Both Colin's sons, George and Alexander, entered the College at Douai in April 1729 and later joined the Jesuits at Nancy. They were clearly deemed unacceptable, for George was dismissed after his ordination and Alexander prior to his, which makes it more likely that it is George who is referred to here.[202] The number of papists on Lewis was stipulated very precisely at 14. It also indicated that there was no one to exercise any jurisdiction in that country nearer than Ross.[203] The island's Jacobite

disaffection and the subversive influence of MacKenzie of Kildun was mentioned subsequently in an undated document, probably written in the 1750s. MacKenzie was technically substitute to the sheriff depute of Ross though chastised for never holding a court. Employed as factor to Lord Fortrose, he was stated to be "a very improper and bad Man" who had recently fortified himself with three piece of brass cannon which had belonged to the Earl of Seaforth in the 1715 rebellion. Equally heinously: "He encourages, and harbours, The Popish Priests, and exercises great Tyranny, and Oppression over the Poor People there; takes upon Him to make Orders, and set Fines, in a most arbitrary manner; and it does not appear that any other Authority is exerted there."[204] This evidence is significant not only in documenting the existence of priests in Lewis, at all, in the mid-eighteenth century, but also a lingering Catholicism in the island, if only among the family and retainers of MacKenzie of Kildun.

Organised Protestant mission activity into staunch Catholic areas within the Synod of Argyll (and after 1724, within the Synod of Glenelg), had been undertaken since 1690 and more particularly since the setting up of the SSPCK in 1709. In South Uist, when the episcopal minister refused to conform to presbyterianism, Angus MacDonald, a presbyterian minister was entered there in 1689 though he made no converts outside of his small congregation.[205] The majority still adhered to the priest who in that year was the Irishman Jacques Hannat. A presbyterian report written in c. 1737 indicates that the Kirk was making a little headway, at least in external terms. By this time there was an SSPCK school in South Uist, as well as a catechist and there were also some Protestant wadsetters. All this was assisted by the fact that the Lady Clanranald, herself, was a Protestant.[206] Protestant infiltration of other Clanranald territories was also attempted. In 1725 the Committee for the Reformation of the Highlands and Islands sent Mr. Daniel at Bracadale and Mr. Kenneth Beaton at Kilmuir to the Small Isles. "...they had good success in Rum But little access to do any good in the other three Islands, Because of the Influence of the Popish Heretors and their Priests upon the poor People."[207] This refers, primarily, to the influence of the Catholic MacDonald of Clanranald, heritor of Canna and Eigg. In spite of Clanranald's protection, Protestantism seems to have advanced, albeit minimally, on the islands during the mission of the Irish priest Anthony Kelly from 1725 to 1736. For early in this period, in 1695, all the inhabitants of Clanranald's island of Eigg were said to be Roman Catholics "except one Woman, that is a Protestant."[208] The Catholic/Protestant ratio of these islands was given again in presbyterian documents in both June 1720 and August 1728. By 1720, the situation on Eigg had changed little since 1695. There were said to be 400 dependants of Clanranald "who are all Roman Catholicks, except the Baillie and two servants, and are all encouraged chiefly by Allan McDonald Laird of Morhir who lives there." By 1728 this figure had fallen to 340 catechisable persons, but there were now 16 Protestants among these. So the Protestant mission of 1728 appears to have resulted in a handful of converts. That the Kirk did not make greater headway can largely be laid at Clanranald's door. In 1720, the 120 inhabitants of the Isle of Canna were also stated to be "friends and dependants of the

Clanranalds."[209] Eight years later, 236 catechisable people were noted all of whom were also Catholic except 16, as in Eigg. On Muck, in 1720, there were 50 Catholics who were dependants both of the arch-Catholic MacDonald of Clanranald, as well as of MacLean of Muck, a cadet branch of the MacLeans of Duart. By 1728, there was little difference, with 60 Protestants out of 128 inhabitants on Muck, the rest of whom were Catholic. Conversely, significant headway seems to have been made on Rhum where the heritor, MacLean of Coll, was Protestant. Of the 100 people on the island in 1720, only a third were said to "have been alwayes popish." Nonetheless, the close proximity of Catholic priests entailed constant vigilance. Lately, about 18 souls had been converted by the priests notwithstanding the Laird of Coll's endeavours to the contrary. However in just eight years, by 1728, of 152 inhabitants on the island all were Protestant except for six women.[210]

The nearby Barra, in the protective shade of Catholic South Uist was, like its neighbour, relatively impervious to the advances of Protestantism. In 1695 MacNeill of Barra and his followers were all stated to be Roman Catholics "one only excepted, viz. Murdock Mackneil; and it may perhaps be thought no small Virtue in him to adhere to the Protestant Communion, considering the Disadvantages he labours under by the want of his Chief's Favour, which is much lessen'd, for being a Heretick, as they call him."[211] The aforementioned presbyterian report of c. 1737 refers to a minister having been settled in Barra for the previous three years and that the SSPCK and the Committee for the Reformation of the Highlands and Islands maintained a schoolmaster and catechist there. These were, probably, under the protection of the wife of Roderick MacNeill of Barra who, as well as one of her daughter, was Protestant.[212]

Although relatively little appears to have been achieved by Protestant coercion to counter Catholicism in the Hebrides, things may not have been as optimistic even there as is often painted by Catholic commentators. A flagrantly anti-Catholic Protestant document, dating from 1704, which points out the complaints of the dependants of the lairds of Glengarry, old and young, the Captain of Clanranald, and the people of Barra, Morar and Benbecula, at paying maintenance for the priests, undoubtedly has an ulterior motive in attempting to claim these expenses for presbyterian ministers. Nevertheless, such evidence must be taken into account, for any exaction on a people who by all contemporary accounts lived very frugally must have been an encumbrance. While the exaction was probably not "liberal," as is stated, the poor people were said to groan about it "and complain of to such protestants as happine now and then to come amongst them, under hatches declaring unto such that they would rather want the service than to bear the burden and insolencie of their preists."[213]

So too, there is evidence to suggest that not all Protestants took the characteristically paranoiac attitude to the existence of Catholics within Scotland that is so often seen within the Protestant

record. A Protestant report of c. 1737 entitled *State of Popery in Scotland 1713-1737* which makes the usual connection between 'popery' and Jacobitism and the intrusion of episcopal ministers into northern parishes, nonetheless brings a certain sense of proportion to the issue.

> Yet after all the Interest of popery and Jacobitism in Scotland, does not appear to be so universall in Scotland as formerly. For by the Reports from presbyteries and Lists of Papists sent to the Commission, we have no account of papists from any of the Number of 964 parishes in Scotland, Except about 30, and in some of them, very few, according to a more particular list of them herewith given in.

It is concluded, therefore,

> that popery is not growing in Scotland, but has decreased, Except in those places, where the heretors are popish, and Priests and Emissaries of Rome are resett and Encouraged, and where there are none in Authority to support and protect such as incline to favour the Protestant Ministers and other Missionaries, but the people left to the Arbitrary Will of Papists.

In essence, this is probably a fair assessment of the situation. The areas particularly singled out were those to be expected - Barra, South Uist, Eigg, Muck, Canna, Knoydart, and Morar. While it must be admitted that non-juring congregations did not necessarily transfer to presbyterianism, in the early years covered by this report, many Jacobite episcopal ministers had been removed "because of their accession to the Rebellion in the year 1715."[214] However, from the establishment point of view, at the time the report was written there were no rampant Jacobite scares, the Protestants had ample funding for missionaries to the Catholic districts and the Catholic congregation itself was largely weakened by infighting over the Jansenist controversy. The presbyterian Kirk had begun to make its mark in the Highlands and was more at ease.

D. The state of Catholicism by the end of the period

On 10 May 1729 the Royal Bounty Committee helpfully identified the "wide parishes" of the presbyteries of Dunoon, Lorn, Kintyre, Skye, Long Island, Gairloch, Abertarff, Dingwall, Dunblane, Dumbarton and some parts of the Highlands of Angus and Mearns as those "Places where Popery prevails most." The Highland parishes of Criech and Kildonan in Sutherland, Kincardine and Contin in Ross-shire, Glenmoriston, Kiltarlity, and Kilmorack in Invernessshire, Lismore, Appin and Glencoe in Argyll, and Braemar in Aberdeenshire were enumerated in a second category. (See fig. 9.1, Highland Parishes of the eighteenth century.) The latter were to be considered for missionary assistance only after those mentioned in the first "where there is great Ignorance and Superstition, and which do much need the Means of Knowledge."[215] To a greater

or lesser extent, these were the areas where pockets of Catholicism had been established in the Highlands and Islands during the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. It remains, therefore, to give some final indication of the size of those Catholic communities established with sustained Irish assistance by reference to a Privy Council document entitled "A list of Papists in the Highlands" compiled in 1698, to Dr. Alexander Webster's census of Scotland in 1755, which was one of the earliest in Europe, and to Bishop Hugh MacDonald's report from the end of the period in 1764. The different aims and bias of these sources must be noted, particularly the necessity in the latter case to justify the mission to Propaganda. The discussion, therefore, does not aim to arrive at a definitive number of Catholics by 1760 but to broadly identify whether there were substantial communities or otherwise.[216] In some cases, these figures have been further compared with those given by the Synod of Argyll in 1720 and by the Royal Bounty Committee in 1737.[217]

While any Catholics whatsoever, in Kintyre, may have been considered a threat by the presbyterian authorities, there is little evidence to show that there was more than a token number there. Certainly, Kintyre was never mentioned in the copious Catholic mission reports of the time. Such Catholicism as is noted during the period can, probably, be confined to the lower social orders rather than to the largely presbyterian gentry. On 1 August 1694, for instance, Effie nc a Chlerigh from Kilchenzie parish in Kintyre was cited before the presbytery for fornication where she was found to be of the popish profession. Perhaps the most pertinent question to be asked is where her faith had been instilled and sustained, for the name is indigenous to Kintyre. The most likely possibility seems to be one of mobility as a domestic, either in Ireland or perhaps in north Argyll, though Webster also notes that a considerable number of papists came to Campbeltown in the fishing season.[218] Similar grounds for mobility, either as a servant or a fisherman, probably applied to John MacLean, "a papist from Muidard," who was cited before the presbytery of Kintyre by the minister of the Highland congregation of Campbeltown on 19 December 1722.[219] In reality, the authorities in Kintyre were probably more perturbed by vagrant Irish Catholics who crossed on the ferry and by imported Catholic domestics than by any local growth in Catholicism.

Concern over the bounds of presbytery of Lorn which contained the joint parish of Appin and Lismore, as well as Glencoe was not particularly valid either. The Catholicism alleged in these areas by presbyterian reports was not matched, once again, by anything other than a cursory mention in Catholic mission reports.[220] Neither were any of these areas mentioned in the Privy Council's list of 1698 or in Bishop Hugh MacDonald's report on the Highland Vicariate in 1764.[221]

There was evidence of noteworthy Catholicism in the bounds of the presbytery of Skye which included the Small Isles.[222] Nonetheless, Catholicism in Sleat and Trotternish, the two areas of Skye which had been inclined to Catholicism in the seventeenth century, evinces a marked decline over the period. In 1698 the Privy Council noted only 14 Catholics in Sir Donald MacDonald of

Sleat's territories in Skye. Although Devoyer had claimed in 1687 that there were between 50-60 Catholics in Skye, Skye had not been visited prior to that since the Vincentians had abandoned it under Protestant pressure in the early 1660s. This figure, therefore, did not represent a mature, sustained Catholic community.[223] Even by the beginning of Mongan's residency on Skye during the period from 1688-1702, though it lingered for a few decades, the death-knoll had been sounded for Catholicism on Skye. It is, thus, no surprise to find its total absence from Bishop MacDonald's 1764 report. The containment of Catholicism on the Isles of Muck and Rhum, at the hands of presbyterian proprietors, had followed a similar pattern. In 1698 there were only four Catholics on MacLean of Coll's Isle of Muck, while Rhum is not mentioned at all. However, it must be noted that the Synod of Argyll's representation on the state of popery of 1720 noted a phenominal increase in Catholics on Muck and Rhum in comparison with the figures of 1698.[224] Even allowing for some exaggeration on behalf of the Synod which was perturbed by the extent of Catholicism in its bounds, it would appear that a Catholic counter-attack had been made there, more particularly on Muck. Though the 1764 figure of 24 Catholics between the two islands, indicates a net increase in conversions to Catholicism over the period, like Skye, these islands had essentially been lost to presbyterianism by 1760. The islands of Eigg and Canna, on the other hand, remained Catholic preserves throughout. The number of Catholics grew in Eigg from 200 in 1698 to 350 in 1764, and in Canna from 110 in 1698 to 250 in 1764, while Webster noted the figure of 582 papists in the Small Isles as a whole in 1755.[225]

At the time of the Royal Bounty Committee's report in 1729, the presbytery of the Long Island consisted of South and North Uists, Barra, Harris, Bernara, St. Kilda and Lewis.[226] The southern part of the presbytery, that is, Barra and its associated isles and the parish of South Uist, including Benbecula, formed the major Catholic enclave of the Outer Hebrides. The Catholic populations of Barra, South Uist and Benbecula under their Catholic landowners MacNeill of Barra, MacDonald of Clanranald and Ronald MacDonald of Benbecula were cited at 440, 1100 and 200 souls respectively in 1698. Webster noted 1100 papists in Barra, and by 1764, although some of the Barra gentry were said to have become Protestant, the Catholic population had almost tripled to 1200 souls. In 1755, 2040 Catholics were noted in South Uist and Benbecula, collectively, while by 1764 this had increased to 2503. The parish of Harris, including Bernara, under MacLeod of MacLeod, appears to have remained a Catholic-free zone, receiving no mention in the 1698 list or the 1764 report. Moreover, it was stated of Harris in the 1737 report that there was "no account of any professed Papists thairin."[227] St. Kilda, on the other hand, seems to have been almost totally void of religion, having been toyed with by a quasi-Catholic renegade in the last decade of the seventeenth century, and eventually claimed for presbyterianism in the early eighteenth century.[228] As for Lewis, much like Skye, Muck and Rhum, its Catholicism was negligible in 1698 when there were said to be only five Catholics in the Earl of Seaforth's jurisdiction. Though the presbyterian

authorities were not complacent about their position, by 1764 Catholicism in Lewis was not an issue.[229]

Catholicism was also rife in the Invernessshire section of the presbytery of Gairloch which included the joint parish of Glenelg and Knoydart. The Catholic community here grew from 260 in 1698 to near 500 in 1728, was cited at 827 in 1755, and at 1000 in 1764, with an extra 400 souls in North Morar which was within the bounds of the presbyterian parish. However, in the staunch presbyterian country of Ross-shire, covered by the presbyteries of Gairloch and Dingwall together, the Privy Council list noted only 15 Catholics in 1698. In 1755, Webster noted a total of 20 Catholics in Ross-shire but, surprisingly, only three in Kintail, even though the Synod of Glenelg had reported, 28 years earlier, on 16 July 1727 that the Jesuit, Alexander MacRae "Is now making Incursions into the Parishes of Lochalsh and Kintail, where he preaches publicly to considerable numbers." Ross-shire received no mention at all in 1764 [230] The presbytery of Dingwall also covered part of Inverness-shire, including the significant Catholic community of Strathglass in the parishes of Kilmorack and Kiltarlity, in the presbyteries of Dingwall and Moray respectively.[231] The figure of 36 was given in the 1698 list for Catholics in Inverness and Fochabers, to the east, and six miles around Inverness. However, the figure of 530 has been crossed through in the manuscript and would seem more like the number to be expected if Strathglass were included. Certainly, in June 1726 the Royal Bounty Committee noted that a third of the 1700 strong population of Kilmorack was Catholic (that is, about 560) while there were 400 Catholics out of 1000 catechisable persons in Kiltarlity. Webster gave almost exactly the same figures in 1755, noting 564 papists in Kilmorack and 402 in Kiltarlity. By 1764 there were 1321 Catholics in Strathglass, "according to the most careful count." In the parish of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, to the south, there were 55 Catholics in 1737.[232]

The bounds of the presbytery of Abertarff contained some of the most irrefrangible Catholic enclaves. It included the vast parish of Kilmonivaig compassing parts of Glengarry and Lochaber, with the remainder of both falling in the parish of Laggan in the presbytery of Dunkeld.[233] So too, the Catholic communities in the parishes of Kilmallie, Abertarff and Boleskine, and Arisaig including Moidart and South Morar, were within this presbytery.[234] In 1698 the Privy Council list marked 680 Catholics in Glengarry but only 30 in Protestant Lochaber, though there were 1300 in Badenoch. Indeed, the conversion of Lochaber took place largely in the early eighteenth century, where 300 were said to have converted between 1722 and 1726. The Synod of Argyll's representation of 1720 stated that in Glengarry where Mr. Gregor McGregor had taken over from Peter Mulligan, the people were "Generally all Popish, extending of above the number of seven hundered persons."[235] Webster gave the number of Catholics in the parish of Kilmonivaig, in 1755, as 1400, including a further 130 in the parish of Laggan. The 1764 figure for Glengarry which was considered the most important mission in the Highland Vicariate was 1400, while those

of the Braes of Lochaber and the Braes of Badenoch were given together at 1270.[236] Around Fort William, in the parish of Kilmallie, the Synod of Argyll estimated that 70 were converted to Catholicism in 1720. By 1755, Webster noted only 20 papists in Kilmallie. In 1737 there were reputed to be 250 Catholics in Boleskine and Abertarff, the area around Fort Augustus, while Webster gave the figure of 428 Catholics in Boleskine in 1755.[237] In 1698 the Catholic population of Morar was estimated at 200, but no separate figure was given for Moidart. The representation of 1720 noted 900 Catholics in the parish of Islandfinan, including Moidart, Arisaig and Morar, all friends and dependants of the Captain of Clanranald. Webster cited 2300 papists in the parish of Ardnamurchan which at that time encompassed the districts Moidart, Ardnamurchan and Sunart, Arisaig and Morar. By 1764 Bishop MacDonald noted 817 Catholics in Moidart, Arisaig and South Morar, with a further 77 scattered in nearby Protestant areas. Finally, the Lowland Aberdeenshire district of Glencairn was included with Braemar in the Highland Vicariate because it was Gaelic-speaking. In 1698 Braemar had 60 Catholics, by 1755 there were said to be 684 Catholics in Crathie and Braemar, and by 1764 an estimated 900 with a further 612 in Glencairn.[238]

Conclusion

Undeniably, the Irish had made a vast contribution to the Highland mission, not only in the period from 1690 to 1760 but from the beginning of the Counter-Reformation in the Highlands in the early seventeenth century when they had supplied the mission with priests single-handedly. Their rejuvenation of Catholicism in the Highlands and Islands, which had gathered momentum and come to fruition in the final decades of the seventeenth century, resulted in the creation of a native Scottish clergy to staff the mission. Though it is difficult to guage its extant, there was also an element of rivalry between Scots and Irish on the mission. Although this was evident in the 1680s, it is clear that the native secular element was in the ascendant during this period, more particularly from the appointment of Bishop Nicolson as vicar-apostolic in 1694. Irish priests coming on the mission for the first time are mentioned frequently as being substandard. Though this may have been true in some cases, it is obvious that the Scots wished to establish their superiority on the Highland mission. Both of these factors combined to reduce the number of Irish priests in the Highlands. While there had been eight Irish priests on the Highland mission at the Revolution in 1690, ultimately, this figure was reduced to zero by 1760, latterly by the upheavals of Jacobitism and its reprisals, so that the mission field was the exclusive territory of the native clergy. Nonetheless, it must be pointed out that this compares favourably with numbers of Protestant ministers, both episcopalian and presbyterian, in Ireland at the same time for there were only three Highland ministers in Ulster in 1690. However, in 1690 the full effect of the Revolution had not occurred yet and moreover, Catholic numbers had been uncharacteristically swelled by the King's

edict of 1686 ordering all available priests from the continent to Scotland. It would, therefore, be fairer to compare the situation in 1700 by which time there were four ministers in Ireland, two others having also taken refuge in Ireland but having died in the interim. In the same year there were nine Irish priests in the Highlands and Islands though two were incapacitated by illness. Moreover, though the number of Irish priests on the mission from 1720-46 rarely exceeded two, by comparison, in the same period, no presbyterian ministers transferred permanently to Ireland but went only for social visits. Jealousy was also to account for the Jansenist controversy, arguably the biggest problem to hit the mission in the eighteenth century. Having lost his bid to become vicar-apostolic in the Highlands in 1731, and later coadjutor in the Lowlands, Colin Campbell vented his spleen not only on the mission hierarchy and the superiors of the Scots College in Paris but on any missionaries who had not supported him. What little is known of the Irish stand on this issue suggests that, as a marginalised minority, they were largely anti-Jansenist in stance.

As for the Kirk, by the end of the period it seems to have been resigned to the existence of pockets of Catholicism within its Highland and Island bounds though it still laboured intently to free from papist contagion those areas which it regarded as part of the Campbell preserve. Significantly, therefore, the last reference in the Protestant record to trafficking priests within the period is on 14 April 1756 when it was stated that the districts of Ardnamurchan and Sunart lay exposed to the incursions of trafficking priests, because the parish was without a minister, "and that Encroachments were lately attempted particularly in the Neighbourhood of Lochsheil."[239] There is, however, no evidence to suggest that any of these priests were Irish, for in spite of Bishop MacDonald's pleas for Irish clerics following the '45 rebellion, as far as can be ascertained, Dominic Colgan was the last Irishman to work on the mission in this period, leaving Scotland with the Pretender in 1746. Nonetheless, Irish involvement in Scotland did not come abruptly to an end but was to continue in the Lowlands, as successive waves of Irish immigrants crossed to Scotland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, seeking employment.

NOTES

1. SCA BL1/129/6, Blairs Letters; Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 301, 465. He had to pay as much as "a sols or penie sterling for a litle bannock of oatmeal grund on a hand mill or qurn which will amount to more then 5 crownes the boll which in former tyms was bought for one crowne." For Burnet's original account of his journey through the Highlands and his crossing in an open boat to Ireland,which is highly informative of its kind, see appendix.
2. See Chapter 12, section II. General trade with Ulster from the plantation to the Revolution.
3. Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622-1878,* (Montrose, 1970), pp. 9, 91, 94-95, 97, 99, 105-06. Mr. John Irvine, the priest sent to assist the Scottish agent in Rome in summer 1698, reported that people in the Highlands had been in a starving condition for the last three years because of harvest failure. Nicolson's statutes laid down strict codes of fasting, indicated who was allowed to be present at mass, length of the period of instruction before receipt into the church, sanctioned the practice of public penitence, allowed the carrying of arms for self-defence, and warned of familiarity with women and joining in field sports. (Wendy J. Doran, 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' (unpublished M.Litt. dissertation, Glasgow University, 1986), p. 132.)
4. For areas of their earlier operation see Chapter 8, section II. The post-Franciscan initiative and the Irish priests with Alasdair MacColla MacDonald, and section IV. The dynamic secular initiative: Phase I - 1680-1689.
5. Anson, p. 111; 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' pp. 94, 114. Bishop Gordon professed himself pleased with the obedience of the Jesuits in May 1709. They appear, however, not to have shared the mission funds but to have continued to receive allowances from their order in France as well as some of the nobility in Scotland. They also still received their faculties directly from their superiors. Nevertheless, the difficulties did not evaporate overnight. The seculars often made complaints about Jesuit laxity, accusing them of immorality, drunkenness and over-expenditure, while the Jesuits accused them of Jansenism. It should be noted also that William Leslie, Scots agent in Rome for the early part of this period, was rampantly anti-Jesuit.
6. Mary McHugh, 'The Religious Condition of the Highlands and Islands in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' *Innes Review*, 35, no. 1, (1984), pp. 12-13; Alasdair Roberts, 'Gregor McGregor (1681-1740) and the Highland problem in the Scottish Catholic Mission,' *Innes Review*, 39, no. 2, (1988), p. 94; *Fasti,* VII, p. 144.
7. Noel MacDonald Wilby, 'The "Encreasce of Popery" in the Highlands 1714-1747,' *Innes Review*, 17, (1966), p. 105. Nothing was said of schools in relation to Canna, Eigg or South Uist which were also mentioned.
8. A. Macinnes, 'Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws 1603-1707,' *RSCHS*, 23, part 1, (1987), pp. 61-62.
9. Anson, pp. 102, 104, 109-16, footnotes to pp. 109-10, 122-24; Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829,* (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 40.

10. Roberts, p. 82; Johnson, pp. 38, 42, 54. Note that the first three Highland bishops were to be MacDonalds and all closely related to clan chiefs.
11. SCA BL1/129/11, Blairs Letters. Burnet acknowledged: "Vostre charite Monsieur pour nostre pays a esté extraordinaire." ("Your charity for our country, monsieur, has been extraordinary.")
12. The original reads: "dans le lieu de sa mission proche au plat pays." Note that this accords with the Rev. John Thompson's evidence, compiled in the eighteenth century, from original sources - probably the same ones - given in W. Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVII and XVIII centuries*, 2 vols., (London, 1909), II, 1647-1793, p. 148. Though Thompson states that by the end of 1689 several missionaries had been apprehended and imprisoned, this did not occur to any of the Highland missionaries.
13. SCA BL1/129/11.
14. SCA BL1/129/13.
15. It is likely then, with the one who Burnet could not remember, that there were nine Irish. He also mentioned Coan again, and that "Mr Lea ane Irish man, went to Irland for hes health." In terms of what can be deduced subtly from the letter, it is more than interesting that 15 of the 16 missionaries on the Lowland mission were addressed by both Christian and surname, but for one who was simply titled Dr. As for the Highland missionaries, only their surnames were given, and even then Burnet wrote "I fear haist has made me forget one," this apparently being a missionary in the Highlands rather than Lowlands.
16. This is probably the convert made by Coan. For earlier references to Coan see Chapter 8, section IV. The dynamic secular initiative: Phase 1 1680-1689. He is usually referred to as Columba McLellan or MacLennan and his name at birth was Donald. He was a Benedictine from Wurzburg who ultimately went on the mission in 1698 and appears to have been rampantly anti-Irish.
17. SCA CC1/8-15, Canon William Clapperton, 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests,' p. 640. Original reads: "La chute funeste d'un de nos comerads."
18. See Chapter 8, footnote 230; Hopkins, p. 465.
19. In much the same way they were to champion the cause of Francis MacDonnell in Moidart, in the following century, who apostatized to Protestantism and became a minister from a priest, largely because of the gross scandal of his alleged incestuous relationship with his sister. See Chapter 9, footnote 81.
20. William Matheson, *The Blind Harper*, The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 220; Hopkins, p. 465.
21. SRO CH2/557/3, Synod of Argyll, 1687-1700, fol. 761. The latter two are O'Carolan and Harnet.
22. SRO CH2/557/3, fol. 761.
23. SRO CH2/557/3, fols. 787, 812; Hopkins, pp. 459, 465-66; SRO PC1/53, Registrum Secreti Concilii Acta, June 1703 - April 1707, fol. 56.
24. SCA BL1/140/15. Original reads: "nous navons pas este iamais esté plus necessaires dans ces pays icy que depuis les troubles tant pour affermir nos pauvres Catholique(s) dans leur foy que pour les encourager à tenire ferme pour le Roy en entendant les Secours de sa Maiesté."

25. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' p. 135.

26. SCA BL1/129/13.

27. The Rev. John Thompson's account for this year, in *Memoirs Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 169, states that there were seven Irish priests. He excludes Trener who worked in Braemar and Glengairn from the Highland mission. Note, however, that this mission was technically in the Highlands, and that when the mission was eventually divided into separate vicariates in 1727, it was in the Highland one. Clapperton is of the opinion that Harnet may have been the youngest priest since he signed the letter last. Very little can be traced of his work in the Highlands. (Clapperton, p. 636.)

28. SCA BL1/180/9, and *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 170.

29. SCA BL1/180/9. Original reads: "nous avons une tres grande pert par la mort du tres digne Mr. Devoyer que Dieu à appellé à luy meme pour couronner (come nous esperons) sa vie exemplaire. Il mourut le 20.me D'aoust derniere." Devoyer died of a chest infection and rawness of stomach caused by tiredness, study and poor food.

30. Clapperton, pp. 645-46. Louis Innes was the principal of the Scots College in Paris from 1682 to 1714. He was born in Aberdeenshire in 1651, the son of James Innes of Drumgask and the eldest of six brothers. After James VII fled the country in 1689, Innes was his special confidant. (Anson, footnote to p. 85.) In a further letter to William Leslie, on 3 October 1695, the principal acknowledged receiving a letter from Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Burnet "in which they say M. Mongan and M. Ryan, two Irish missionaries, and the schoolmaster were well arrived, but had nothing, and expected money from this." He added that he "begged and borrowed about 1300 to buy them chalices, equip them, and make their viaticums, and am now again begging for them." No denomination for this sum is indicated, but it presumably refers to either livers or crowns. Perhaps, more significantly, he revealed a major financial blow to the future of the mission in that "M. Talon and M. Bailly are both dead, and nobody lyke to succeed them in interesting themselves in our poor mission." (Clapperton, pp. 646-47.)

31. Clapperton, pp. 273-74.

32. Another Mr. Munro, Protestant minister, reported at the Synod of Argyll on 10 October 1695, which may be around the time that the priests were taken, that he had addressed the King's commissioner, secretary and advocate in Edinburgh in the previous summer, about the trafficking Jesuits in the isles and "gave in an order to Collonel Hill, to apprehend the said Jesuits and to send them in prisoners to Edinburgh." (SRO CH2/557/3, fol. 139.) Although this was undoubtedly just a general request, on this occasion it was fulfilled. Note that this Mr. John Munro was the ex-minister of Glenarm and Carnmoney in Ireland and that when he came back he carried out the same anti-Catholic work in the Highlands as Darroch. See Chapter 7, last paragraph of section III C. Highland ministers in Ireland from the Cromwellian occupation to the Revolution, 1650-1689.. For the other Irish priests captured, see Chapter 8, section III A. The Vincentian mission to the Highlands and Islands, for Fr. White who was seized in 1655, and in the next section of this chapter, the case study of Mr. Mongan who was seized in 1701.

33. J. G. Simms (edited by D. W. Hayton and Gerard O'Brien), *War and Politics in Ireland 1649-1730*, (London and Ronceverte, 1986), pp. 235, 248.
34. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, pp. 171-72, 175-77.
35. Macinnes, p. 61.
36. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' p. 53; Anson, pp. 96-97. Note that only a possible six Irish priests have been identified by name in the appendix to this thesis. Moreover, Irvine may have known before he left Scotland that two of them left for Ireland in June 1698.
37. Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, *Journal and Appendix to Scotichronicon and Monasticon,* 4 vols., (Glasgow, 1867), I, p. 629. Henceforth the list of priests in this volume is referred to as the Annual List.
38. Note that Clapperton, p. 337, states that O'Hara's Christian name was William. Evidence from primary sources differs. Nicolson's report of 1700, which is very detailed, clearly states that his name was Charles, while a Protestant source of 1706 (see article cited in footnote 96) calls him Patrick. There is, as yet, no information that there was more than one O'Hara at this time.
39. Clapperton, p. 650.
40. SCA SM3/1/2, Scottish Mission 1695-1732, Bishop Nicolson's visitation of the Highlands 1700, p. 21. Originals read: "Les autres pretres Irlandois sont de l'ordre de St. Francois comme Messieurs Oshiel et Logan venus de France: mais il y en a trois autres du meme ordre venus d'Irlande, dont la pure necessité nous oblige de nous servir;" "la dureté de la vie qu'il faut mener dans ce pays, et principalement la difficulté d'y voyager, effraya tellement les personnes qui n'y sont point accoutumez que l'on ne scauroit presque plus trouver de pretre Irlandois qui y veuille venir; n'ayant en effet que les natifs du pays qui pourroient y servir avec le plus de succés et en supporter les fatigues, parceque l'air et le terrain leur sont naturels."
41. Rev. James O'Laverty, *The Bishops of Down and Connor,* (Dublin, 1895), p. 511.
42. See above, Bishop Nicolson's report that they were compelled to use him, as also below, footnote 77, of his insufficiency of letters.
43. Rev. Alexander Canon MacWilliam, 'The Jesuit Mission in Upper Deeside 1671-1737,' *Innes Review*, 23, (1972), pp. 31-32. This eighteenth century report was written by John Thomson when he was sent to Rome as Scottish agent in 1782. It was entitled *Some Account of the State of Religion and of the Mission in Scotland since the Reformation.*
44. Clapperton, p. 1088, implies that this is Louis Innes, though the address "tres digne pretre" is usually given to Thomas, his brother.
45. Ryan also indicates the uncertainty with which he stays in Ireland in the anti-Catholic climate there. "I fear much to be in this country by reason it is by an act deputed as high treason for any man of my station to come into this Kingdom without King William's pass under the great seal, and although I came out of Scotland, I am misrepresented as coming out of France's dominions; so that I cannot appear lest I should be apprehended, and put in prison and lay there like the rest of my poor comrades." He then says that he is sure that Innes can procure him a pass from King William and if he does so, he should send it to Master

Robert Hannan, merchant and factor in Limerick, who will direct it to him in the parish of O'Gonally, County Clare, near Captain Symon Gordon. (Clapperton, pp. 1087-90.) Attention has been drawn to the naievety of Ryan in assuming that Innes, who lived at the exiled Jacobite court of St. Germains, could procure him a pass from King William.

46. Edward MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland,* (Shannon, 1969), pp. 15, 156, 164; *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, p. 170; Clapperton, pp. 641-42. The Memoirs states that he was sent abroad in 1695, however it must be noted that many of the dates given in this source tend to be a year out of chronology (usually a year later), for the letter definitely indicates that he was already abroad by the end of 1694.

47. There were more than two Irish priests on the mission at this time, but this probably refers to those near his mission, in Moidart and the Isles.

48. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' p. 51.

49. SCA BL2/9/10. "Je vais au Nord pour mettre ordre aux affaires de mon maitre le fils de My lord Tarbat." The spot 16 miles from Gordon Castle was probably Banff. (Clapperton, p. 646.)

50. These trades were obviously code phrases for mission activity. "Herring fisher" is readily translateable in light of the Biblical understanding of 'fisher of men.' 'Palfernier' is more obscure, but might refer to the job of schoolmaster, that is, 'grooming' the young. The only one of the Hebridean islands where Hugh Ryan is known to have served is Eigg from where he wrote in 1690. It is not known whether he was still there at this time or elsewhere, but he was clearly in the Isles.

51. SCA BL2/9/10. He was all the more determined since he heard from a gentleman on his journey "that one of the best missionaries has gone back to Ireland since I left there." Original reads: "qu'un des meilleurs missionaires s'est retiré en Irlande depuis que j'ay parti dela." He added that with the death of Mr. Devoyer and the distance of the other labourers, it could only cause a great sorrow among the poor Christians who have no one to distribute the bread of life.

52. SCA BL2/9/10. He wrote that "the memory of their state makes me shed tears and I believe that you would need to be harder than a rock to not be affected." Original reads: "le souvenir de leur etat me fait verser des larmes et je crois qu'il faudroit etre plus d'ur qu'un rocher pour n'en etre pas touché." Significantly, he asked Innes not for money but for prayers.

53. See footnote 83, below, and SCA BL2/61/2.

54. Testimonies were probably furnished, for Mr. John Irvine who had been sent to help the aging Leslie, wrote from Rome on 18 April 1701 to the Paris College: "I ame glade Mr. Monroe and Mr. Mongan ar become in a suddan worthy of so large testimonies, I ever knew that Mr. Mongan is abondantly capable if he containe himselfe within the limits and bounds of moderation and prudence." (SCA BL2/70/5.) However, he was probably alluding in the main to their being created provicars.

55. SCA BL2/61/2. Indeed, according to secondary interpretation, Mongan felt that MacLennan's calumnies had precipitated the flight of Trener, Harnet and Ryan, in this year, to Ireland. According to Ryan's letter of 13 September 1699 Harnet left the mission a month before he did in June 1698. He appears to have served most of his mission in Uist, though at the time of the upheaval of the Revolution in 1689 he was,

according to Burnet, in the mainland Highlands. Given the infrequency with which Harnet appears in the records, however, it is unlikely that his departure was regarded as a great loss. Clapperton notes, disparagingly: 'Many of his class complained of the heaviness of their toil, and the lightness of the remuneration, and their migration to Ireland was not seldom viewed by the prefects and the early Vicars Apostolic without much regret.' (Clapperton, pp. 636-37, 647, 1087-90.)

56. Gordon wrote in 1709 of his Highland visitation that "The worst I saw there was Don McLennan, whom I began to smell out before, but now have found him to be quite naught, and therefore we must part with him: and I believe 'twill be next spring." (Clapperton, p. 648.)

57. Clapperton p. 649, and SCA BL 2/70/10. However, as Clapperton points out, there is no contemporary reference in the missionary letters to Mongan's journey to Ireland in 1699. Therefore, there is a possibility that it might be another inaccuracy.

58. SCA BL2/70/11. Original reads: "pour le secours tres sesonable que vous m'avez envoyé sans lequel je puis vous asseurer il m'auroit eté tres difficile pour ne pas dire impossible d'agir comme a L'ordinaire dans la Mission."

59. SCA BL2/70/11. Originals read: "Il est vray quil ya quelques reguliers à present, mais en verité ceux cy a la reserve d'un ou deux, ils ne sont guerres propres pour servir." "si l'on n'envoye bientost a leur secours quelques bons ecclesiastiques je crains que les choses n'iront pas si bien."

60. SCA BL2/70/11.

61. SRO CH2/557/4, Synod of Argyll, 1701-1707, fols. 8-9, 13 & 21. Note: the transcription of 'Panton' is not absolutely certain.

62. It is not known how long Mongan spent in prison or who, or what, effected his release. All that is known is that he then sailed for France and by the time of his first surviving letter from the continent, to Thomas Innes in Paris, he had been there for more than a year. (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 185; Clapperton, p. 651.) It is significant that because the Treasury delayed payment of the commander's due premium, the presbyterian ministers themselves collected a sum to reward him and to encourage others.

63. SCA BL2/89/8.

64. SCA BL2/89/8. On leaving the mission, Mongan retired to the countryside of France. He was offered the first cure of the city of Chartres with a canonical attached to it by the bishop of Chartres, which he felt inclined to accept shortly, "but he who created me knows that I should have more satisfaction in the hills and rocks of moydeart and arasaig and their poverty then in the pleasant plains of beau(e) with their ease and riches." (SCA BL2/89/8.) In a letter of 11 August 1703 to Thomas Innes, he alluded to but refused to name the "Author of the Mortifeying information given at Rome" because that would simply create undesirable disturbance, but it appears that he was a person of some rank. Mongan further expressed his "jealousy" with regard to the principal "that I did not find his concurrence and care answerable to my expectations." (SCA BL2/89/9.)

65. SCA BL2/89/10. On 21 November 1705 he still lamented his current condition of largesse in one of the most famous wheat countries in France for "indeed I had more inward satisfaction in the most horrid

penury I suffered in the highlands then I have hear in my abundance of wheat and wine." (SCA BL2/121/9.)

66. SCA BL2/89/11. He did not, however, specify exactly what he thought this was.

67. SCA BL2/105/3. Beaton was in all likelihood a Skye man, which indeed would accord with one of the origins of this name, since this is where Mongan mainly served on the mission.

68. SCA BL2/105/3.

69. SCA BL2/121/9.

70. SCA BL2/121/10.

71. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission in to Scotland 1694-1718,' p. 50, quoting National Library of Ireland, Archive della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Scozia, Scriture Riferite nei Congressi, ii, (1701-1760), 5666-67. The extract is not dated, but clearly belongs somewhere in the period from 1701 to 1718 when Nicolson died. Mongan also asked what had befallen Logan, who came on the mission in 1699. He conjectured, however, that "it was not much to the advancement of learning and piety, be it said without prejudice." He was, indeed, accurate in his judgement, for Logan had fled the mission under charge of misconduct in 1703.

72. SCA BL2/121/10. This marks the end of Mongan's extant correspondence. Following this, Mongan seems to disappear. On 8 March 1706 Louis Innes wrote that he had failed to get any news of him though he had expended time and money in doing so. It appears, perhaps, that Mongan never really recovered from the emotional blow he received. (Clapperton, p. 661.)

73. The tour went westwards from Preshome, down the Great Glen to Morar, where the party embarked for all the islands, travelling first via the Small Isles to South Uist, Benbecula and Barra. They then returned across the Minch in an open boat through Morar, Knoydart and Glengarry and back to Banffshire. (Anson, pp. 99-100.)

74. SCA SM3/1/2, Bishop Nicolson's visitation of Highlands, 1700, p. 7. Original reads: "et aprés avoir pris quelques resolutions avec M. Cahassy, que son informité oblige de rester dans cette isle, avec M. Ratray, et quelques autres pretres, l'eveque les renvoya tous a leurs peuples excepté M. Mungan et M. Maclelan, qu'il resolut de prendre en sa companie dans les isles pour servir d'interprete et pour aider dans les fonctions." The report indicates that there was a school at "Kagroch" in Arisaig for the Highlanders which above thirty children of the best gentlemen of the Highlands attended. (p. 7.) There were also other schools in Uist and Barra. (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 187.)

75. SCA SM3/1/2, p. 12. Canna is written "Connay" in the ms. Original reads: "Ils etoient servis par M. Charles Hara sous la direction de M. de Mongan qui y va de temps en temps et aux isles voisines."

76. Original reads: "...presque tous ces scandales etoient arrivés par defaut de bons laboureurs, et ceux d'entre eux qui ne l'etoient pas se donnoient plus de liberté par l'eloignement ou ils etoient des superieurs." (SCA SM3/1/2, p. 14.)

77. SCA SM3/1/2, p. 14.

78. SCA SM3/1/2, p. 15. Original reads: "quelques une qui alloient et venoient et un religieux Franciscain banni d'irlande qui paroissoit assés bon homme, mais n'ayant pas de litterature suffisante on y destina M. Oshiel, en luy prescrivant les regles les plus propres pour remedier aux desordres et remettre tout sur un meilleur pied sous la direction de M. Mungan provicaire." The translation of 'litterature suffisante' is problematic. It lends itself to a translation indicating insufficiency of lettering. However, the fact that O'Shiel went on to become a bishop, seems to belie such an interpretation. It may simply mean that he did not carry any documentation of his achievements.

79. SCA BL2/70/5. In a letter from Rome, dated 18 April 1701, to an unidentified correspondent at the Scots College in Paris, Mr. John Irvin wrote of the Scots College in Rome that "this college thrives not weel for the present," and indicated that the students were weak. He asked him to consider with the principal "if it be expedient in tymes comeing to send hither young highlanders, or rather if it be not surer to keeppe the highlanders in your College at Paris, and send up low Countreymen when called for." He continued that "the heat of the wither and the food of this Countrey is contrary to ther complexion, and if it weakens not the body it seemes to suitt ther braine." (SCA BL2/70/3.) However, it is apparent from another letter written by him on the same day that he did not mean that if they could stand the physical rigours then they could study all right, but rather that they consumed too much alcohol. The same letter indicated that Irvin had three or four Highlanders in Rome, but he was keen that they take the more moderate air of Paris. Clearly, some trouble was experienced in controlling the Highland students, for Irvin specified that "its better you send us low Countrey men, and keeppe the young highlanders wit yourselvs which is the same thing for you." (SCA BL2/70/5.)

80. SCA SM3/1/2, p. 15. Original reads: "nous n'avions qu'un des Franciscains refugiez d'Irlande a y placer, en attendant que Dieu y pourvoiroit." These islands are referred to in Chapter 8, section V. Results of the Mission. The report states that there were another 14 small islands which served for pasture in the summer, but only on one of these did MacNeill have many serfs.

81. SRO CH2/557/3, Synod of Argyll, 1687-1700, fol. 873.

82. *Fasti*, VII, pp. 192-93.

83. Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1987, facsimile reprint of 2nd edition of 1716), pp. 288-89.

84. SCA SM3/1/2, p. 29; Anson, p. 95. Original reads: "et pour les Irlandois Mons. Mungan qui a de la capacité et des talens avec plusieures années d'experience dans les montagnes."

85. SCA SM3/1/2, p. 29. The Rev. John Thompson's report for 1701 compiled from original sources, (probably Nicolson's report), mentions 25 priests in all on the Scottish mission. Of the Highland priests, it is said that they were stationed as follows: 'Messrs O'Sheil and M'Phie in Uist; Messrs Carolan and Heachean in Barra, but Mr Carolan was *non agendo*; Mr Hara in the little isles Eigg, Rum, and Canna; Mr Cahassy in Morar; Mr Laggan [Logan] in Moidart; Mr M'Lellan in Knoydart; Mr Munro in Glengarry and Strathglass; Mr Kennedy in Glenlivet and Strathaven....' (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 187.)

86. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, pp. 213-14. This may have been Thompson's division.

87. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, pp. 213-14.

88. Johnson, p. 38.

89. Owing to the infirmity of old age Munro could neither walk nor straddle a horse, and so was thrown across the horse and taken to the dungeon of Glengarry Castle. In the same year, Mr. James Kennedy, priest in Glenlivet and Strathaven, died and instead of transferring to Arisaig, Mr. Peter Fraser replaced him. He was ordained on 11 March 1704, probably in Strathbogie, in great secrecy. (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, p. 218; Anson, footnote to p. 110.)

90. Rev. James O'Laverty, *The Bishops of Down and Connor,* (Dublin, 1895), pp. 511-14.

91. Roberts, p. 83.

92. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, pp. 219-23. This presumably refers to the Franciscans acquired by Nicolson in 1699. Of those who stayed, O'Hara was definitely known still to have been on the mission in 1705, but the other two cannot be named with any certainty. It seems likely that one of them was Colin McFie who did not leave the mission until 1711. Those who left early were probably O'Beirne and Logan. The other is even less certain, and may possibly have been Heachean or O'Shiel. According to Clapperton, James O'Shiel left the mission in November 1702 in bad health. However, he was in Uist in 1703, was in Benbecula in 1704, and could easily still have been there in 1705. As for Heachean, he is mentioned in 1701 in the Uist and Barra region. Moreover, a Fr. William is identified in Barra, in 1704, in the Protestant record.

93. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, p. 224.

94. SRO CH1/2/29/6, General Assembly papers, fol. 569. The information which accurately dates the document is that Fr. 'Casey' is still alive. Cahassy died in September 1704. Moreover, a Fr. William is mentioned on the Isle of Barra, said to have come about six years previously. The only priest definitely known to have had the name William at this time is William Heachean and this certainly accords with his arrival on the mission in 1699.

95. More specifically, the document informs that "the Island where he dwells is centring between other two Islands which stand upon the west end of the loch pointing towards the sea within the distance of a mile to a known harbour called Buninstuagh which is about 30 miles northwestward from our Garrison." This is Eilean Ban [NM6992] or the Isle of 'Bath' (probably mis-transcribed from the original ms.) mentioned in Nicolson's report. The possibility of capturing Cahassy is then discussed. "There is but one boat upon the Loch which waits upon the preists service soe that there appears noe way soe feazible for catching of him, as for a pairty to lie in wait upon the next adjacent land in order to command the boat whensoever she comes to shore and soe they cannot possibly miss him." (SRO CH1/2/29/6, fol. 569; Anson, p. 128; Crown copyright, *The Ordnance Survey Gazetteer of Great Britain, 1:50,000,* (London and Basingstoke, 1987), p. 252)

96. SRO CH1/2/29/6, fol. 569. Note that the last person who served in Eigg was Charles O'Hara who, at the time of Nicolson's report in 1700, was said to have divided his time between Canna and the neighbouring isles.

97. SRO Argyll Survey, NRA(S)/1209, bundle 65. 'Rose' is a variant of Ross. For a full exposition of their case, see the article - Fiona A. Macdonald, 'Irish priests in the Highlands: Judicial evidence from Argyll,' *Innes Review*, forthcoming.

98. SRO CH1/2/29/6 fol. 569. O'Shiel is named here as a Jesuit, but both Clapperton and Gordon cite him as a Franciscan. However, the lack of discrimination with which Protestants used the term 'Jesuit' probably accounts for this. Note also that Clapperton, p. 337, states that he left the mission in bad health in November 1702. If, indeed, he did, he appears to have returned again by 1704 unless the author of the report is misinformed.

99. George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland,* (New York, 1989 reprint), p. 493; Andrew Lang, *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750,* (Edinburgh and London, 1898), pp. 89, 166.

100. SRO CH1/2/29/6, fol. 569. The document also informs that there were two Catholic schools on Barra, one of which was at Kiessimul where MacNeill of Barra resided and the schoolmaster was called George Nicol. No details are given of the other school. There was also a third at Clanranald's house in South Uist. Note that the name O'Raigan, the Irish of which is Ó Réagain or, more commonly, Ó Riagain, is connected with the counties of Waterford, Clare, Cork and Leix. (Edward MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland,* (Shannon, 1969), p. 188.)

101. Clapperton, p. 329. There is no primary source which documents this, however. For more information on O'Hara see the forthcoming article mentioned in footnote 96, above.

102. Clapperton, p. 329.

103. See Chapter 9, section I. The significance of Jacobitism.

104. SRO CH2/557/4, Synod of Argyll, 1701-1707, fol. 174.

105. SRO CH1/2/29/6, General Assembly papers, fols. 554-55, List of Catholic priests in Scotland. The document is not dated but most others in the volume are from around 1710. It is significant, in terms of lack of information for marginal areas, that though others of the priests in the list are listed without surnames, those for the Isles of Rhum, Eigg, Canna, South Uist, and Barra, for Lochaber, Knoydart and Glenroy, all appear without any name at all.

106. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics* II, pp. 225, 228.

107. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' p. 890.

108. SCA BL2/123/5. The letter was endorsed in the nineteenth century as dating from about 1706.

109. SCA BL2/123/6.

110. SCA BL2/142/1.

111. See Chapter 8, section III B. The Dominican mission in the Highlands and Islands.

112. Clapperton, p. 329.

113. D. C. Pochin Mould, *The Irish Dominicans. The Friars Preachers in the History of Catholic Ireland*, (Dublin, 1957), pp. 179, 242; A. Ross, 'Dominicans and Scotland in the seventeenth century,' *Innes Review*, 23, (1972), pp. 58-59, 63. Note that another Dominican, Christopher Dillon, is also mentioned by Pochin

Mould in a list of missionaries, p. 242, many of whom went to the Highlands. No indication is, however, given of where he served but he is said to have been in Scotland in c. 1716.

114. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, pp. 229-36; Anson, pp. 110-11. They travelled from Banffshire through Glenlivet, Badenoch and Glengarry to Knoydart. They also visited Eigg, Rhum, South Uist, Barra, Vatersay, Benbecula and Canna, returning once again to Knoydart. From here they went to Strathglass, Lochaber, Badenoch and on to several locations on the east-coast mission.

115. SCA SM3/12/10. The entry next to Arisaig is "sacedos de Ilen" that is, 'priest of the Isles.' Projected identities are: Strathglass - Mr. Alexander MacRae (alias John Forbes); Glengarry - Peter Mulligan; Knoydart - Columba MacLennan; Small Isles - Patrick O'Callaghan?; Morar - ?; Arisaig - Peter Fraser?; Uist - Colin McFie; Barra - William Heachean?

116. Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843,* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 143.

117. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, pp. 238-49. There were at this time also four Jesuits who served in the Highlands called Mr. Alexander MacRae (alias Mr. Forbes), Robert Seton, Mr. Ramsay (alias Hugh Strachan) and Mr. Innes. In 1710 MacRae was said to have made 200 converts since he took charge of Strathglass. Ramsay was stationed in Braemar, while Seton and Innes were said to work near the hills and to have converted many heretics. (p. 258.)

118. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics* II, pp. 264, 265, 269, 277-78. There were three thriving Catholic schools at this time.

119. Noel MacDonald Wilby, 'The "Encreasce of Popery" in the Highlands 1714-1747,' *Innes Review*, 17, (1966), p. 92.

120. SCA BL2/185/12.

121. Roberts, pp. 90, 93. The placename 'Kiltrie' is the modern 'Coiltry' [NH3506] on the east bank of the river Oich, south of Fort Augustus. (*Ordnance Survey Gazetteer*, p. 175.) Given the geographical proximity, MacDonald may have been related to the MacDonnells of Glengarry.

122. SCA SM3/25. The pamphlet was entitled 'Popery Reviving, or an account of the Growth of Popery and the insolence of Papists and Jacobites in Scotland in a Letter from a Gentleman in Edinburgh to his friend in the Country.'

123. *Fasti,* VII, p. 144; IV, pp. 126, 134, 136.

124. See previous section.

125. F. Forbes and W. J. Anderson, 'Clergy Lists of the Highland District, 1732-1828,' *Innes Review*, 17, (1966), pp. 135, 140.

126. See appendix, secular itinerary 2.

127. SRO CH2/557/4, Synod of Argyll, 1701-1707, fol. 257. Further aspects of this representation are discussed in the final section of this chapter - III. Results of the mission.

128. SCA BL2/242/8.

129. McFie stated further that "Mr Tyrie will confirm this character I give of him for he knew him here under the name of the Capuchin." He was to stay in the Recollects' (i.e. Franciscans) Convent in Paris until he left for Scotland.
130. SCA BL2/277/7.
131. SCA BL2/277/8. He mentioned that Gallagher was still in Rome and would not leave till the Spring.
132. SCA BL2/289/1. He went on to mention, nonetheless, that the Scots College in Rome "was never in a better condition then at present."
133. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 302. Neither are noted in the Annual List until 1726, but may have come at the end of 1725 since Kelly is known to have been on the mission in February 1726.
134. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, pp. 303-04.
135. Roberts, p. 97; William Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present,* (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 115. These riots followed the Shawfield malt tax riots of 1725. (Ferguson, p. 141.) William Shand in Morar was arrested, but none of the Irish priests.
136. SCA BL2/288/4.
137. Roberts, p. 99.
138. SRO CH1/5/51, Royal Bounty Records, 1725-1730, fol. 75.
139. Annual List, p. 633.
140. Roberts, p. 99.
141. Sean MacGuaire, 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 42, (1933), p. 497.
142. SCA BL3/29/14.
143. SCA BL3/29/9.
144. Archives of Propaganda Fide, SC 2, Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Scozia, 1701-1760, fol. 260. I am grateful to Prof. Allan Macinnes for allowing me to view his ms. handlist and notes on these papers.
145. *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* II, p. 314.
146. SCA BL2/320/12; Annual List, p. 633.
147. Carnegie was a secular priest who worked on the Scottish mission from 1700-1729 and who was also a Jacobite agent. He retired to France in 1729. (Anson, footnote to p. 109.)
148. SCA BL2/327/4.
149. Anson, p. 127. Hugh MacDonald was the son of the Laird of Morar, had been baptised by Mongan, and had attended the island school on the Loch. (*Journal and Appendix to Scotichronicon and Monasticon,* p. 584.)
150. SCA BL3/17/10. The underline is contemporary. For more on Leith, see James F. McMillan, 'Jansenists and anti- Jansenists in Eighteenth Century Scotland: The Unigenitus Quarrels on the Scottish Catholic Mission 1732-1746,' *Innes Review*, 39, no. 1, (1988), p. 20.
151. Roberts, p. 96. A similar suggestion had been made on the death of Bishop Nicolson in 1718 when a Capuchin called Gurley had been proposed and successfully repulsed by Bishop Gordon and the Scots

agent in Rome. There is no surviving evidence to suggest that Gurley was ever on the mission, though he may have been. Certainly, there had been a Lay Capuchin in Benbecula when Martin Martin made his tour of the Highlands in 1695, though this was a good deal earlier. (Martin, p. 83.)

152. SCA BL3/6/4.

153. SCA BL3/29/2.

154. Anson, pp. 131-32.

155. Roberts, p. 99; Anson, p. 109 and footnote to p. 109.

156. McMillan, p. 13; Anson, p. 132. Baianism preceeded and influenced Jansenism. It advanced new doctrines of grace and justification, particularly concerning the fall of man. Baius held that the first sin destroyed the intrinsic human nature. (Robert McHenty (General Editor) *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1, (Chicago 15th edition 1992), p. 809.)

157. Roberts, p. 82; SCA BL3/29/2; McMillan, pp. 25, 27, 30, 33, 38; Anson, p. 131.

158. SCA BL3/29/2.

159. McMillan, p. 38.

160. SCA BL3/29/2; Anson, pp. 94, 103, 128, 136.

161. Archives of Propaganda Fide, Congregazione Particolari, 87, di Scozia et Ingliterra, 1737-41, fols. 378-89; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 635.

162. See appendix, secular itinerary 2 and Annual List, p. 633. It has also been pointed out that the Capuchin, Gurley, who was proposed as bishop on the death of Bishop Nicolson came from an order noted for its anti-Jansenist zeal. (Roberts, p. 96.)

163. It was labouriously entitled, after the fashion of the day "A letter to the Most Noble Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, on the Dangers arising from Popery and disaffection, occasioned by the Seizing of certain papers in a Popish Chapel in the North-West Highlands of Scotland."

164. SCA SM4/38/5; Clapperton, p. 2885. The Annual List, which terminates in the year 1741, is continued by Clapperton in his 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests,' pp. 2884 and following, until the year 1800.

165. Anson, p. 147 and footnote to p. 147; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746*, (London, 1980), p. 228.

166. SCA BL3/121/4. Bishop MacDonald repeated this request a year later on 25 May 1756: "I also recommend to you, as, as I have doon before, to procure some Irish good la(bo)rers who might expect more tolleration in the Country (tha)n others as we are credably informed." (SCA BL3/125/5.)

167. The last Irish priest identified as serving in South Uist in the Annual List (p. 626) is a Mr. Wynn who is said to have administered there from 1715 to 1730. The dating of this Dominican's work there is, however, totally anachronistic. Certainly, there is no sign of his name during this period in any of the original sources. The Annual List states, probably accurately, that 'Wyness' came from Rome in 1766 and spent all his time in South Uist. He stayed for five years, returning to Ireland in June 1770. However, there does appear to have been some truth in the story of his censuring of Alasdair Mhòr MacDonald of Boisdale, who became a Protestant in 1768 and had opened a Protestant school. Wynn was not happy

that Boisdale had forced his Catholic servants and dependants to work on a Holiday of Obligation or the children to eat meat during Lent. He called on Catholic parents to keep their children from his school and Boisdale apparently threatened to wring his neck. It is clear that Wynn was in Uist at this much later date from evidence in the Dominican Archives which states that 'In 1774, the last of our brethren living in Scotland, the Reverend Father Wynne, was compelled by the fury of his persecutors to return to Ireland.' (Seán Mac Guaire, 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 42, (1933), pp. 497-98.)

168. SCA SM3/1/2, 'Bishop Nicolson's visitation of the Highlands, 1700,' p. 24.
169. Anson, p. 106.
170. See appendix, secular itinerary 2.
171. SCA SM3/1/2, p. 20.
172. No previous mention of Cheyn has been encountered, but the school referred to was probably in Glengarry, or perhaps, less likely, in Barra. For earlier reference to the Catholic mission schools see Chapter 8, section III A. The Vincentian mission to the Highlands and Islands.
173. SCA SM3/1/2, p. 22. The original reads: "Depuis on y a envoyé quelques Irlandois pour en tenir, mais ils n'ont rien fait qui vaille, n'ayant ni le genie, ni l'inclination pour y reussir."
174. SRO CH2/557/4, Synod of Argyll, 1701-1707, fol. 113.
175. SRO CH2/984/2, Presbytery of Lorn, 1707-1714, fols. 62-63, 147, 152.
176. Martin, pp. 255, 276; I. F. Grant and Hugh Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, (London, 1987), p. 140.
177. See below.
178. Pochin Mould, p. 242; Anson, p. 104; SRO CH2/984/2, fols. 279-80.
179. See appendix, secular itinerary 2.
180. SRO CH2/557/5, Synod of Argyll, 1708-1727, fol. 257.
181. This is, probably, the same minister as mentioned below, of Glenorchy and Inishail.
182. SRO CH2/557/5, fols. 257-58.
183. CH1/5/51, Royal Bounty Records, 1725-1730, fol. 75; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 72, 116; *The Scottish Revolution,* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 197-99; Sir James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage,* 9 vols., (Edinburgh, 1904-1911), IV, p. 551.
184. SRO CH1/5/51, fol. 430.
185. SRO CH2/984/3, Presbytery of Lorn, 1729-1771, fol. 17. Though not called until April 1731 nor ordained until August of that year, Campbell was probably present in the parish as a probationer in the previous year, for though it is not impossible that this was Archibald Campbell, minister of Morvern, it is geographically less likely. (*Fasti,* IV, pp. 87, 117.)
186. Hopkins, p. 465; SRO CH2/557/4, Synod of Argyll, 1701-1707, fols. 8-9. In 1701 Mongan pointed out the intense faith and desire of the people to be Catholic, and that God had indeed made "true children of Abraham of these people who were formerly for the most part stones and rocks." Original reads: "des

vrays enfans d'Abraham de ces peuples autre fois pour la plus part des pierres et des rochers." (SCA BL2/70/11.)

187. SCA BL2/70/11; Clapperton, p. 647. Original reads: "le bonheur d'etre instruits par des ecclesiastiques egalement scavants et zelés com Messrs white, horan, Devoyer &c."

188. SRO CH2/557/4, fol. 146.

189. SCA BL2/324/6. Even the inhabitants of Colla Ciotach's Isle of Colonsay, from which the MacDonalds had been ejected in 1639 in favour of the Campbells, were said by 1695 to be "all Protestants." However, the women were still said to "observe the Festivals of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin," which, nonetheless, suggests a hanging over of Catholic belief there. (Martin, p. 249.)

190. See Chapter 6, section III D. Achievements of the mission.

191. Roberts, p. 95.

192. SRO CH2/557/6, Synod of Argyll, 1728-1755, fols. 9-10.

193. SRO SRO CH2/984/3, Presbytery of Lorn, 1729-1771, fol. 190; McMillan, p. 27.

194. SRO CH2/984/3, fols. 9-11. In his report Stevenson indicated that Lochnell assisted him by applying discipline and discouraging priests, punishing any that harboured them on his property. Significantly, he "would not allow any within Ardnamurchine or Shunart to marry any popish wives" by which several Catholics were said to have become hearers of the word. However, he implied displeasure at Lochnell's recent granting of a feu to Alexander Murray of Stanhope who eventually leased his works to the York Building Company. In Sunart there were said to be 200 examinable people, but there were, besides, "of late come to that Corner near three hundered Miners and other workmen who Labour in a Lead Mine, and they are a people for the most part of different principles from the Church of Scotland, and the greater part are prophain in their practise." The incomers were probably episcopalians. Furthermore, Stanhope was said never to be in the country, and though he was very civil to the minister and all others when there, he was a bad example because he never attended Kirk meetings. Therefore, "The Minister hes no Civil Magistrat to Strengthen his hand in that Countrie as formerly he had in the Exercise of Discipline, notwithstanding of a great deal of prophanness that is Committed there." The prophaneness was said to include "Houghing Cowes and horses, by which the Minister hes Lost considerably of his own propper stock the last year, and its very probable will Lose more if a speedy Remeedy will not be taken to prevent it." Since the advent of Stanhope, nine or ten young MacDonalds, Camerons and Stewarts had married Catholics in the last year and had brought them to Ardnamurchan. Since each had brought two or three Catholic servants with them, in spite of the minister's attempts to dissuade them, it added to the minister's grievances "that protestants take such a Liberty which was never allowed of in this parish before." (SRO CH2/557/6, Synod of Argyll, 1728-1755, fols. 9-10.) The partial tendency to Catholicism within the Lochnell family has been explained by their being related through marriage to the MacDonalds of Glencoe. (Roberts, p. 95.) Modern historians have debated whether the latter were actually Catholic or episcopalian during the late seventeenth century and it may, indeed, have been that both proclivities existed. (See W. Ferguson, 'Religion and the Massacre of Glencoe,' *SHR,* 46, (1967), pp. 82-67; *SHR*, 47, (1968), pp. 203-

09; J. Prebble, 'Religion and the Massacre of Glencoe,' *SHR*, 46, (1967), pp. 185-88.) That there was, at least, a Catholic interest in Glencoe is undoubted. Just three years after Stevenson's representation on 12 July 1731 the presbytery of Lorn noted a petition from Mr. Archibald Campbell, minister of Glenorchy and Inishail who stated "that since he had come from home he was told a Priest had been sent for to Baptise some Children in Glenco, Therfor beg'd the Presbytery wou'd allow him to return with all possible Dispatch to prevent this Incursion which the Presbytery considering the said Mr Archibald was allowed to repair home forthwith." (SRO CH2/984/3, Presbytery of Lorn, 1729-1771, fol. 36; *Fasti,* IV, p. 87.)

195. SRO CH2/111/4, Presbytery of Dunoon, fol. 130.
196. See Chapter 14, sections IV. Settlement from the Restoration to the Revolution, and V. Family name evidence, and Chapter 15, sections I. Ecclesiastical evidence, and IV. Pauper contact.
197. SRO CH1/5/51, Royal Bounty Records, 1725-1730, fol. 80.
198. CH2/1153/3, Presbytery of Kintyre, 1723-1748, fol. 140.
199. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' p. 73. For the first mention of MacKenzie of Kildun, see Chapter 8, section IV. The Dynamic Secular Initiative: Phase 1 - 1680-1689.
200. SRO PC1/53, Registrum Secreti Concilii Acta June 1703 - April 1707, fol. 154. The Countess's swingeing retort to the recommendation for the raising of a new process against her is a masterpiece of its kind: "if his friends who persue for his Returne will Imploy the lyke pains for the preservation of his Estate That soe he may have the petitioners Joynture Its probable his Returne might be easie. But to order his returne without ane fond for his provisione Is ane inconsistant hardshipe whiche the petitioners looking in his face and he in hers berailling each others callamities will not supplie."
201. See Chapter 8, section IV. The dynamic secular initiative : Phase I - 1680-1689, and section I of this chapter.
202. Very Rev. Alexander Canon MacWilliam, 'A Highland Mission: Strathglass, 1671-1777,' Innes Review, 24, (1973), p. 100.
203. SRO CH1/5/51/119, fol. 7. This, presumably, refers to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Synod of Ross, parts of which were geographically closer to Lewis, though technically Lewis had been in the jurisdiction of the Synod of Glenelg since 1724. (*Fasti,* VII, p. 199.)
204. NLS Ms. 5127, Erskine Murray Papers, fol. 157. The ms. postdates the '45 rebellion which is referred to in distinction to the 1715.
205. 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' p. 73.
206. SRO CH1/5/51/119, fols. 6-7.
207. SRO CH1/5/51, fol. 99.
208. Martin, p. 279. See appendix, secular itinerary 2, for O'Hara and Kelly's presence on the mission.
209. SRO CH2/557/5, fols. 257-58.
210. SRO CH1/5/51, fols. 344-5; SRO CH2/557/5, fol. 257.
211. Martin, p. 99.

212. SRO CH1/5/51/119, fol. 6. The islanders, however, did not tolerate their Protestantism very well. The report states that they "are necessitate to leave this Family, by reason of the bad treatment they meet therein."
213. SRO CH1/2/29/6/569, General Assembly papers.
214. SRO CH1/5/51/119, Royal Bounty Records, 1725-1730, fols. 5, 2.
215. SRO CH1/5/51, fol. 80.
216. For in depth comparisons on this subject see Mary McHugh, 'The Religious Condition of the Highlands and Islands in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' *Innes Review*, 35, no. 1, (1984), pp. 12-20; James Darragh, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland since the year 1680,' *Innes Review*, 4, no. 1, (Spring 1953), pp. 49-59.
217. Those areas discussed do not include the bounds of the presbytery of Dunoon which was visited but once by the Franciscan, Ward, in 1629, the Highlands of Angus and Mearns or the parishes of Criech, Kildonan and Kincardine which were dominated initially by the Jesuits and later by native clergy, or the Highland parishes of the presbyteries of Dunblane or Dumbarton which were not visited by Irish priests.
218. SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, 1655-1704, fols. 57-58; James Gray Kyd (editor), *Scottish Population Statistics, including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755,* SHS, 3rd series, 44, (Edinburgh, 1952), footnote to p. 33.
219. SRO CH2/1153/2, fol. 347.
220. Attention has been drawn to a letter from the Irish priest Anthony Mongan to William Leslie on 13 December 1694 which alleges that the MacDonalds of Glencoe were Catholic martyrs because they were found with rosaries and other signs of the Catholic religion on them. (Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War,* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 75 citing SCA BL1/108; *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 170.) This was undoubtedly Jacobite propaganda. (A. I. Macinnes, 'The Massacre of Glencoe,' *The Historian,* 35, (1992), pp. 16-18.)
221. *Fasti,* IV, pp. 80, 84; Donald MacLean, *The Counter-Reformation in Scotland 1560-1930,* (London, 1931), p. 153; Anson, pp. 158-62. Refer to footnote 195 above.
222. *Fasti,* VII, p. 176.
223. See Chapter 8, section IV. The dynamic secular initiative: Phase 1 - 1680-1689.
224. See above, section III C. Presbyterian counter-attack.
225. MacLean, p. 153; Anson, pp. 158-62; Kyd, p. 33.
226. In 1742 the presbytery was divided into the presbytery of Uist, including Harris and all the islands to the south, with the territory to the north accruing to the new presbytery of Lewis. (*Fasti,* VII, p. 199.)
227. MacLean, p. 153; Kyd, pp. 59-60; Anson, pp. 158-162; SRO CH1/5/51/119, fol. 7.
228. See above, 'Bishop Nicolson's visitation of the Highlands, 1700;' *Fasti,* VII, p. 193.
229. MacLean, p. 153; Anson, pp. 158-62.
230. MacLean, pp. 153-54; SRO CH1/5/51, fol. 305; Kyd, p. 61; SRO CH2/568/1, Minutes of the Synod of Glenelg, 7 July 1725 to 24 June 1749, fol. 27; Anson, pp. 158-62.

231. *Fasti,* VII, p. 38; 6, p. 468.

232. MacLean, p. 154; SRO CH1/5/51, fol. 76; Kyd, p. 60; Anson, p. 162; SRO CH1/5/51/119, fol. 11.

233. McHugh, p. 15.

234. *Fasti,* IV, pp. 126-37; C. W. J. Withers, 'The Highland Parishes in 1698: An Examination of Sources for the Definition of the Gaidhealtachd,' *Scottish Studies*, 24, (1980), p. 78.

235. SRO CH2/557/5, fol. 257.

236. MacLean, p. 154, SRO CH1/5/51, fol. 75; Kyd, p. 33; Anson, p. 162.

237. See above, section III B. Catholic expansion; SRO CH1/5/51/119, fol. 12; Kyd, pp. 59-60.

238. MacLean, pp. 153-54; SRO CH2/557/5, fol. 257; Kyd, pp. 33, 51; Anson, pp. 160, 162.

239. SRO CH2/273/1, Mull presbytery, 1729-1762, fol. 211.

CHAPTER 11
SOCIAL LINKS: THE CLAN *FINE*, 1560-1760

Introduction

Initial contacts during this period between the clan *fine*, that is, the chiefs and élite of the clan and their equivalents in Irish septs, generally occurred through the Highland mercenary trade with the native Irish. In the sixteenth century there was increased Scottish settlement when the Clan Donald South won over MacQuillan territory and some of them opted to stay in Ireland in the 1580s under Somhairle Buidhe.[1] There was further social dislocation with the dispossession of the same clan from their Kintyre territories in 1614 which, fortunately for them, coincided with a period of expansion of the plantation of Ulster. Following this, there was more dislocation during the civil war, with a strengthening of the ties between Scots and Irish Gaels through Royalist military alignment. Spasmodic internecine warfare in the Highlands, particularly that contingent upon the destruction of the MacDonalds and their protracted attempts to retain their inheritance, had led to substantial emigration of the upper classes, especially those who had taken up arms. After over half a century of government policy of control of the Gaelic element through various devices, there was considerable financial debt, exacerbated by expenditure incurred by the civil war on the Royalist side, which caused the Gaels to band together under pressure.[2] With similar traditions and culture, they also exhibited a similar aim of trying to maintain as much of their independence on their lands and personal control of their affairs as possible, against English and Scottish governments.

Thus, in the latter half of the seventeenth century there is considerable evidence of a Gaelic financial solidarity between MacDonnell of Antrim and the MacDonalds of Sleat and Clanranald. This relationship had probably been forged during the Covenanting period, when Antrim and Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat had, in June 1639, been created joint Royal Lieutenants and Commissioners in the Isles and Highlands with power to raise men against the rebels. Sir Donald died in 1643, and although his son, Sir James MacDonald of Sleat declined to fight with Alasdair MacColla under the Royalist banner, he still maintained relations with the second Earl (the first Marquis after 1644), of Antrim.[3] On the other hand, Donald MacDonald, son of the Captain of Clanranald, John of Moidart, took 300 men across to Ireland in 1648, as well as fighting in the Royalist wars in Scotland. The MacDonalds of Clanranald fought alongside the Glengarry men who had come in the previous year with Angus Og, their chief. This was the last Redshank expedition. The bond between the two Highland MacDonalds was further cemented in 1655 when Donald, son of Clanranald, married Janet, the daughter of Sir Donald Gorm Og MacDonald of Sleat, while her sister, Margaret, married MacDonald of Glengarry. Scoto-Irish contacts received a minor boost during the '89 with all the main Royalist protagonists, Glengarry, Sleat and Clanranald

again fighting for the Stewarts, but the Irish contingent was small, largely confined to men from Rathlin, and came unaccompanied by a major native Irish leadership. Therefore it does not appear to have revitalised relationships at the level of the clan *fine*. Such links as there were during the eighteenth century seem to have stemmed more from Highland settlers who had moved across during the seventeenth century and sustained links with their families.

The main sources for this chapter are secondary sources which have relied heavily on the evidence of the State papers and genealogical manuscripts, particularly the Rev. George Hill's *The MacDonnells of Antrim*, which is still unrivalled in the breadth of its coverage, as well as a variety of original family collections, largely from the MacDonald clans, which have been documented below.

I. THE INTER-RELATION OF THE GAELIC *FINE*, ESPECIALLY THROUGH THE TOUCH-STONE OF MARRIAGE

A. From an Irish perspective in relation to the ruling élite and Scottish Gaels

i). O'Neills of Tyrone

Much of the evidence for inter-relation with Irish Gaels from the Scottish point of view has naturally been integrated into Chapter 1, but it is also relevant to look at intermarriage from an Irish angle, including the extent of their inter-relation with the English ruling élite. For the importance of relationship with the English cannot be excluded from an assessment of either Gaelic group during this period. Intermarriage must be seen as particularly useful as a gauge of feelings between different political and cultural affiliations, particularly of the degree of assimilation of the Highlanders in Ulster society. While there will always be the marriage of convenience or the politically astute marriage, they also show the general direction in which the kin group was aspiring.

In this first period, as far as can be seen from the evidence that remains, the Celtic families, both Irish and Highland, tended on the whole, to marry within their traditional groupings. Record of marriages for the various families is often incomplete. However, for two families in particular, the family of Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone and that of the MacDonnells of Antrim, records are complete and have been amply documented.[4]

Hugh O'Neill, himself, took four wives. The first was a daughter of Sir Brien MacPhelim O'Neill of Lower Clandeboye, whom he later divorced. He then married the half-sister of Hugh Ruadh

O'Donnell of Tirconnell (Tír Chonaill), Joan (or Judith), who died in 1591.[5] In August 1591 Mabel Bagenal, the daughter of the old Marshal, Sir Nicholas Bagenal, eloped and married him, to the anger of her brother, Sir Henry Bagenal, who was then Marshal. This marked the beginning of a feud between O'Neill and the Marshal, O'Neill having been offended by the non-payment of the dowry and the Marshal by the overall unsuitability of the marriage. Cultural differences were probably an important factor in the short-lived nature of the relationship. Mabel apparently chose not to share O'Neill with his many mistresses and so returned to her brother at Newry where she died, not long afterwards, in 1596. In the meantime, O'Neill had kept a daughter of Somhairle Buidhe's brother, Angus, as his mistress, whom he seems to have retained until he got rid of Mabel Bagenal. This was to cause friction between the two Celtic families. O'Neill then returned to a more traditional bride for his fourth wife, by marrying Catherine, a daughter of Hugh Magennis of Iveagh. It may be of significance that he may have had children by the first wife, and definitely by the second and fourth wives, but did not have any offspring to Mabel Bagenal.[6]

Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had few relations with Highlanders at the personal level. It can possibly be concluded that he was more sure of his military power and did not need to forge such alliances as much as other chieftains. He certainly did more than his predecessors to arm the general populace of his vast territories, preferring to cultivate Irish allies to Scots. This may have been for a number of reasons, but perhaps largely because he did not wish to further augment the power of the Scots, who had entered a new acquisitive phase under Somhairle Buidhe, which even the English government found difficult to contend with. It was also probably to do with his general position, and the charisma which enabled him to establish himself as the last truly authentic traditional Irish leader.

> Gradually, he won the support of the hereditary Tyrone galloglass family, the MacDonnells of Knockinclohy, and of the east Tyrone lords, the O'Hagans, O'Quinns, MacCanns, O'Devlins, and others. This provided him with a much more realistic basis of power than Turlough Luineach's Scots mercenaries. It meant that the earl, to add to his new dignity in the peerage, was in effective control in the Gaelic sense of the more important part of the O'Neill lordship.

He also succeeded to Turlough in 1595 as the O'Neill, by-passing Turlough and Agnes Campbell's own son Art.[7]

O'Neill had spent some time in England with Sir Henry Sidney and later with the Earl of Leicester as a young boy, (an exercise in anglicisation which so clearly, in light of his later activities, went badly awry) but his Irish fosterers were the O'Hagans, one of the lords of east Tyrone. Yet, in a letter to the government in 1593 he also mentions a Henry Hovenden as his 'foster-brother,' which adds another dimension to his traditional retinue. Evidence indicates a connection with the English

family of Hovenden (or Ovenden, Hovington) from at least 1558, though this Henry was noted by the Dublin officials as being against the English. It is thought that the advent of the family might date from Seán O'Neill's time when the prosperity of Ulster attracted English settlers. [8] Certainly in November 1597 the State Papers note that "Harry Ovington is a chief councillor to the Earl in all his secret business."[9]

O'Neill certainly proffered marriage to the daughters of his clan élite, as a further incentive to fight for him, to a force of 4,000 Scots mercenaries which landed in the Great Ards in August 1595, offering 'to give in marriage to the bachelors of them generally through the army, the daughters of his gentlemen and freeholders of Tirone, every one a wife of degree proportionable to the man that is to marry her.'[10] Similarly, though he did not marry a Scot himself, the State Papers indicate in 1601 that 'his wife [Catherine Magennis, at this time] is of Scottish descent, and, as he saith, of the best blood in Scotland, wherein he boasteth much, shewing that friendship he should find by her means, if the expected time were once come (i.e. the establishment of the King of Scots in all three kingdoms).[11] He also seems to have acknowledged the presence of the Scots in Ulster through the marriages of some of his daughters. While only two of them married Scots, the marriages of others evinced strong Scottish ties, though this may simply have been a general reflection of the Scots infiltration of Ulster society. One daughter of Hugh O'Neill married firstly, Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell, whose mother was 'Inneenduv,' daughter of James MacDonald of Dunyveg and the Glens and Lady Agnes Campbell. O'Donnell was referred to in the State Papers, in 1598, as "mere Scottish" because his grandmother was a sister of the Earl of Argyll and the 'present Earl of Cantire' (ie. chief of Clan Donald South) was his uncle on his mother's side. This daughter of O'Neill went on to marry secondly, the O'Cahan, traditional ally of the MacDonalds since a thirteenth century MacDonald marriage to Agnes O'Cahan. Another daughter married Magennis, one MacMahon, and yet another, Alice O'Neill, married Randal MacSomhairle MacDonnell who assumed the Antrim chiefship after his brother in 1601, and became first Earl of Antrim.[12] The State Papers note in November 1597 that 'The Earl [Tyrone] hath lately married his younger daughter of nine years of age to James M'Sorley, the more to bind the combination with him.' This was another son of Somhairle Buidhe who kept Dunluce in the Route.[13] However, this did not prevent the Earl of Ormond informing the Queen in January 1598 that James MacSomhairle Boy was planning 'to marry the daughter of the Earl of Gowrie ["Gorrye"], though it was said in Scotland that he was married to Tyrone's daughter.'[14] The one marriage which lacked the totally traditional element was that of O'Neill's daughter Margaret who married Richard Butler, eldest son of the second Viscount Mountgarrett. He was of New English stock, being related to the Earl of Ormond.[15]

ii). MacDonnells of Antrim

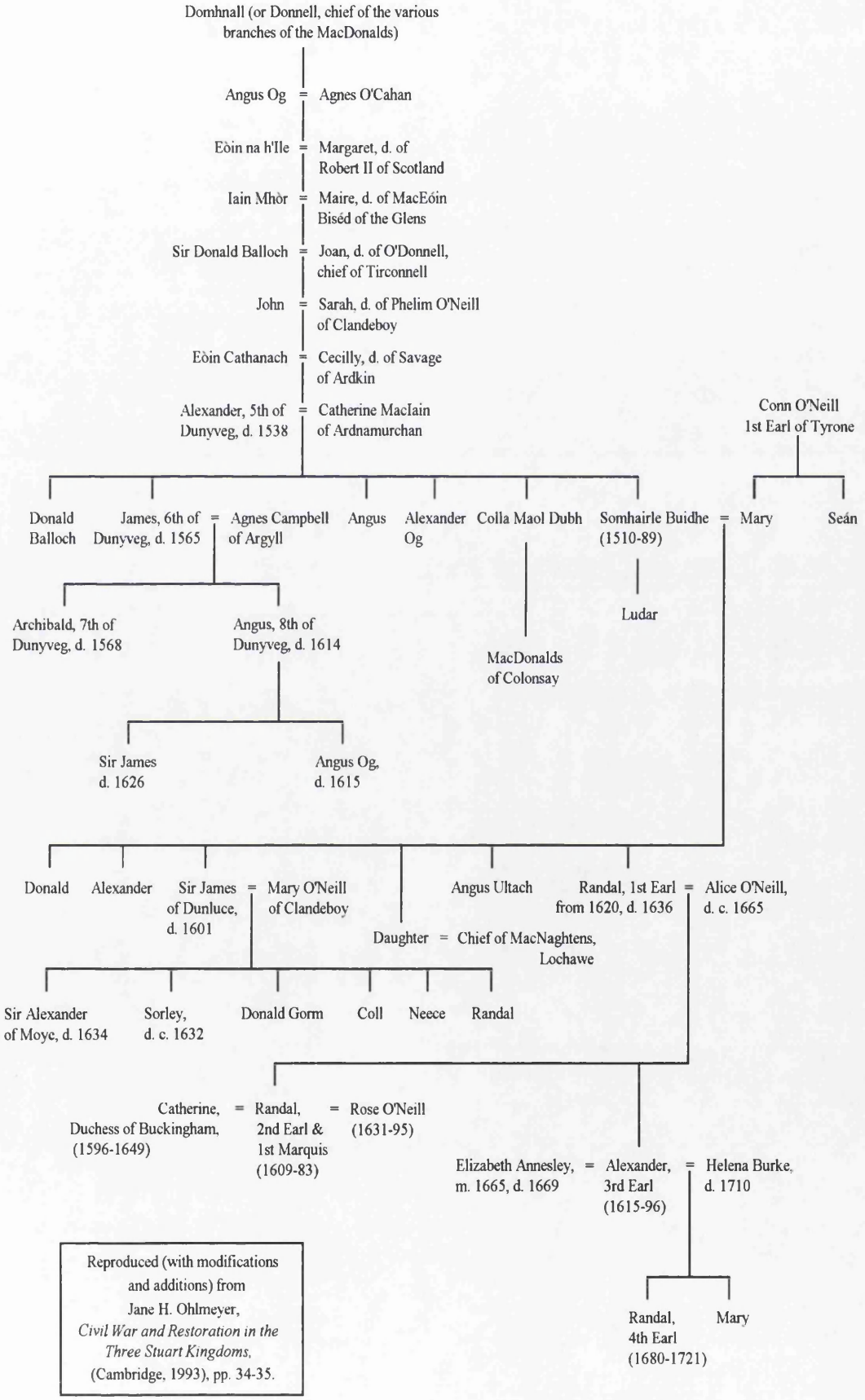
This section includes social material relating to the MacDonnells of Antrim which has not been discussed under the more economic considerations of the plantation, and similar material not

considered in the mainly military inter-relations of the civil war. During the period of plantation in Ulster, there was assimilation, or at least acceptance, of a few Celtic chiefs of consequence into the English landed order. Marriage, especially among the MacDonnells of Antrim, took on aspects of social aspiration and the enhancement of status because the MacDonnells were a focal point of North Channel society. '... with the plantation of Ulster the rush for estates was now on, but it is evident that except for a few instances in the earlier period alliances with the Celtic families were rare but that links with settlers in other parts of the country were maintained.'[16] It was clear that if any Ulster Gaels, such as the MacDonnells of Antrim, wished to maintain territory and influence in the country, they would have to ingratiate themselves, to some extent, with the ruling authority. Here, the fact that the Earls of Antrim retained their social status surely attests to a large degree of success with this policy. One of the best modes of operation was to give daughters in marriage. The MacDonnells' change in attitude from before the plantation to the end of that period is worthy of note. Following the pattern of most of the Gaels of the Elizabethan period, Randal MacSomhairle (or Randal Arranach, first Earl of Antrim) had married a native Irish woman, Alice O'Neill, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone, the Gaelic chief in whom all Gaelic aspirations were vested at the end of the sixteenth century. (See fig. 11.1, Genealogy of the MacDonnells of Antrim.) Randal MacSomhairle's subsequent survivalist tactics are well-known. After fighting at Kinsale he then defected to the Crown. He cooperated in the settlement of his vast estates, doubtless because it both kept him in favour and augmented his revenues and because there was, by then, no other viable alternative for survival. However, it is in his children's generation that the movement away from traditional Gaelic marriage alliances can be seen. To a large extent this was inevitable, because so few of the native Irish had social or political status or had landed estate to offer any more. Clearly, after the plantation, most of the sizeable estates belonged to the settlers.[17]

The first Earl of Antrim's eldest son, Randal, (second Earl in 1636, later the first Marquis of Antrim), who was a royal favourite of James VI and I, married Catherine, daughter of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, the widow of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in 1635. This was clearly a marriage of social aspiration, but Catherine dutifully reverted to the Catholic faith which she had renounced to marry her first husband. 'His [Randal's] marriage to the widow of the beloved Buckingham offended Charles I who disliked Highlanders and Irish catholics and Antrim could be regarded as both.'[18] Perhaps his feelings of incomplete acceptance go some way to explaining his swapping of allegiance between King and Confederates. His second wife was Rose, daughter of Sir Henry O'Neill of Shane's Castle in Antrim, whom he married in 1653. However, this was only a partial return to Gaelic mores following the civil war of the 1640s, for although Henry O'Neill was the son of the last chieftain of Lower Clandeboye, Rose's mother was Martha, daughter of Sir Francis Stafford, governor of Ulster.[19]

Fig. 11.1

Genealogy of the MacDonnells of Antrim



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Randal's second son, Alexander, who became third Earl on the death of his brother in 1683, married firstly, Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur Annesley, first Earl of Anglesey. (See fig. 11.2, Genealogy of the extended family of the MacDonnells of Antrim.) She died childless in 1669.[20] His first marriage occasioned surely one of the most shrewd comments on the whole business of marriage in the upper classes during this period. In an *Account of the War and Rebellion in Ireland since 1641*, commonly attributed to Nicholas Plunkett, he comments on Anglesey's general hatred of the Irish and Catholics, to one of whom he had, nevertheless, married his daughter. He married yet another daughter to Lord Power, also an Irishman, for his own advantage. The Lady Elizabeth was purported to be incredibly rude to her husband, who would nevertheless answer in good humour, in Irish, that it could not be otherwise for a man who had married the devil's daughter. A wonderful slight on landed class hypocrisy then follows:

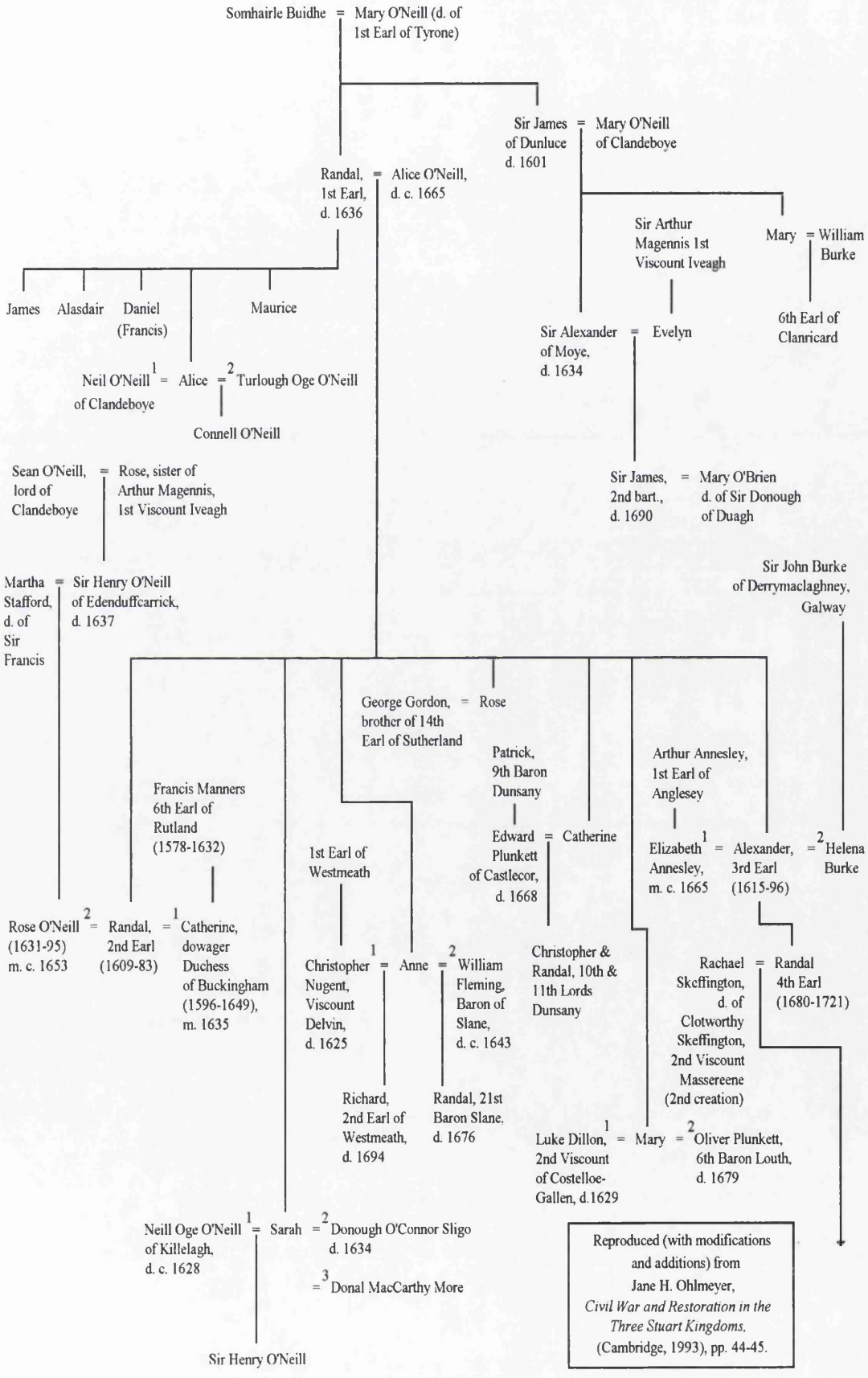
> Thus all men that will make a true use of their eyes and eares must see that these people only make use of religion as a stalking hors, and had the Alcoran been more for their temporal advantage than the Bible, the Bible shoulde be layd aside to give place with the other, and what Ben Johnson spoke in drolery, conform, perform, reform, and any form, was the truth of the same peoples tenets and practices in those dayes.[21]

Alexander MacDonnell next married Helena, daughter of Sir John Burke of Derrymaclaghney, Galway. Alexander commanded a regiment in the Ulster Catholic army of Owen Roe O'Neill. His brother-in-law Colonel Gordon served on the other side in General Monro's army and his previous father-in-law, Arthur Annesley, was a Parliamentarian. MacDonnell's second wife was a representative of the Old English Catholics. Her mother was the daughter of Richard, sixth Earl of Clanricarde, whose wife was a daughter of Walter, eleventh Earl of Ormond. By Helena, Alexander had a son, Randal, who succeeded him, and a daughter.[22] There seems to be some sort of pattern here, inasmuch as both the first Earl's sons had also married Irish wives of Old English extraction the second time round, as if the experience of the first ones had been strained under too much cultural dissimilarity, or possibly their social aspirations had been satisfied by that time?

The first Earl of Antrim's eldest daughter Anne married first, Christopher Nugent, Viscount Delvin, son of the first Earl of Westmeath. (See fig. 11.2, Genealogy of the extended family of the MacDonnells of Antrim.) This particular marriage, however, attracted some criticism. A report on the state of Ulster in 1625 described Nugent as 'heretofore farre dipped in treason.' Moreover, in 1624, the Lord Deputy had suggested that it would be better for the government if both Westmeath and his son were in England, as well as Antrim and one of his sons. In this context, the marriage of Antrim's heir, Randal MacDonnell, to the Duchess of Buckingham, a decade later, has been seen as an attempt to remove all suspicion of disloyalty and non-conformity from the family. Anne MacDonnell married second, William Fleming, the Baron of Slane, who died in about 1643.

Fig. 11.2

Genealogy of the extended family of the MacDonnells of Antrim



Reproduced (with modifications and additions) from Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms*. (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 44-45.

Antrim's second daughter Mary married Luke Dillon, second Viscount of Costelloe-Gallen and then, Oliver Plunkett, sixth Baron Louth. The Earl's fourth daughter Catherine, married Edward Plunkett, the son of Patrick, the ninth Baron Dunsany. Thus, these daughters all married members of the Pale nobility, which obviously represented a greater degree of acceptability. The husbands of the first two above-mentioned were involved rather ineffectually in the events of 1641, probably in an attempt to hedge their bets. Slane's elder brother, Thomas, who had renounced the title, is an example of how these older families could be split in loyalty. Thomas Fleming became a Franciscan and later the archbishop of Dublin. He was "a leading member of the pro-Spanish anti-government wing of the Catholic clergy." Baron Dunsany and Lord Delvin's father, the first Earl of Westmeath supported the Crown.[23] All these marriages show how far the consciousness of the MacDonnells had been changed by the events of the plantation and need for personal survival.

It was only the first Earl's third daughter Sarah who, of his legitimate children, consistently kept to the traditional marriage alliances. It is interesting to wonder whether she was permitted this luxury as a younger daughter, where the elder two had already fulfilled their father's and their own aspirations to authority? Or rather did it exhibit a degree of fence-sitting on behalf of Antrim, that is, the necessity of also maintaining links with the native element, in case, with the aid of Spanish support, they should ultimately wrest back Ulster from the English? Sarah married firstly, Neill Oge O'Neill of Killelagh, in Antrim. She then married Donough O'Connor of Sligo, and finally Donal MacCarthy More from Cork. It has been pointed out that '...each represents a different province' which perhaps indicates an attempt to also maintain connection with the Irish septs because, for all his self-interest, Randal was a fervent Catholic and supporter of traditional Irish culture. Neill Oge was from the Lower Clandeboye division of the sept, province of Ulster, and died in 1628. Donough O'Connor, province of Connacht, died in 1634, and Donal MacCarthy, province of Munster, was the son of Finghin MacCarthy Reagh. He eventually died on service abroad.[24]

Scottish connections only become apparent further down the matrimonial league table with the first Earl's fifth daughter, Rose, who married lieutenant-colonel George Gordon, brother of the fourteenth Earl of Sutherland, who served in the Scots army of General Monro. The marriage, in 1643, was probably a case of political expediency or opportunism on Antrim's behalf, that is, an attempt to promote influence in the other side's camp.[25] Connections with Scottish Catholic Gaels, on the other hand, were relegated to the ranks of the illegitimate. A fragment of an Irish manuscript history of the MacDonalds of Antrim, which survived in the hands of Aeneas MacDonald of Morar, and is thought to have been written about 1700, indicates that the first Earl of Antrim's natural daughter, Lady Alice MacDonnell, was married firstly to Neil O'Neill, grandson of Hugh MacPhelim, Lord of Clandeboye, and secondly, to Turlough Oge O'Neill, brother of Sir Phelim O'Neill of Kinard. After the wars in 1641, Turlough O'Neill was banished, and he, his wife,

their son Connell O'Neill and Lady Alice's granddaughter, Mary Phriston, went to Scotland, from where:

> The Honourable Torlogh Oge O'Neil went for Spain and his lady Elis McDonald stayed several years with the Hon. Daniel McDonald Captain of Clanranall; he gave her lands and cows and horses and all other necessities; after being some time in Scotland she returned to Ireland and lived many years afterwards. She was very old and very handsome.[26]

In general, however, the pattern of non-traditional marriages was by this time well-established, and it profits little to continue with a detailed exposition of the marriages of the extended Antrim family. Let it suffice to document the marriage alliances of the subsequent Earls, themselves.

Randal, the fourth Earl, born in 1680, ultimately married Rachael Skeffington, the third daughter of Clotworthy Skeffington, the second Viscount Massereene (second creation). Their issue was one son, Alexander, who succeeded him as fifth Earl, and a daughter Lady Helena.[27] Yet it is significant that he, too, had attempted a marriage with a prominent English family, but in this case the social aspiration had obviously been too high. Two letters exist from Helena, widow of the third Earl of Antrim, to the Earl of Rochester, in 1701, in an obvious attempt to forge a marriage for her son with his daughter, Lady Mary. She wrote, on 16 February 1701, excusing herself for not having written earlier, since she had been extremely ill on leaving Dublin. "... my son and I doe earnestly desier the honnor of this alliance that I must beg your Lordship leave not only to put you in mind ont but the accomplishment of our wish in a favorable answere to my Lord."[28] The tone of the next letter indicates that Rochester rejected the offer, partly it seems because of differences in religion, but also because of "the hardship of vexatious suites contrived against us [the Antrims] and mentained at the kinges expence."[29] This probably refers to the various bills for the attainder of Irish rebels pursued during the reign of William III. It would, thus, have been politically expedient at this time to cement a marriage with a prominent Protestant family. The Antrim estates were protected, however, by the civil articles of the treaty of Limerick, signed on 3 October 1691, which granted pardon and continuation of property rights to those Catholics who had supported James VII and II, but remained in Ireland after the Jacobite war and took an oath of allegiance to William.[30]

B. From a perspective of the Clan Donald and its associates in relation to the Irish

i. MacDonalds of Benbecula

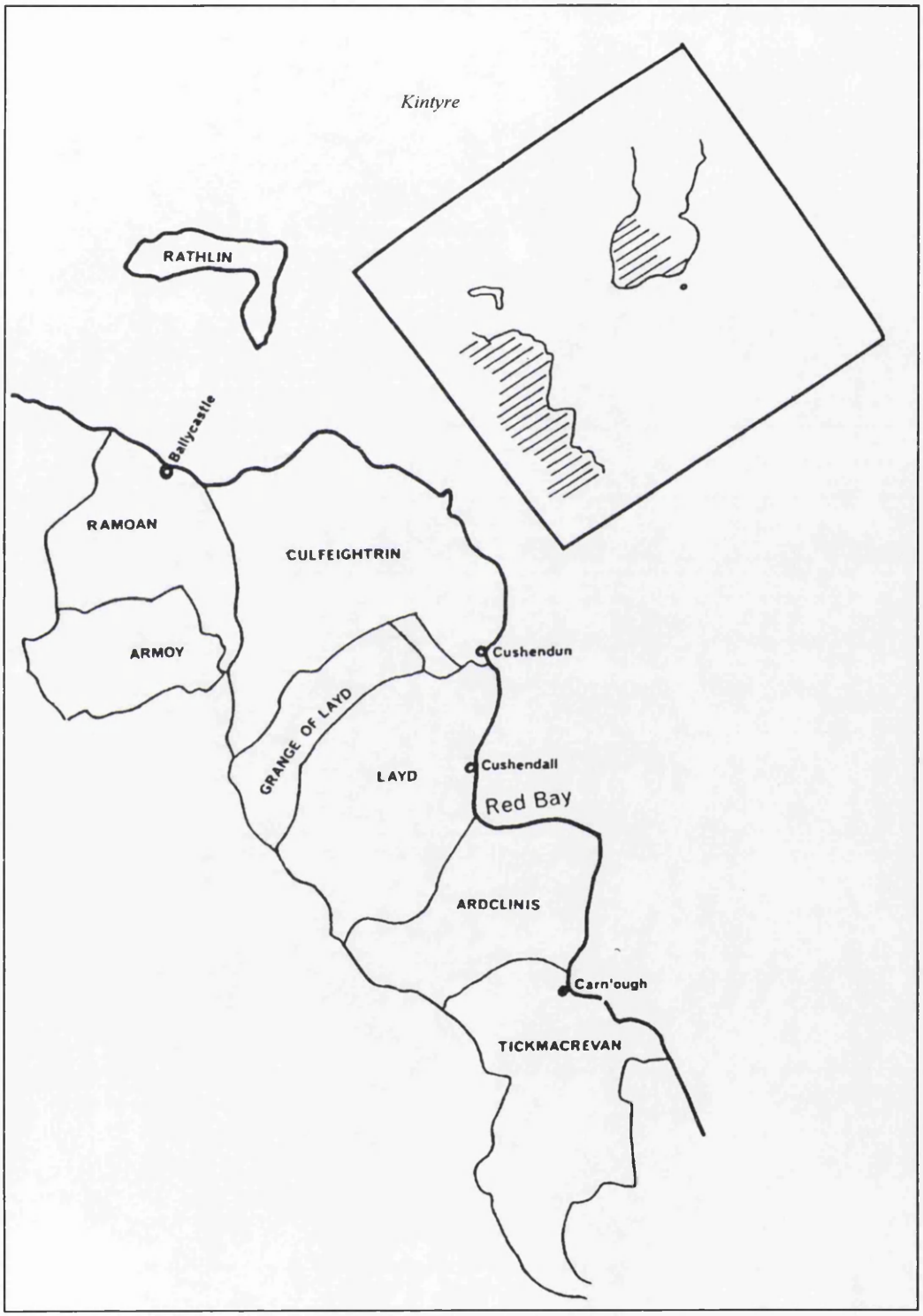
The MacDonalds of Benbecula were a cadet branch of the MacDonalds of Clanranald. The notorious marital career of Raghnall mac Ailein, first of the MacDonalds of Benbecula, whom the

seanchaidhean credit with five marriages, seems to have included some Irish links in his younger days, doubtless arising from associations forged through the mercenary trade, though there is no direct evidence of this. It is probably a justifiable supposition, however, that since Clanranald operated in Ireland as a mercenary, Raghnall, as the fourth son of the ninth of Clanranald, also took employment there. His first two liasons are of doubtful authenticity, and whether 'hand-fast relationships' accurately conveys their substance or attributes to them a degree of recognition which is undeserved, they were, undoubtedly, relationships with Irish women.[31] The first recorded expression of relationship was with Mary MacDonald of Smerby, daughter of Ranald of Smerby in Antrim (a son of James of Dunyveg and the Glens). The son of this union with Mary - Aonghas Mòr mac Raghnaill - was the progenitor of the MacDonnells of Ballypatrick, in the parish of Culfeightrin, barony of Carey in Antrim. (See fig. 11.3, The civil parishes of the Glens of Antrim.) The theory has been proposed that this Aonghas Mòr is one and the same as Colla Ciotach's son, who is known in Colonsay tradition as Aonghas "mac Cholla."[32] There is certainly a possibility of this since much of the information about Colla Ciotach and the Clan Donald South comes from the Ballypatrick MacDonnells. Given that Colla Ciotach later married the same lady, it is possible that such a mistake has occurred. Nevertheless, more evidence is needed to prove the validity of the claim. In 1603, according to the clan *seanchaidhean*, Ranald then became involved with a second Irishwoman, Fionnsgoth Burke of the Burkes of Connacht. By her he had three sons, Alexander, Roderick and Farquhar. But it was actually the offspring of his fifth liason and apparently only legal marriage, to Margaret, daughter of Angus of Dunyveg, who were recognised as his lawful family by the clan, and from which came Ranald of Borve, the heir to Benbecula.[33]

ii. Clan Donald South

The history of Antrim is inextricably related to that of the Clan Donald, more specifically to that of the Clan Donald South or Clan Iain Mhòir, and as it has been appropriately and tersely put: 'Tracing the different families of the clan which settled in Antrim is a long term affliction.'[34] It is, nevertheless, a compelling affliction! Contracts of marriage, of fosterage, or both, underwrote most of the mercenary relationships between the native Irish and Scottish Gaels during the late sixteenth century. Thus, on 29 September 1562 the Irish Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, informed the Queen that: 'Shane shall have again "Jeames M'Connelle's doughter," and will marry her openly.'[35] (See fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick's report 1595/6.) This was Catherine MacDonald by whom Seán had his only legitimate son, Henry.[36] James MacDonald, sixth of Dunyveg and the Glens, was also said by Captain W. Piers of Knockfergus, writing in 1563 to Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's chief minister or to Sussex, to have 'one son of the old O'Neill, who, as he affirms, is the rightful heir of Tyrone.'[37] However, when James MacDonald died in captivity after Seán had defeated them at Glenshesk, in 1565, Hugh O'Donnell of Tirconnell began to discuss marriage with his widow, Agnes Campbell, whom he wrote to the

Fig. 11.3
THE CIVIL PARISHES OF THE GLENS OF ANTRIM
(SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL RELATION OF THE GLENS TO KINTYRE)



Reproduced from
Angus Martin,
Kintyre: The Hidden Past,
(Edinburgh, 1984), p. 88.

Lord Deputy in April 1567 'would willingly be allied to him in order to be avenged of Shane, for the death of her late husband.'[38] However, in 1569, O'Donnell married her daughter Inneen Dubh and Lady Agnes married Turlough Luineach O'Neill. Inneen Dubh had at least two sons, one of whom was Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell.[39] (Only one son is noted by the dean of Limerick.) In 1592 in an attempt to elucidate the connections of the Gaels in Ulster, Burghley pointed out another genealogical link with James MacDonald. James apparently had a blind brother, Donald Balloch (see fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick's report 1595/6) whose son Gilleasbuig lived in the Route. Gilleasbuig was married to the eldest daughter of Brian MacPhelim, the third son of Phelim Bacach O'Neill of Clandeboye.[40] Somhairle Buidhe, brother of the chief of Clan Donald South at the beginning of this period, spent the majority of his life and career in Ireland and in matters relating to Ireland. His date of birth has been estimated at around 1505 or 1510, but the extant evidence of his life, especially that he is said to have married for a second time in 1588 (though there were no children) might suggest an even later date. It has been put forward that 'in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, there is reason to conclude that he was an Ulsterman by birth.' Certainly this is very possible. His home in Ireland was the Castle of Dunanynie (or Dunanannie), near Ballycastle. (See fig. 11.3, The civil parishes of the Glens of Ulster.) It was strategically placed beside the bay and his galleys brought in 'soldier-settlers' from Kintyre and the Isles, who were welcomed by 'Scottes' such as whose swelling numbers had been noted, in 1533, by the Dublin Council, in the northern Glens area.[41] Somhairle Buidhe's first mention in the State Papers, in 1551, is subsequent on a year's imprisonment in Dublin Castle. In 1558 he fell heir to the family's Irish acquisitions in the Route, and pursued a policy of expansion from there which was to result in the established settlement of the Antrim branch of the MacDonalds.[42] Somhairle was married to Mary, one of the daughters of Con Bacach O'Neill (created first Earl of Tyrone in 1542), by whom he had five legitimate sons, Donald, who was killed in c. 1580, without issue, Alexander, who was killed in a skirmish with the English in 1586, without issue, James (of Dunluce) who succeeded, Randal, who succeeded James, and Angus, known as *Aonghas Ultach*, who later possessed the barony of Glenarm. He also had a sixth and natural son by "O'Hara's" daughter, "Luther or Ludar," of whom the author felt able to write "but little good." Information survives about only one of his daughters, who married the chief of the MacNaghtens, near the shores of Lochawe.[43] (See fig. 11.1, Genealogy of the MacDonnells of Antrim.) At least one of his sons appears to have been fostered with Seán O'Neill, for which service Somhairle was to give him 500 cows and 'eight horsemen's furnitures for a buying, and shall serve him with four or five hundred men in every journey.'[44] His son James played on his Irish ancestry to try and facilitate the confirmation of the Route to him after Somhairle's death:

> Now his son James, having had an Irish woman to his mother, one of the O'Neills, the sister of the late Shane O'Neill, thinketh himself no such stranger as his father was, and therefore hopeth to be regarded with some more favour, and desireth to have this land confirmed unto him and his heirs

> from Her Majesty by letters patent, yielding to continue the same rent and service as is already imposed upon his land...[45]

In October 1588, the year before his death, Somhairle embarked on his second marriage to the daughter of Turlough Luineach O'Neill, at Strabane.[46]

Relationships were still being secured through fosterage and marriage in the final decade of the sixteenth century. The State Papers record in March 1597 that Angus MacDonald, eighth of Dunyveg and the Glens had taken the eldest son of the Earl of Tyrone to foster. It was also rumoured that the Earl of Argyll was to marry Tyrone's daughter, formerly Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell's wife.[47]

iii. MacDonalds of County Clare

The MacDonnells of Antrim were not the only MacDonnell family descended from the Clan Donald South, but also the MacDonalds of County Clare in the province of Munster. Sir Alexander MacDonnell of Kilconway and Moye, the youngest son of Sir James MacDonnell of Dunluce, (third son and successor of Somhairle Buidhe), was created a baronet in 1627. (See fig. 11.1, Genealogy of the MacDonnells of Antrim.) On Sir Alexander's death in 1634, the baronetcy passed to his son, Sir James of Eanagh and Ballybannagh. Daniel, the fourth son of this Sir James was deprived of his patrimony in Antrim and settled at Kilkee, County Clare, obtaining the leases of various lands from his kinsman Lord Clare. The settlement has been dated prior to 1663. Daniel's son, James MacDonnell of Kilkee, was a Captain in Lord Clare's Dragoons. He married Penelope, third daughter of Daniel More O'Brien of Drumore and Dough, County Clare, whose sister was Honora, second Viscountess of Clare. James MacDonnell of Kilkee purchased part of the estates of Daniel, Viscount Clare, who was forfeited after the first Jacobite rebellion and went to France. James acquired extensive estates in Clare, Limerick and Longford and died in 1714. His brother, John MacDonnell of Moyne, Daniel's eldest son, was the progenitor of the MacDonnells of Fairy Hill in County Clare.[48]

iv. MacDonalds of Colonsay

This branch of the Clan Donald South (see fig. 11.4, Genealogy of the MacDonalds of Colonsay) evinces particularly strong ties with Ireland. The progenitor of this family is generally recognised to be Colla Maol Dubh MacDonald (or Colla nan Capull or Colla of Kinbane), the third son of Alasdair MacDonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, and a brother of James MacDonald of Dunyveg and of Somhairle Buidhe. Sussex wrote of him, on his death in 1558, that he had spent the majority of his time in Ireland. He had been married to a lady of the MacQuillans, traditionally

known as Eveleen, even though there were violent territorial disputes between the two families over the Route.[49] At his death, at the beginning of this period, he left behind him three sons, Gilleasbuig fiacail, Randal and Alasdair. The younger son, Randal, appears to have made his home in Colonsay, working as a mercenary. Thus, he also spent some of his time in Ireland. He is recorded as fighting as a mercenary in Munster in 1586.[50]

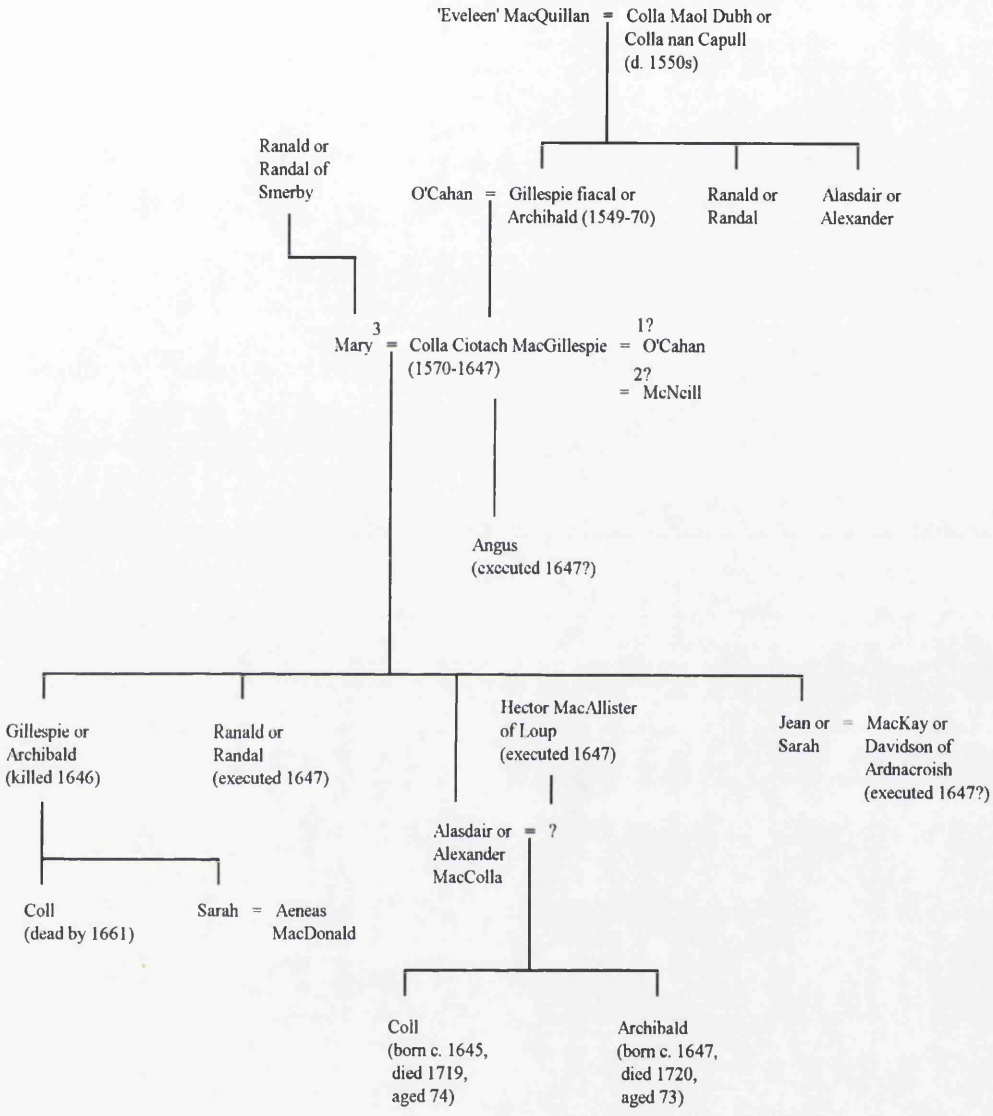
Gilleasbuig was fostered with a man of rank of the O'Cahan sept, the chief of Carnrighe, near Coleraine, a small island in Loughlinch, in the year 1556, and went on to marry his daughter. He held the heirship to the Route, traditionally MacQuillan territory, through his mother, Eveleen of the MacQuillans, daughter of a chief of the MacQuillans and also through his father, as a sword-land.[51] When Gilleasbuig came of age, his uncle, Somhairle Buidhe, in recognition of his rank, organised public celebrations at Ballycastle which included bull-baiting. The celebrations turned sour with the escape of one of the bulls at the proceedings, which mortally wounded Gilleasbuig. Having married at a young age, he left behind a son Colla, the famous Colla Ciotach Mac Gilleasbuig. Colla was born in Ireland, on the island of Loughlinch, in the parish of Billy.[52] When Gilleasbuig was killed, his wife was forced to flee to Colonsay from Somhairle Buidhe, who in his desire to claim the Route for himself, refused to recognise Colla's claim to his inheritance.[53] However, nothing is known of Colla Ciotach's youth, other than his birth and return to Colonsay. Indeed, the earliest reference to him which can certainly be dated is when he was nearing the age of forty in 1609.[54]

According to a MacDonnell manuscript, Colla Ciotach, like his father, also married a lady of the O'Cahans, of the family of Dunseverick. Clearly, when he reached maturity, he was no longer confined to the safety of Colonsay. However, the same source also states that, traditionally, his wife was held to be a McNeill. The likelihood is, as with other members of the clan *fine*, that he was married two or three times. However, the wife by whom he had his three legitimate sons, Gilleasbuig, Ranald, and Alasdair MacColla has been identified as the Scottish born Mary, daughter of Ranald MacJames of Smerby who lived in Antrim. He also had a fourth and natural son Angus. Little is known of his daughters, but two who have been identified both married Scots. His daughter Jean married MacKay of Ardnacroish, and another married a younger brother of MacDonald of Largie.[55] Colla Ciotach built a reputation as a warrior in both Ireland and Scotland. He was, for example, involved in the Ulster plot of 1614, which aimed to capture Con O'Neill, son of the exiled, dispossessed Earl of Tyrone, as well as the towns of Derry, Coleraine, Lifford, Culmore and Limavady, and to exchange hostages for imprisoned Irish leaders. During a spell as a pirate in 1615, he and his men, who included some of his Ulster MacDonnell kinsmen, captured the isle of Rathlin and used it as a base to capture passing vessels.[56]

In manhood, Colla Ciotach's third son, Alasdair MacColla, was equally at home in Ireland or

Fig. 11.4

Genealogy of the MacDonalds of Colonsay



Reproduced (with own additions) from David Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 310.

Scotland, as he allegedly was with his sword in either hand. He is undoubtedly one of the best examples of cultural ambidexterity exhibited during this period. However, he chose Scottish women for his wives. The first of these was a daughter of MacAllister of Loup, by whom he had two sons, Colla and Gilleasbuig. He brought his sons to the Antrim Glens, when he escaped from Lieut.-General David Leslie and the Marquess of Argyll, in the summer of 1647.[57] MacDonnell families in Glenariff and perhaps some of those near Cushendun are probably connected with this household because it was to Glenariff, then the heart of MacDonnell territory that Alasdair MacColla's sons were brought in 1647. His father, Colla Ciotach's household had been broken up in the summer of 1639, and it appears that Alasdair had placed the children with Hector MacAllister, but MacAllister and his two sons were massacred at Dunaverty. Doubtless, Alasdair's sons were quickly assimilated as Irishmen. The elder son was known as 'Coll a' Mhoulin' or Coll of the Mill. Mills were apparently then very scarce, and only men of some substance could afford them. He held the lands of Torr-Point and Carrickfadden in Culfeightrin, barony of Carey; Cushendall and Nappan in Ardclinis, barony of lower Glenarm; and Glassinieran and Loughlinch in Billy, barony of lower Dunluce. (See fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.) He lived at Kilmore and married Anne Magee, daughter of another family of Scots descent (see MacKays below), and his eldest son was Alexander.[58]

Alasdair MacColla's second son was Gilleasbuig or Captain Archibald Mòr and he followed his father by becoming a distinguished soldier. Towards the end of his life (he died in 1720), he lived at Glassmullin, in Layd (see fig. 11.3, The civil parishes of the Glens of Antrim), where he also held the lands of Dooney, Ligdrenagh, Mullaghbuy, and the two Knockans. In 1719 he rented the lands of Gallvolly, Tully, Carnelagh and Carnaine from the fourth Earl of Antrim. He also married a wife from a family of Scottish extraction, Anne Stewart, the daughter of Captain Stewart of Red Bay. They had a son Coll and a daughter Catherine.[59]

v. The MacPhees or Duffies

The MacPhees or Gaelic 'MacDubhsith' originated in Colonsay and Oronsay and fought as mercenaries in Ireland with the MacDonalds of Clan Donald South. According to the Irish manuscript fragment written in around 1700, a certain "Dool Oge McDufie and his five sons" were particular champions of Somhairle Buidhe, which shows that they were there in the late sixteenth century. They were stated to be "down right soldiers and stubborn fellows to their adversaries the McGees of Iyla," and had come to the assistance of the MacDonalds along with "the inhabitants of Cary and of the Glens which are the MacCormicks, the MacAulays, and the MacGils and the MacFails with all tennents and servants the Stewarts of Arran" and "the McAlisters of Kintyre."[60] Further emigration of members of the clan to Ulster in the seventeenth century resulted in the forms McAfee, MacAfee, Mahaffy and Duffy, derived from the most common anglicisation

'MacDuffie' which was used in Scotland. According to a survey of surnames in Ireland in 1909, the distribution of Duffy was by that time such that it was forty-fifth in a list of one hundred surnames in Ireland in 1890. It occurred chiefly in Donegal, Monaghan, Tyrone, Mayo, Roscommon and Dublin.[61] However, it appears that there had also been MacPhees or MacDuffees in Easter Ross from an early period, in association with the Celtic Church, and given the numbers who are stated to have emigrated from the environs of Inverness-shire in the seventeenth century, it is possible that some of these MacPhees are represented in Ulster. Once there, they apparently got into difficulties both with the Catholics whose lands they leased, and with the Protestants when presbyterian ministers were forbidden to marry them.[62] This is perhaps not surprising, especially when the surviving information seems to indicate that those McPhees who came to Ulster with the MacDonalds in the sixteenth century were Catholic, but that the members of a later McPhee family, which did not settle in Ulster until the latter half of the seventeenth century, were presbyterians and Covenanters, seeking freedom from religious persecution in Ireland. Moreover, it has been put forward that, in around 1700, various members of the McAfee families, as well as some of their neighbours moved to Armagh, 'where Macfies, Campbells, Montgomerys, McMichaels,' and 'McCouns lived as neighbours.'[63]

The Irish manuscript of c. 1700 states that a certain "Dool Oge McFee came to Ireland with Sourle Buy's father and possessed himself in Glenseisk and sought no more though it was very easy for him to enjoy much more if he pleased and lived there till he died and was very old." (See fig. 1.2, The Glens and the Route.) This tends to date Dool McFee's advent to Ulster to some time in the first few decades of the sixteenth century, probably by 1532. Indeed, it appears that the links between the MacDuffies and Somhairle Buidhe's son were very strong, for after the death of Somhairle Buidhe, when James MacSomhairle had to fight to keep the Route which his father had won by the sword, it is stated that he "made his first mansion" in Glenshesk in the Glens, in Dool Oge MacDufie's house.[64] According to the same manuscript, when confirmed in his grant by the Crown in 1603, Sir Randal MacDonnell (first Earl of Antrim after 1620), proceeded to confirm the ancient tenants of the Route in their estates. Those Macphees whom he later confirmed in their possession were Daniel Chogy ('a chogaidh' or 'of the war') McDufie in the Clogher (see fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster), who received eleven quarters in freehold and four quarters in leasehold, Archibald McDufie who received two quarters in freehold and four quarters in leasehold, Neil McDufie who received two quarters in freehold and the courts of the four Baronies, and Ferdaragh MacDuffee who received four quarter lands in freehold, who, with their descendants, all settled in Ballyrashane parish, in County Londonderry, in the barony of the North-East Liberties of Coleraine. (See fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.) Ferdaragh also acquired land in Knockertotron, near Coleraine, by 1700. There was a fifth brother, "Eneas McDool Oge who was the eldest of the children and always served James McSourl and after James'

death came to Scotland and was put to death wrongfully by Argyle along with Gilespuig Dhu son to Eneas McDonald of Kintyre."[65]

The progenitor of the Irish branch of the family which later standardised itself in English as McAfee, (many of whose descendants emigrated to America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,) is held to be John MacPhee, who was probably born in Colonsay around 1645, but probably moved to Ayrshire later in his life. He married Elizabeth Montgomery and moved to Antrim in around 1672. They had a son, also named John.[66]

vi. MacDonalds of Largie

The MacDonalds of Largie, otherwise known as the Clann Raghnaill Bhàin or Macrandalbanes, hailed from Kintyre.[67] (See fig. 1.1, Origins of the main branches of the Clan Donald.) They remained on their Kintyre lands throughout the period of Argyll's planting of Lowland settlers in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and Alexander MacDonald, eighth of Largie, did not join in the Islay rebellion of 1615, though he stood surety for the behaviour of Colla Ciotach in 1620. He was succeeded by his son, Angus MacDonald, ninth of Largie in 1639, who took part in the civil war on the Royalist side, being captain of the regiment that Alasdair MacColla took to Ireland in 1648. He was subsequently forfeited, and later restored.[68] Evidence of his involvement in Ireland is provided in Kirk records, on 6 January 1657.

> Angus Mcdonald sone to the lait laird of Largie having a purpose of mariage with a sister of the laird of Loups, quho being these ten yeires bygane out of the countrey, partlie in Irland, and partlie with the captain of clan Rannald, and now is defeined from being maried, by reason of the want of a testimoniall, quhilk he declaired he canot obtaine be reason of the distance of the places, and the want of ministers quhair occasionallie he had his residence...

He was, however, given permission to marry the said woman on the provision of accounts from three of the men who "came over with him" that he was a single and free man. A testimonial was also sent on his behalf from Neil Mckinnon, minister in Skye, that he was a single man. He proceeded to marriage.[69]

vii. MacAllisters of Loup

The MacAllisters of Loup are another Argyll family which had been going to Ulster as mercenaries with the MacDonalds of Kintyre since the outset of the fifteenth century.[70] (See fig. 1.1, Origins of the main branches of the Clan Donald.) Various MacAllister military leaders were in Ulster in the late sixteenth century. In November 1567 two MacAllisters, Alexander Og and his brother, Randal

Og, were in the Glens as part of a mercenary force of Somhairle Buidhe's. Each led 100 and 120 men respectively. Alexander Og returned to Scotland in the following year. His brother was murdered by the English in 1569.[71] A few years afterwards in February 1572 'Aghen McOwen duffe McAlastrain, called the Laird of Loop,' leader of the clan, was killed in a skirmish with the Carrickfergus garrison in another of Somhairle's expeditions. He is said to have been held in greater esteem than Somhairle Buidhe in Ireland. Another mercenary MacAllister, not in the Loup succession, Angus Roe McDonagh MacAllister, was killed in the Route in 1584.[72] A later descendant of this family, Coll MacAllister of Derrykeighan in the Route, was examined in 1652 as a witness regarding the events of the civil war period.[73] By the time of the Hearth Money Roll of 1669 there were twelve MacAllisters registered in the Glens, as well as others in the rest of Antrim.[74]

viii. The MacLavertys

The MacLavertys, or McLevertys, MacLartys, and McLardys, were related to the MacDonalds of the Isles, claiming descent from the founder of the Monastery of Saddell. They are originally thought to have occupied the lands of Chisken and Keill in Kintyre, and are said to have followed members of the dispersed Clan Donald South to the Antrim Glens in the first half of the seventeenth century. Probably the first MacLaverty to settle in Ireland (whose forename is unknown), held an estate of five farms near Cushendall. His son, Iver MacLaverty, born there in 1667, came back to Kintyre, in all probability to claim the lands of which his family had been deprived. He lived in Machairemore, leasing several farms from the Campbells of Argyll, and lived there until his death in 1724.[75]

C. From the perspective of other Scottish clans in relation to the Irish

Many of the noble links forged across the Irish sea, tended inevitably to come from the areas around the old Clan Donald South patrimony in Kintyre, simply because of its proximity. Although the other leading MacDonald branches in Scotland, that is, the MacDonalds of Sleat and of Clanranald, had military, religious and economic dealings in Ireland, they appear to have eschewed marital links with the native Irish. All marital links of MacDonalds with Irish families, other than those of Raghnall mac Ailein MacDonald of Benbecula, pertain to the Clan Donald South and their cadet branch, the MacDonalds of Colonsay. Even here, the escape of Alasdair MacColla's sons to Ireland, in 1647, seemed effectively to mark the end of the North Channel social gymnastics exhibited by that clan. Indeed, the civil war appears not only to have gelled religious affiliations in Ireland, but also to have forced the Clan Donald South, to some extent, to come to terms with its expropriation. The same kind of psychological realignment probably occurred with those native Irish who had been forfeited by the plantation of Ulster. Thus, the civil

war appears to mark the end of any potentially productive military or political alliance between the Irish and Scottish Gaels, particularly that evident among the MacDonalds. After the plantation, it tended to be Protestant families from the Highlands who settled in Ulster, in contrast to the mainly, though not wholly, Catholic settlement and links of the mercenary period.

ix. Stewarts of Ballintoy

The Stewarts of Ballintoy, in Antrim, were originally from Bute. Although this is a southerly island, in the firth of Clyde, it was in this period partly Gaelic-speaking. The Stewarts appear to have first settled on the north Antrim coast in about 1560, that is, well before the Ulster plantation. This date seems to correspond with the time when the family lost their Bute estates. Archibald Stewart of Largayan's lands had reverted to Mary Queen of Scots for his conniving with the rebel Earl of Lennox, going to England, and for depredations committed within the bounds of Argyll, Bute and Arran. Although he retained a small part of his estates, the family was left in relative financial straits and had to re-assess their future. Stewart sold the last of his property on Bute in 1559 and his sons seem to have gone to Ireland.[76] In Bute they had been a family on the peripheries of both Highland and Lowland society and able to move comfortably in both. So too, in Ireland, although they counted themselves among the Protestant minority 'and not with the political aspirations of the gaelic people,' they constantly mixed with the native Irish.[77]

Apparently, 'The Stewarts of Bute and Ballintoy, during many years after the settlement of the latter on this coast, kept alive their family connexion by reciprocal visits and occasional intermarriages,'[78] but no further evidence is offered. One interesting piece of information is, however, provided in a manuscript genealogy of the O'Neills of Tyrone. In this, Everan O'Neill, a great-nephew of the Seán O'Neill who was killed by the Scots in 1567, is shown as having married "Anne McCaulay, sister of James Stewart, Earl of Bute. Their children are given as Edmund, Bryan, Bryan (no distinction between the two) and Edmond O'Neill junior.[79] This same Anne maintained her connection with Ireland when she later married into the family of MacDonald of Sanda. A receipt survives dated 15 September 1684, by Anna Stewart, wife of Walter Campbell of Skipnish, to Mr. Robert Stewart, tutor to Sanda, her son. The receipt is for "the summe of fyve pounds sterling money And that for a years board of Grissell McDonald my daughter in Culrain in Ireland to be payed be me to the said Grissell her Landlady."[80] Walter Campbell of Skipnish was clearly a subsequent husband, whom she married after the death of Ranald MacDonald of Sanda, in 1681. Anna Stewart was the daughter of Sir Dugald Stewart, and a sister of James, first Earl of Bute.[81] It was probably as a result of the continuing links between the Stewarts of Bute and Antrim that Grissell MacDonald had gone to Ireland.

The first Stewart settler in Ireland is traditionally held to be James. He fathered two sons and two daughters, Ninian and David, and Jane and Christian. Christian married a kinsman, Brice (or Bryan) Dunlop, and this Ayrshire family seem to have also settled in Antrim shortly after their relations, the Stewarts. Ninian, in turn, had three surviving children, Archibald, Ninian and Cathrine. Cathrine married John, one of the Stewarts of Red Bay. It was Archibald (son of Ninian) who was closely involved with the Antrim MacDonnells. In 1625 he was granted the districts of Ballylough and Ballintoy from the first Earl. It is worthy of note that 'Stewart was bound to sub-let his lands only to Scotch tenants,' although, in terms of the plantation, this usually meant Lowland Protestants.[82] However, with the family's connection to the Antrims and the extent of their Highland links, practice may have allowed in a few Gaelic-speaking Highlanders who were excluded according to theory. In 1630 the said Archibald was appointed as agent to Randal MacDonnell, first Earl of Antrim, and continued to serve under the second Earl on his father's death in 1636, relinquishing his position some time after 1665.[83] Here it is significant that the first Earl was known as Randal Arranach, having been fostered as a child with the Stewarts of Arran and Bute, and it is, thus, understandable that he favoured the family. Archibald organised the militarisation of the plantation settlers during the 1640s, but was still closely involved with the native Irish. When he mobilised a regiment for the Protestant side it was to Alasdair MacDonald, son of Colla Ciotach, and Turlough Oge O'Cahan of Dunseverick[84] that he gave command of two of the companies, although in January 1641 on the outbreak of rebellion both of these companies defected to the Irish side, killing many of those who had previously been their military associates. Indeed this act was responsible for the beginnings of the rebellion in the Route.[85]

Even though they had Protestant affiliations, the Stewarts were related to many of the Catholic families of the area, and despite this difference of political alignment, it is curious to find them continuing to correspond with one another, without obvious malice, from their different standpoints. Thus, on 11 January 1641, Sir James MacColl MacDonnell (son of Sir James of Dunluce, i.e. grandson of Somhairle Buidhe) and one of the leaders of the Catholics, wrote to Stewart about the atrocities generally being perpetrated. Addressing him as "Cossen Archebald," he assured him that "as for both your houses they shall be safe" and that he could "come to me yourselfe, and your dearest friends to a-few" but that the rest would have to go to Scotland.[86] Members of Archibald Stewart's family were also known by gaelicised name forms such as Robert Oge Stewart and Allaster Begg Stewart. His descendants had, according to the Hearth Money Roll valuation of 1669, twelve hearths at Ballintoy, while there were a total of 29 Stewart hearths in the Glens altogether, which were probably branches of this family.[87] There is evidence that Archibald, the agent, also kept up a foothold in Bute. In a letter written to Antrim on 13 July 1664, a period when Antrim was fighting for the restoration of his estate, Stewart begins by saying that:

> The Sheriff of Bute, and the rest of my friends in Scotland had written three several times for me to go unto Scotland, about a small tenement I have there, but now I am necessitated to make a start over to them, but I trust (as God's holy) to be back against our assizes, which will be the 11th of August.[88]

Archibald Stewart was succeeded by his son, Archibald Stewart, M.P., who is noteworthy for having entered into dispute in 1662 with a Dr. Ralph King, also an M.P., over possession of some lands in the barony of Carey and Rathlin, both areas traditionally held by Scots. However, Stewart ultimately withdrew his claim, which tends to indicate that he was not convinced of his position. The only surviving child of Archibald Stewart, M.P., was a daughter Bernarda (or Bernella) who married another Stewart kinsman, James Stewart of Straidh, in Ballintoy. The union is significant as an example of continuing links between Stewarts in Bute and Antrim, for in 1664 her husband inherited the estates of a cousin, Ninian Stewart of Kilcathan (Kilchattan), in Bute.[89]

There is evidence not only of close financial contact between the Antrim and Bute Stewarts,[90] but also that a good many Stewarts from Ballintoy still had land interests in Bute in the latter half of the seventeenth century. For instance, on 28 June 1676, John Stewart from "Ballmenoch in Ireland" appeared through his procurator, Ninian Stewart, who produced a brief of Chapel and Chancellery of 6 June 1676 to the magistrates of Rothesay for serving him as nearest heir to the late Walter Stewart, burgess of Rothesay in a tenement and yard.[91] Similarly, in October 1687, Archibald Stewart appeared as procurator for Finuell, Margaret, Isoble, Jonet and Grissall Stewarts, lawful daughters of the late James Stewart from Ballintoy in Ireland, while John Johston, cooper in Rothesay, appeared for his wife who was yet another of James Stewart's daughters. They gave in a bill asking that the sisters be served heirs portioners to the late Mr John Stewart, previously minister in Rothesay, their father's brother and nearest kin. Archibald Stewart produced a disposition granted by his clients in favour of Patrick M'Quaig, Finuell's husband, of all the heritable and movable estate falling to them by the decease of their uncle, dated 17 June 1687, containing a procuratory to Archibald for serving them heirs and obtaining their infeftment. An inquest was to be called.[92]

On 17 January 1672, James Stewart, merchant and lawful son of the late Archibald Stewart, burgess of Rothesay and his wife Sara Spence, appeared in the burgh court and gave in a claim to the inquest in his case, asking to be served and returned heir of tailzie to his late father in the infeftments provided to him by his second marriage. Archibald Stewart appeared as procurator for Robert Stewart, the eldest son and heir of the late Archibald Stewart, protesting "that any speciall or generall service in favours of the said James sould not be prejudiciall to the said Robert to any intres he could pretend as air foirsaid be vertew of any contract denying a title to him as air." Neither was any action to be prejudicial to any infeftment or bond of relief granted by the said

Robert in favour of James Roy Stewart, burgess of Rothesay, for relieving John Muir of any burden he might sustain through the non-subscribing of a renunciation in Muir's favour by James and Agnes Stewart, his sister. John Muir's procurator required James Stewart "to subscryve ane Renunciatioune grantit be Robert Stewart at Ballintoy in Irland to him of ane reversione of the lands in Towneheid," now possessed by John Muir, in which his mother was infeft. James, however, refused to do so.[93]

x. Stewarts of Kilmahog

There was also another family of Stewarts in Ballintoy, who tended to be recorded contemporarily as Stuart, and who claimed descent from an earlier progenitor than John Stewart, first hereditary sheriff of Bute. 'The founder of the Kilmahog family was supposed to have been Walter Stewart, the son of Sir John Stewart, who was slain fighting on the side of Wallace, at the battle of Falkirk, in 1298.' One member of this family, Alexander Stewart, had connections with Scots. This Alexander Stewart, who died in 1723, possessed considerable portions in the townlands of Kilmahamog and Ballinlea, married a Scot, Elizabeth Fraser, and had a son Walter, and two daughters. Here it must be remembered that there were more Fraser lands around Inverness and Loch Ness than in the North-East. Walter, by his second wife, a McNeill of Clare, or Dunanynie, near Ballycastle, had a son John, who kept up the Scottish connection by marrying a Simpson, of Bowmore, in Islay. Since he died when his own son John was only six years of age, the rearing of the son fell to the Scottish side of the family. The young John 'was removed to Scotland by his grandmother Simpson, and brought up by the old lady in the hope that he would adopt the military profession, as he had uncles and grand-uncles in the army, and as she, being a Campbell nearly connected with the Duke of Argyle, could have easily procured for her grandson a good position.' Ultimately, however, he returned to Ireland, apparently because his father's family had traditionally opposed the policies of the Campbells and the House of Hanover.[94]

xi. Red Bay Stewarts

Yet another group of Stewarts, contemporarily recorded as Stewards rather than Stewarts, settled between Layd church and the mouth of the Glenariff, and are referred to as the Red Bay Stewarts.[95] They intermarried with the second generation Stewarts of Ballintoy, and may or may not have been a branch of the same family. They, too, were there in the sixteenth century and the fact that 'in the Glens they are settled outside those areas associated with seventeenth century Lowlanders suggests a different status and a settlement approved by the MacDonnell families at a period when gaelic society in Antrim was holding its own under Sorley Boy.'[96] In 1637, Alexander Stewart of Red Bay and his son, John Stewart, were given a lease from the second Earl of Antrim 'of the constableship and keeping of the castle and house of Redbay, with the town

custom, market custom, and lands thereof,' as well as the lands of Garvah, Maynthe, Cloney, Ballyvistoe, Gurterlie, Aghoshie, Knockmayne and Cloghglass.[97]

xiii. MacKays of Argyll

There were basically two branches of this family in Argyll, which are usually designated by historians as the MacKays of Kintyre or Ugadale (the estate later passing through marriage to the McNeills towards the end of the seventeenth century) and the MacKays of the Rhinns of Islay.[98] The MacKays of Kintyre were the more senior line.[99] It is commonly acknowledged that the Argyll MacKays crossed to Ireland as mercenaries with the MacDonalds of Kintyre, their surname ultimately becoming Mcgee or Magee. Opinion differs as to whether their descendants in Ireland were descendants of the Kintyre MacKays or the Rhinns of Islay MacKays. It is likely that both are in evidence.[100]

When the oldest Gaelic manuscript was discovered, a grant in the name of Brian Vicar MacKay for the charter lands in south-east Islay, in the hands of John Magee, a north Antrim farmer in 1852, the owner of the manuscript gave a statement about his ancestry as he understood it.

> The tradition of the family ... is, that his ancestor, John Magee, who was cousin to Somhairle Boy MacDonnell, came to Ireland with that chieftain to assist him in wresting the Route and Glynns from the MacQuillans; and that, having rendered important services to him at the battle of Aura, he received, as a reward, the four quarterlands of Ballyukin, and two adjacent to Aura, in the parish of Culfeightoine, which continued in the possession of the family until the time of the present representative's grandfather.[101]

A copy of this charter also survives in Ireland, made by the celebrated Dr. James MacDonnell, a descendant of the MacDonnells of Antrim, who died in 1845. His copy was therefore made before the significance of the manuscript came to light in 1852, but his translation of the Gaelic name as "Bryan Vicar Magee" indicates that he was in no doubt as to the connection between the MacKays and Magees.[102] In his examination of the background to the charter, W. D. Lamont indicated that the Magees in question, appear to represent the senior line of the administrative family of MacKay of the South Ward of Islay (i.e. Oa), as opposed to their relatives in the Rhinns.[103] Similarly, according to Mr. Hector MacLean in Ballygrant that 'there are two forms of the surname MacKay there - MacAoidh and MacAidh.' The first MacAoidh denotes the progeny of MacAoi na Ranna, a descendant of Brian Vicar Mackay who exchanged his lands in the Oa for the Rhinns.[104] MacAidh appears to denote the Kintyre side of the family.

In 1620 this main branch of the family was still in possession of the lands of Ballyuchan, next to Murlough Bay.[105] Alexander Magee of 'Ballygicon' was granted these lands on 3 July 1620 from the first Earl of Antrim, as well as 'half of Turnaroan... Ballycregagh... and the quarter of Dowcorry.' Yet, it has been commented in relation to grants in the Glens that 'many of the grants ... made by the Earl of Antrim in the early seventeenth century ... may have been formalisation of existing occupation.'[106] His wife was Janet Stewart, who Hill speculates was a daughter of John Stewart of Red Bay.[107] Later in the century, Alasdair MacColla's eldest son, Colla a' Mhoulin MacDonnell of Kilmore, was married to Anne Magee of Ballyucan, obviously a daughter of this family.[108] 'Her father is probably the Daniel Magee who appears in that area in 1669 paying tax on two hearths, and distinguished by the title of Mister. This Magee family claim descent from Owen Gar Magee, an officer on the MacDonnell side at the battle of Aura c. 1560, who slew the eldest son of MacQuillan at Loughlynchy near Bushmills.' The land was apparently granted in return for this action.[109] Clearly this is the same family, but the name of the descendant is John in one account, and Owen Gar in another.[110]

There were also MacKays near Cushendun. 'Daniel M'Key' received a grant on 15 January 1615, of the lands of Ballyterim, the two Loughans and Farrenmecallin (or Farin mcAllin). At his death, on 20 May 1622, these passed to his son Alexander.[111] 'Fennell McKay' of Ballyteerim appears in the Hearth Money Roll of 1669, who, it has been suggested, is probably the grandson of the above Daniel.[112] On the other hand, the Magees of Islandmagee, on the east Antrim coast are traditionally held to be descended from the MacKays of the Rhinns of Islay, and of having translated there before the beginning of the seventeenth century. It has also been suggested, however, that many MacKays fled to Ulster to join the MacDonalds in Antrim in about 1618 subsequent on the disputes for the overlordship of Islay.[113] But they were ejected from their land in the Islandmagee Massacre of 1642 by plantation settlers.[114]

xiii. McNeills of Gigha and Taynish, (Gallochelly, Carskiey, Tirfergus, Losset, and Ugadale).

The mainline branch of this family was the McNeills of Gigha and Taynish, Taynish having been bought at the beginning of the seventeenth century from the MacDonalds of the Isle of Gigha. The families main cadets were the McNeills of Gallochelly (or Gallochallie, Gallachelli, Galchoille), Carskiey and Tirfergus. The McNeills of Arichonan, were descended from Malcolm Beg McNeill, a younger son of John Oig of Gallochelly, in the reign of James VI, which family acquired the Isle of Colonsay from the Campbells of Argyll. The Ugadale estate, the old inheritance of the MacKays of Kintyre, was acquired by Torquil McNeill, a younger son of Lachlan McNeill Buidhe of Tirfergus, who married a MacKay heiress at the end of the seventeenth century. (See fig. 11.5, Pedigree of the McNeills of Taynish & Gigha, and fig. 11.6, Pedigree of the McNeills of Faughart, Cushendun & Gallochelly, descendants of the McNeills of Gigha & Taynish. Both are derived

from the manuscript pedigree of Col. James Graham Robert Douglas McNeill C.B. and of the McNeills of Faughart, Cushendun, Gallochelly and Colonsay. Note that names have been kept as they are in the manuscript pedigree and not standardised.)[115] Many members of this inter-related clan settled in the north of Ireland.

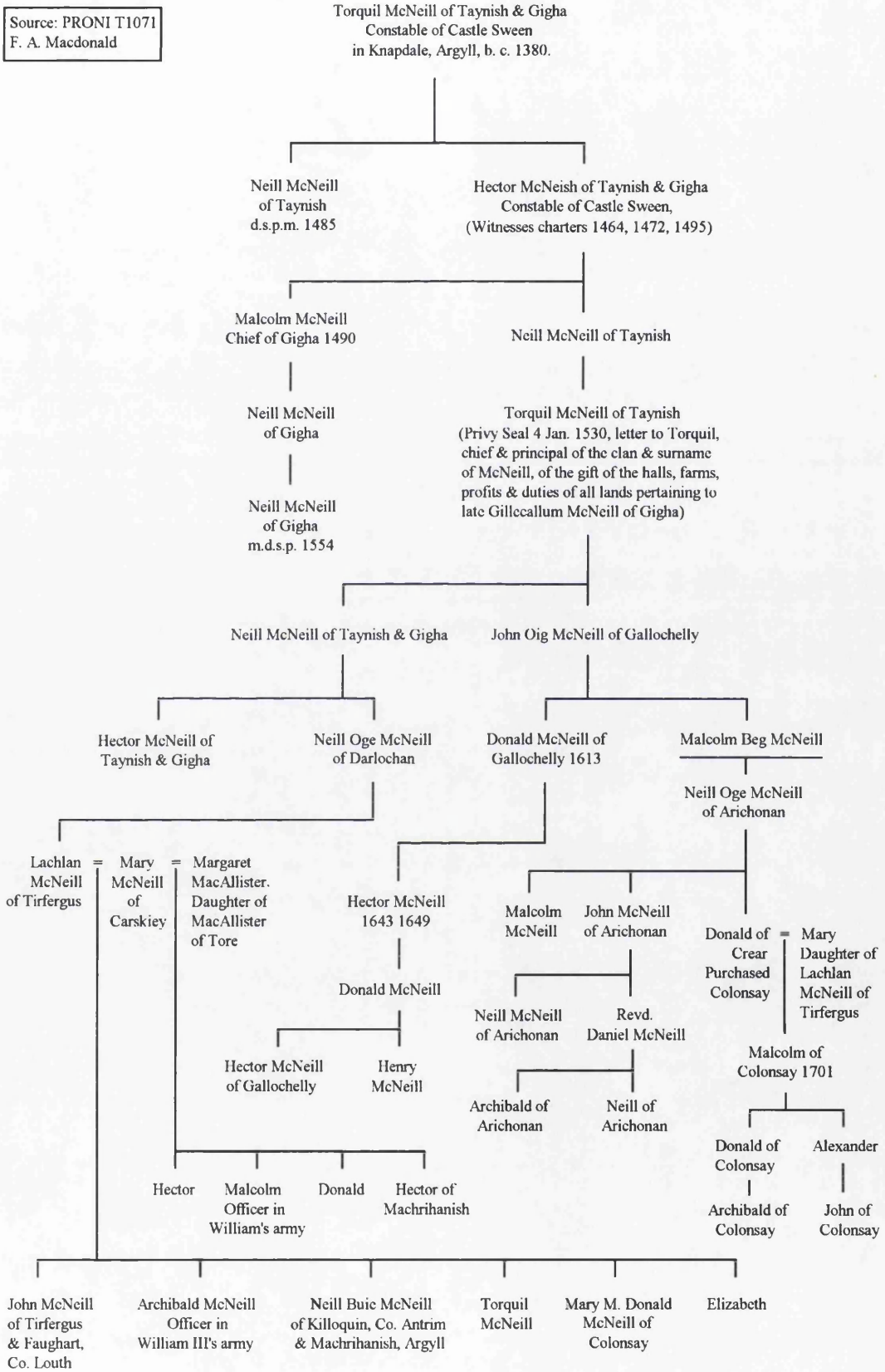
Four sons of Lachlan McNeill Buidhe (Lachlan McNeill of Tirfergus of figs. 11.5 and 11.6), who was a substantial farmer in Kintyre, crossed to Ireland in the seventeenth century, while one of his daughters and his illegitimate daughter, married a relative in Ireland and an Irish Stewart, respectively.[116] Lachlan may, in origin, have come from the McNeills of Gigha. His father Neil Buidhe (Neill Oge McNeill of Darlochan of fig. 11.5) held, in 1619, 'the lands of Clochkiel, Darlochan, Aros and Lochorodale at a rent of £368 and Drumore at £80. In 1611 he (Neil Buidhe) had held Clochkiel, Letregan and Machrihanish.' These farms were part of a holding of 16 merklands in the Laggan of Kintyre which pertained of old to the McNeills of Gigha,' which makes it likely that Neil Buidhe was of the family of Gigha.[117] His son Lachlan appears to have been born about 1611. Certainly the McNeills of Gigha had supported Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay in his bid to recover his territory,[118] but over the years would appear to have pragmatically converted to the Campbells, and adopted the presbyterian religion. Certainly, by May 1653 Lachlan was a kirk elder. In this capacity, he was, in 1662, among a group of Kintyre lairds who were given authority by the Privy Council to suppress and apprehend robbers coming from Ireland and the North Isles, who were raiding the area at the time. Lachlan himself 'acquired substantial lands in Kintyre beginning with a wadset Charter of Tirfergus and Largieban in 1660 followed in 1668 by Losset, Knockhantie and Glenahantie.'[119] That is, he held more substantial lands than his father, as well as having a certain social standing, as exhibited through the Privy Council calling.

Lachlan appears to have been in sympathy with the Earl of Argyll during his rising of 1685, because the Campbeltown minister, David Simpson, gave evidence that one Alexander Forester was ordered by Argyll to protect the surrounding country and "that Lauchlan Mcneil boie did see the forsaid order and that the said E(arl) required him to be assisting to Forester in the prosecution of the said order." He had given a bond for his good behaviour before the rising, at the Earl's forfeiture in 1682, and was required to give another after the rising in 1686. Attention is drawn, in the first place, to his social distinction and, more pertinently, to how he avoided personal persecution not only after the failure of the rising at the hands of the Royal Lieutenant, the Marquis of Atholl, but also, how he had avoided it four decades earlier during the vindictive raids of Alasdair MacColla in 1646-47? The reason may have been protection provided from a close relative. Traditionally, Lachlan was supposedly an only son, 'but one Archibald McNeill Buidhe, who could well have been a brother, was dealt with by the Synod of Argyll for consorting with Alasdair MacColla MacDonald during his rebellion.'[120]

Fig. 11.5

Pedigree of the McNeills of Taynish & Gigha

Source: PRONI T1071
F. A. Macdonald



It may also be possible, through implication, that Lachlan himself had also been in Ireland. Material exists in the Losset archives of a story by Neil Fleming, an old inhabitant of Kintyre, in 1853, which was given in evidence when three of Lachlan's sons were contending the title against MacNeill's illegitimate son, after the death of Major Hector MacNeill of Ugadale and Losset in 1817. The story was told in relation to Neil Buidhe, Lachlan's father:

> During the plague Neil Buidhe was sent to Ireland to avoid infection. He had been betrothed to a girl McKillop and he returned to find all her family dead and she herself very ill. She, being infected, would not allow him near her, and she told him to go back to Ireland and stop till things got better, and then come back, and, if she was dead, he was to look the west corner of the house and he would find there what would do good to himself.

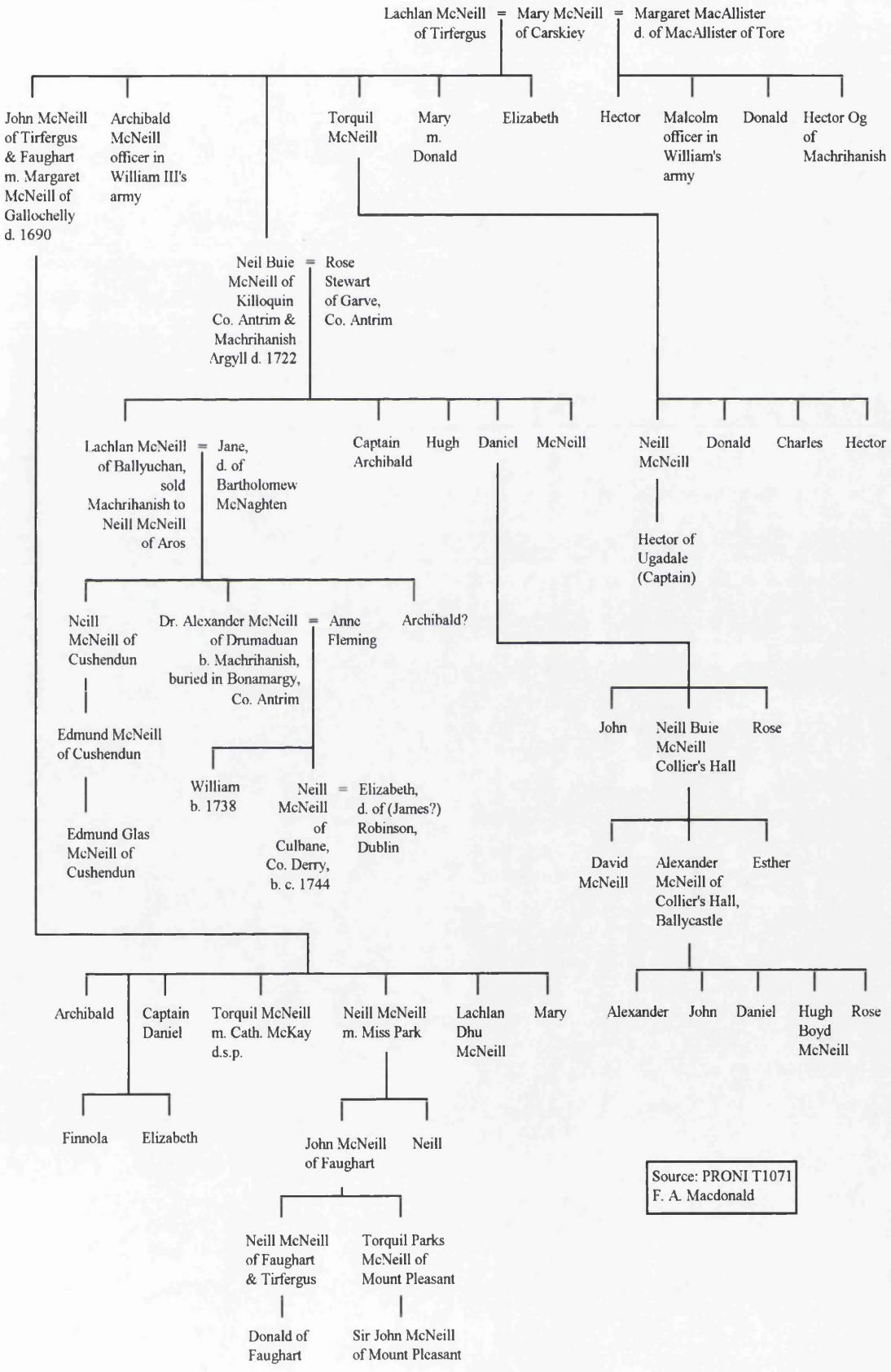
The story continues that when he came back, he found there a large quantity of gold with which he was able to buy Tirfergus. It has been suggested that the story refers to Lachlan, since the plague struck in 1647, and this would certainly be consistent with the reference to Tirfergus. More than this, it surely raises the question of what he was doing in Ireland? He may have been fighting with the Covenanting forces.[121]

Three of Lachlan's sons by his first marriage to Mary McNeill, daughter of the laird of Carskiey, moved to Ireland. His oldest son, John, succeeded to his lands in Tirfergus.[122] (See fig. 11.5, Pedigree of the McNeills of Taynish & Gigha.) This John later moved to Ireland, acquiring the estate of Faughart in County Louth. John's fourth son, Neil (grandson of Lachlan), married an Irish woman given on the pedigree as Miss Park, and is considered the founder of the McNeills of Faughart and Mount Pleasant, County Louth.[123] (See fig. 11.6, Pedigree of the McNeills of Faughart, Cushendun & Gallochelly, descendants of the McNeills of Gigha & Taynish.) No dates are given for the majority of this branch on the pedigree, other than that the progenitor, John, died in 1690. Neil McNeill's son John (great-grandson of Lachlan) subsequently became proprietor of Faughart in Co. Louth.[124] Lachlan's second son, Archibald, married a McNeill from Ireland. He was still alive in 1690 when he fought as an officer in William III's army. And while not quite marrying an Irishman, the first daughter of this marriage, Isobell, continued in staunch Kintyre presbyterian tradition, by marrying Dugald Campbell of Drumnamucklach, the youngest son of Archibald Campbell of Glen Carradale, who had taken an active part in the expulsion of the Clan Donald South from Kintyre.[125]

Lachlan's third son, Neil Buie (who died in 1722), followed a more commonly tread path to Ulster, acquiring the estate of Killoquin in County Antrim. It would appear that he also inherited lands originally acquired by his grandfather, because he is referred to as Neill Buie of Killoquin in County Antrim and Machrihanish in Argyll.[126] He married Rose, the seventh daughter of Captain

Fig. 11.6

Pedigree of the McNeills of Faughart, Cushendun & Gallochelly, descendants of the McNeills of Gigha & Taynish



Source: PRONI T1071
F. A. Macdonald

Stewart of Garve (or Ninian Stewart of Ballintoy), who exhibited ancient Scottish connections through her descent from Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, agent of the Earl of Antrim. Neil Buie's own eldest son, Lachlan (i.e. grandson of Lachlan McNeill Buidhe), married Jane (or Jenny) of the Irish McNaughtons, the family which provided a chief for the Scottish Clan of the same name, and they lived for a while at Ballyukin, between Torr Head and Ballycastle, before going to Cushendun. From this Lachlan, who died there in 1735, the McNeills of Cushendun are descended.[127] Neil Buie's fourth son, Daniel (Lachlan's grandson), was the progenitor of the McNeiles of Ballycastle and Collier's Hall.[128]

There were further connections with Ireland through the family of Lachlan's second marriage to Margaret, the daughter of McAllister of Tore in Arran. Thus, his sixth son (second of the second marriage), Malcolm, went to Ireland as a hunter of Tories (dispossessed Irish rebels), doubtless continuing in the tradition set by his father, above, in the 1660s. Apparently he was 'so successful in dealing with these native Irish outlaws that it is said he was given in gratitude the estate of Ballymascanlon.'[129] Lachlan's fourth daughter (second of his second marriage), Annabell, married the Rev. John McLean prebendary of Rasharkin ["Rosenharken"] in Ireland, while his only illegitimate child, a daughter called Margaret, married an Irish Stewart.[130]

Three of Lachlan's sons are said to have fought in the Orange wars. The McNeill pedigree specifies that Archibald, of the first marriage, and Malcolm, of the second marriage, fought for William. The third was presumably Lachlan's eldest son, John, whose death is noted in 1690.[131]

Connections between the Irish McNeills and the Ugadale McNeills were apparently maintained into the early and mid-eighteenth century, on the basis of a kin-operated commerce. On 14 November 1721, Torquil McNeill, Lachlan's fourth son, wrote to Provost James Cunison and William More, skipper in Campbeltown, asking them to pay, on 1 February 1722, "Conjunctlie and severallie betwixt yow, to me in Name and behalf of Doctor Neill mcneill of Belfast the sum of sex pund ten shilling sterling money value."[132] No doctor Neil McNeill is indicated on the pedigree, but this is perhaps Torquil's elder brother, Neil. Certainly, a disposition and assignation from Dr. Archibald McNeill in Belfast, "heir to the deceast Neil McNeil Chyrurgion Appothecarie there," his uncle, was registered in the Sheriff Court Books of Argyll in 1739. If this Neil McNeill is as identified, according to the pedigree his only nephew called Archibald is the first son of his elder brother John, of Tirfergus and Faughart, County Louth. The assignation states that Neil McNeill had obtained decreet and sentence against John MacDonald, now of Largie, his tutors and curators, before the sheriff depute of Argyll, on 13 July 1720, for non-payment of a bond taken out on 8 July 1704 for £360 principal, plus annualrents. By a decreet of adjudication, Neil was given rights to certain properties, to pertain to him and his heir, heritably, in satisfaction of the total sum of £830 10s (4)d which had by that time accrued. On 29 November 1728, Neil McNeill had obtained a

decreet of Mails and Duty before the sheriff substitute of Argyll "against the Tenants possessors of the said Lands And Estate." Having fallen heir to these lands, Archibald was now selling them. Dr. Archibald McNeill of Belfast then held extensive lands in Kintyre.[133]

However, it appears that Archibald retained other lands in Kintyre after this. For this Archibald McNeill is presumably also the one who wrote a letter, dated 13 September 1751, from "Malone neire Belfast," to Neil McNeill of Ugadale, that is, the son of another of his uncle's, Torquil.[134] His first cousin, Neil McNeill, appears to have looked after the said Archibald McNeill's land interests in Kintyre, for the latter addressed him as "the relation on whom I chiefly depend when I have any thing of moment to doe in that country." He asked Neil, in this letter, to intervene for an extension on his tack. "I hear the Duke of Argile is to be in Kintyre immediatly therefor must beg the favour of your interest with him for ane addition of years to the tack of Darlochan. If two nineteen years could be procured & added to the present tack it would be some encouragment to improve whereas at present there is none." He was due to pay a great deal in arrears of rent on the land, which, as he saw it, no one but himself would pay, but wished to procure "more than a common tennant right to good Encouragment from his grace." If he could have "Cloghcoile" annexed to it, it would give him great pleasure. Further, he sought assistance for "brother Lachlan to the renewal of Kilmaluage on which my father made considerable improvements." The pedigree indicates that Archibald, son of John McNeill of Tirfergus, had a brother Lachlan Dhu McNeill. So too, it appears that Archibald was still a creditor of MacDonald of Largie, for he wrote of having "by this opportunity given notice to Largie to pay yow a Debt he owes me on the 15th of November next." He was not, however, very hopeful of receiving it, for he added, "I hope youle give yourselfe the trouble of receiving it for me if tendered to yow which I much doubt."[135]

There were also connections between the McNeills of County Louth and the McNeills of Taynish. For on 7 July and 6 October 1720, at "Kilmichell of Glasrie and Ballyphilip in Ireland," a charter of confirmation containing a precept of sasine was subscribed by Neil McNeill of Taynish, with the consent of Hector McNeill, his eldest son and heir. This followed a disposition contained in a procuratory of resignation on 4 September 1706, registered in the books of Council and Session on 26 August 1717, by the late Malcolm McGillergan, in favour of Captain Hector McNeill of Athurdi, County Louth (who was designated within it, cousin german of Donald McNeill of Gallochelly) and his son, John McNeill. They were confirmed in the offices of miller and "lie miln-knave" of the cornmill of Calzebar, the mill lands known as the Two Gortenmullyn, with the pasture of two cows and one horse per annum, upon the lands of Kilmorie and Gillibir, with the lade of the mill pond commonly called Lochcalzebar, with the mulctures and other privileges customarily pertaining to the millers and "lie knave" of the mill, lying in Douning in Knapdale, Argyll, in feu-ferm for 40 merks Scots yearly and 42 poultry.[136]

Irish links with the McNeills of Taynish continued into the next generation, as is shown by an edict of curatory raised at the instance of Roger McNeill of Taynish against his nearest of kin, Daniel McNeill, his paternal uncle, and Hector McNeill of Gallochelly, two of his nearest of kin on his father's side, and Hugh Williebie Montgomery of Ballielessand and William Montgomery of Killoch, Esq., two of his nearest of kin on his mother's side, on 26 December 1739. It reveals that his deceased father, Hector McNeill of Taynish, had married Mrs. Anne Montgomery, of County Down. The edict indicates that McNeill was by then past his age of pupillarity and into his years of curatory, and had chosen curators according to a nomination of curators subscribed at Dunseverick in Ireland, on 14 September 1739, to help him manage and govern his estate, until his years of majority. Moreover, since "for sundry reasons he could not repair to Scotland and appear in person there," it appears that Roger had been raised in Ireland after his father's death.[137]

Commercial connections with Ireland were also exhibited in the eighteenth century by the McNeills of Carskiey. Malcolm McNeill, laird of Carskiey in the early eighteenth century, describes himself in his estate journal as "Merchant att Campbeltoune Kintyre." It was presumably through his trading connection in Ireland that he met his wife, who was a MacNeill of Antrim and the daughter of the Rector of Cloghar, whose title seems to indicate that he was a serving member of the Church of Ireland.[138] His wife pre-deceased Carskiey in 1730 and was buried in the graveyard at Kilcolmkeil. No specific evidence of McNeill in Ireland has been found, but he obviously made visits during the earlier part of his life and probably on later occasions, too. They had two sons and three daughters, one of whom, Esther is definitely known to have spent time in Dublin because of a receipt which appears in the account book. Moreover, given their mother's Antrim origin and the proximity of Ireland to Kintyre it is likely that all her children did too, for Dublin functioned as a social centre for North Channel landed classes of the time. Only a partial transcription of the receipt has been left to posterity due to a hole in the manuscript, but the remnant is sufficient to ascertain that Esther had obviously overspent her budget and been forced to borrow a guinea on her father's credit. John McShenoig, brother of the original lender in Dublin had retrieved the sum when in Carskiey

> and that in Name and behalf of Archib----------g my Brother which forsaid one pound one sh------
> ----mey Esther McNeill daughter to said Cariskey ---------d from my Brother when in Dubline,
> which soume I hereby discharges and oblidges my self to Keep the said Cariskey Free and skaithless
> att all hands subscribed with my hand att Cariskey day & Daite forsaid.

The receipt is dated 3 May 1727.[139]

However, the Antrim McNeills were commercially connected not only with Kintyre, but also with Bute. An example survives from the eighteenth century, dated 24 October 1765, referring to a

McNeill from Ballintoy in Antrim who craved infeftment in various lands in the burgh and territory of Rothesay. John McNeill of Craig in Ballintoy (which branch has been amply connected with the Argyll McNeills), eldest lawful son of the late John McNeill, merchant in Rothesay, appeared through his procurator asking to be entered and infeft as lawful heir to his father:

> in all and that rood of land lying upon the west side of the Burgh of Rothesay betwixt the lands sometime pertaining to Mr Robert Stewart in Ardnahoa now belonging to Robert Stewart merchant in Campbelltown on the west and lands sometime pertaining to the deceased John M'Ilherran now belonging to the Earl of Bute on the south and the common high way on the east.

He also craved infeftment to another six pieces of land and two tenements and their yards in the burgh of Rothesay. An inquest of the neighbourhood was called to decide upon the claim, and with no objections, John McNeill, younger, was declared the nearest lawful heir of his father and lawfully infeft in the above.[140] Nonetheless, there were clearly more connections with the old McNeill territories in west coast Argyll.

The Irish and Scottish connections of this prodigious family appear to have been sustained well into the nineteenth century. Its history illustrates an extended network of McNeills, indicating relationship between the McNeills of Ballyucan, Cushendun, Drumaduan, Ballycastle (barony of Carey) also of Faughart in County Louth, Parkmount, Craigs and Culbane in Derry, Gallochelly, Colonsay, Taynish and Gigha in Argyll, but not of Barra.[141]

xiv. MacNaghtens of Glenaray and Glenshira

This family was also notable in the supply of agents to the Earls of Antrim in the early seventeenth century. The first settler of this family in Antrim was John Dubh who lived in Ballymagarry, near Dunluce Castle. He was leased the 60 acre lands of Ballymagarry, 30 acres of Coolnegar and the 60 acres of Banverdon. He was a nephew of Somhairle Buidhe and cousin of the first Earl of Antrim, to whom he became principal agent (undated) or as his tombstone says "first secretarie." No date is given for his settlement near Dunluce Castle but since his lease was given while the Earl was still Sir Randal, it can necessarily be dated between 1601 and 12 December 1620, when Antrim became Earl. He died on 10 March 1630. His son, Donnell, also became an agent on the Antrim estates, though the position of principal agent went to Archibald Stewart. He held the "half Towne lande of Benvardin, the quarter of Killmoyle, the quarter of Ballenelorgan, the two quarters of Ballelegin, the quarter of Ballenasse, the halfequarter of Ardtiboylane, and the mill of Ballenasse, yearly, twenty pounds." He also held leases to the half townland of Ballentegert, the half townland of Laggathrore, the half townland of Magherernan, and the half townland of Ballenlogh, also in the barony of Dunluce.[142]

xv. Malcolms of Poltalloch

A letter exists in the papers of the Malcolms of Poltalloch which provides evidence that members of the family moved to Ireland. The letter is from Archibald MacCalum in Ballycastle, Antrim, to his uncle, and is dated 15 July 1720. The uncle is unspecified but was, undoubtedly, Donald MacCalum, seventh of Poltalloch, the half-uncle to whom the writer, Archibald MacCalum, sixth of Poltalloch, had disponed the family estates. Archibald's brother, John MacCalum of Knockalva, followed his elder brother's example and three years later, in 1700, sold Knockalva to the same Donald MacCalum and went to Ireland, though no details of his time there have come to light. Archibald was a small landholder, stating in his letter that "my portion is three hunder marks a year of free hold; under my Lord Massereen and £160 of money sterling." The letter is very revealing of all his affairs, and seems to indicate that he had not been in contact with his uncle for some time. Archibald says that he met his cousin Margaret accidentally, in Ballycastle, who is presumably the recipient's daughter Margaret, who married Dugald Campbell of Ardlarich. He also writes of a certain Lachlan, who might also be a cousin but cannot be identified as a son of Donald's. Lachlan appeared to be in Ireland because of an imprudent marriage, and the recipient was definitely desirous that he return to Argyll, for Archibald states that "I told him what you wrote about his return to Scotland. As to his affinity by mariage I am ane intyre stranger to it. When first I heard of it, it was both troublesome and vexing to me; considering such ane act to be for neither their advantages." This may refer to Lachlan McLachlan of that Ilk whose sister Janet married Archibald MacCalum, later eighth of Poltalloch in 1707, and it may be to this marriage that the author refers. Archibald indicates that he has, himself, been twice married. His first wife can be identified as Katherine Bannatyne of the Kames family. Archibald states that his children by the first marriage are Alex, Duncan and Rose. His second wife is Esther Ifamia, by whom he has two children, a son Archibald and a daughter Esther. Posterity credits Archibald, the father, with leaving only a son Zachary and several daughters, but the writer does not mention this name himself. It is likely that this represents a confusion with his own father Zachary Malcalum, fifth of Poltalloch, for it can be seen from his own information that Archibald had several sons. He also has a brother Danield, by whom "I have not time nor room to tell you, how much trouble and loss I have sustained," and a sister, to whom he sent a wayward neice "for fear of her doing any thing that might staine her rep(utation)."[143]

Although Archibald's sons appear to have been raised in Ireland, the family still maintained contacts with Scotland. Archibald had emigrated to Ireland in 1697, probably taking advantage of the opening up of the land market with the forfeitures following the Jacobite war some years earlier. There was extensive emigration to Ulster between then and 1698, after the battle of the Boyne. It has been claimed that an extra 50,000 Scots, largely Protestant, emigrated to Ulster between 1688 and 1715.[144] Archibald's son Alexander, presumably the eldest, was a trader "bound

apprentice at Belfast to both feu and Land tradeing." Towards the end of his apprenticeship "he left his master at Greenock after his return from Barbadoes, in September last he went from Greenock upon ane English adventur to Guinea-land in affrick," indicating that he would not return until he had made a considerable fortune. It is highly likely, therefore, that he was involved either in the slave or gold bullion trades, it being difficult to think of another trade in which a considerable fortune "may be made in a year or two." He was said by his father, who may have been less than impartial, to be "ane ingenious schoollar" who spoke several languages. Archibald's second son, Duncan, was still at school in Antrim. His incidental comments about Scottish education in relation to his son, are illuminating of a change in clerical attitude from the late sixteenth century, and are indicative of the extent of anglican infiltration of the Irish Church: "I thought to have sent Duncan to the Colldge of Edinburgh but I observe that Scots Education is not esteemd in this Kingdome; by the Church of England." Here, Archibald and his family were clearly straying from the presbyterian tendency of the Poltalloch family in Scotland, for his grandfather, Archibald MacCalum, fourth of Poltalloch, minister of Kilmichael-Glassary and translator of the Shorter Catechism and parts of the Bible into Gaelic, was cited as a non-conformist to episcopacy in 1662. An ecclesiastical link was evinced with Ireland through the minister's fourth son, the Rev. Archibald MacCalum, who was Rector of Lough Geal and Ramone after the Revolution. The said Duncan had been moved from school in Coleraine, the previous Easter, to Lisburn school. Archibald then hoped to send him to Dublin Colledge, instead of Scotland. "He is reckond the best humanist and Grecian of his age in the North of Ireland; very grave and modest."[145]

xvi. MacLeans of Duart

Once again, this family's major links with Ireland were during the mercenary period when it was important to cement contacts with marriage alliances. Through Catherine MacLean, daughter of Lachlan MacLean, elder, the MacLeans forged alliances with two major Irish employers of mercenaries. Having been brought up at the Scottish court, she was a great diplomatic prize, knowing Latin, French and a little Italian. Catherine was first married to old Earl Archibald, fourth of Argyll, in 1542, as his third wife. When he died, she married Calbhach O'Donnell of Tirconnell or Donegal, by whom she had a son Hugh Gavelagh O'Donnell. (See fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick 1595/6.) They were then both captured by Seán O'Neill, but sources tend to differ in their interpretation of whether she was a willing captive or not. It probably suited the English government to label Tyrone as a savage who kidnapped women. However, the fact is that she bore him no fewer than three sons, Hugh Gavelagh, Art and Seán Og and remained with him until his death in 1567. Certainly, as long as she stayed with him, Seán was guaranteed a supply of mercenaries from Mull. She then returned to Scotland and married her third husband, entering into her fourth and final liason with John Stewart, Lord of Appin.[146] (See fig. 1.11, Genealogy re dean of Limerick's report 1595/6.) It appears that she was still alive in 1605 when her nephew, Rorie

O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, concluded a letter to Angus MacDonald, chief of the Clan Donald South, with a request to be commended to 'MacLean's daughter,' which is how she was styled in Ulster.[147]

xvii. Campbells of Argyll

Very little evidence has been found for Campbell gentry intermarrying with native Irish and indeed, none for the seventeenth century. It is unlikely that there was none at all, simply that it has not come to light.[148] The only major marriage alliance between a Campbell and an Irishman occurred in August 1569, with the marriage of Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of the fourth Earl of Argyll. Lady Agnes had first married the Sheriff of Bute, whom she bore a daughter, but then left him, and being intercepted on her way back to Argyll, was married to James MacDonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, with whom she had five sons. Her third marriage to Turlough Luineach, the O'Neill, was overtly political, forged with the intention of facilitating the hire of mercenaries for O'Neill. Where Seán O'Neill had never particularly liked the Scots, Turlough Luineach was a pragmatist. Indeed, 'He and O'Donnell of Tír Chonaill, being determined upon matrimony, sent Ferrall MacEvye and Ferdoragh MacNymye, both members of the Bardic class, the latter having been described in 1563 as "the richest rymer in Ireland," to Scotland, as the Irish Council put it, "for wives." ' The prize for Turlough was Lady Agnes's dowry of 1,000 fighting men, comprising Campbells and MacDonalds and she, in her turn, hoped to advance her progeny in Ireland. The marriage ceremony took place in July 1569 in Bruce's Castle which accommodated 250 people at that time. It was presided over by Somhairle Buidhe and consisted of 14 days of feasting. Somhairle also arranged for withies[149] to be cut on the mainland to repair the walls of the castle and to build temporary shelters for those who attended. The bride's brother, the Earl of Argyll, sent Turlough "a steeple-crowned taffeta hat set with bugles" (tube-shaped beads of glass usually black in colour). However, for some reason he refused to accept it. Traditionally, Lady Agnes is said to have had a mansion built on Crocknascreidlin, a flat topped hill in the valley east of Church bay where she grew the best apple trees in the north of Ireland, but in reality she spent little time on the island, going to live with Turlough at Dunnalong Castle on the Foyle. At about the same time, her daughter Finula by James MacDonald, known as 'Inneen Dubh,' or 'the dark daughter' was married to O'Donnell of Tirconnell.[150] Another Campbell noted as marrying in Ireland at the beginning of the eighteenth century is Archibald Campbell, brother of Colin Campbell of Braglen. He wrote from Ballyrehie near Rose-crea, King's County, Meath, (i.e. in the Pale) on 10 September 1725, giving notice of his future marriage and hoping for his brother's consent, stating of his wife that "her fortune is not despicable...nor her age above my own."[151]

Besides these personal associations, Campbells were involved in Ireland in commercial, social, military and religious activity. For instance, the presbytery of Kintyre postponed some of its

business to 6 April 1658, "Be reason of the laird of Cardell [Carradale, i.e. Campbell of Glencarradale] his not being at home bot in Irland, as also that the most pairt of the gentlemen in Sadall paroch ar absent out of the countrey, The presbitrie deferrs the doing of any thing in relatioun to Cardell glen, untill the nixt dyet...."[152] The Campbells, as one of the most eminent North Channel families, clearly had commercial ties with similar families in Ireland. Thus Margaret Campbell, wife of Major William Campbell from Craigtown in Kintyre, appeared at Rothesay burgh court, on 19 October 1665, to ratify a contract of 25 July 1664, made between herself, her husband and son, and Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, whereby they "war obleist to renunce all richt and title quhilk they have to the Estait of Kilkattan or any part thairof in favours of the said Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy his airis and assigneys thairin conteinit." The financial interest is apparent in the fact that she stated that she was in no way coaxed or compelled by her husband to approve it, but that she did it voluntarily "upone proffitabil and foirsein causes tending to hir weill and utilitie."[153]

xviii. Gordons of Sutherland

Members of this family had been potentially involved in the Irish situation, at least from the time of Tyrone's rebellion when James VI had requested a levy of Highlanders in order to help Elizabeth to subdue the Irish rebellion. Men were to be levied from all the Protestant landowners, and between them, Sutherland and MacKay were to provide a hundred.[154]

George, the sixth son of John, twelfth Earl of Sutherland, was involved in Ireland throughout his military career. He had signed up as a captain in a regiment raised by the Earl of Irvine for the King of France's body guard, but delayed this appointment for a year.[155] He appears, instead, to have joined as first captain in General Leven's regiment.

> In the beginning of the year 1643, Captain George Gordon (the Earl of Sutherland's brother) staid himself a while in Ireland with his other company there in General Leslie's regiment; during which time he married Lady Rose Macdonald, the daughter of Randal, Earl of Antrim, in the year of God, 1643, and afterwards made Lieut.-Colonel there.[156]

By Lady Rose, he had a son, George. Through his wife, Gordon obviously acquired ties of kinship to the second Earl of Antrim, her brother, which as observed in other cases, seem to have overridden religious affilation.

When Antrim was captured for the second time and imprisoned by Munro, he was guarded by an officer by the name of Wallace. A Lieutenant Gordon was one of the other men appointed to guard him, who has been identified as John Gordon, second son of Sir Alexander Gordon, the Catholic

brother of the twelfth Earl of Sutherland, who had settled in Ireland in 1631.[157] John Gordon had charge of a company of men sent by the Earl of Sutherland to aid the Covenanting cause in Ireland, and when appointed to guard Antrim "This Livetennand Gordoun craftellie convoyit wp vnespyit in his breikis certane towis [ropes], be the quhilk the erll escaipit and wan frielie away," while "the livetennand follouit and fled also."[158] Clearly extended family loyalty and Catholic, or Royalist, affiliation was a powerful motivator, and neither Wallace nor Monro were recorded as being particularly amused. Later members of the Sutherland family also pursued military careers which took them to Ireland. So, for instance, in July 1755 William, the young seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, was to go "directly over to Ireland to join his regiment, and returns in winter to London."[159]

xix. Gordons of Huntly

Although not technically a Gaelic-speaking family but rather northern Lowland aristocrats, this family had a good many dealings with Catholics in their own territory, and at least one member of the family married in Ireland during this period.[160] Lady Jane Gordon, a daughter of the Marquess of Huntly, was married first to Lord Strabane, Strabane being an area with a noted Catholic enclave. Later, in November 1649, she renewed her bent for the traditional Irish, by marrying the Royalist Sir Phelim O'Neill, with whom she had carried out a literary courtship for some time, though such a marriage would, naturally, have been politically sound in Royalist terms. 'At length they were brought suddenly face to face in the year abovenamed, the lady's castle of Strabane, being then assaulted and taken by Monro, and the lady herself narrowly escaping suffocation from the smoke of her burning rooms.' In this particular instance, Sir Phelim constituted the rescue party, but was himself put to death in 1652, by which time his captor was promising to be kind to his lady and children.[161] It seems unlikely, in making two such marriages, that this lady would not have been, or at least become, a Gaelic speaker.

Finally, the absence of any significant marriage alliance amongst the clan *fine* of the MacLeans of Lochbuie, of the MacNeills of Barra or of the MacDonalds of Sleat, as kinsmen of the Kintyre MacDonalds, with any of their native Irish counterparts, is surely worthy of note. For evidence of marriage of the clan gentry tends to survive in one form or another, and its absence in these clans indicates a certain lack of social closeness. Nevertheless, connections existed in other forms. For instance, although there are no marriage alliances documented for the MacLeans of Lochbuie, there were definite religious links through the employment by Lochbuie of a Catholic schoolmaster in 1704, and with the MacNeills of Barra via the long-standing ministrations of Irish Catholic priests there.[162] On the other hand, the interests of the MacDonalds of Sleat in Ulster appear to have been initially military and subsequently financial, as borne out by the links of the ninth chief and his Scottish kinsmen with the Irish MacDonnells in the later seventeenth century.

II. CASE STUDY: ECONOMIC INTER-RELATION AND FINANCIAL SOLIDARITY OF THE IRISH MACDONNELLS AND SCOTS MACDONALDS DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

There is considerable material in the late seventeenth century, particularly in the last three decades, which indicates a remarkable degree of Gaelic financial cooperation among the MacDonald clans, especially in view of the strong government attempts to undermine the solidarity between Irish and Scottish Gaels.[163] The political events of the first half of the century and the legal expropriation of many of the recalcitrant clans in Scotland and the native septs in Ireland left the Gaels with personal and territorial, as well as racial, insecurities. In addition to this 'the closer contact established by James VI between the island chiefs and the government... brought the chiefs new financial commitments.'[164] Even the Earl of Antrim, who saw his ultimate political advantage in becoming a loyal subject of the Crown, nevertheless went to various of his Scottish kinsmen, the MacDonalds, for financial support. Consequently, when the majority of their estates were severely emburdened with debt, it was to other Gaels that they turned for assistance. This was probably because, firstly, it made little sense to turn to the conqueror or perpetrator of the policies which had mainly resulted in the state of indebtedness, and secondly, because there was probably little credit available elsewhere.

This closer contact with the government had effects upon the solvency of many clan chiefs, not least because of the feu duties and other miscellaneous dues which were now necessary to secure their lands. The Scottish chieftains also had to pay large sums to secure their future peaceable behaviour. Moreover, costs were accrued simply from the statutory annual appearance before the Privy Council in Edinburgh which was enforced from 1616. Sir Rory MacLeod of Dunvegan complained to James VI in 1622 that because of the distance of his estates from Edinburgh, this necessitated his staying in the south for nearly half a year, to the great neglect of his affairs in the north. Moreover, extravagant tastes were easily developed in the more sophisticated Lowland society. Even in times of severe financial hardship, appearances had to be maintained to keep up with peers. Thus, in 1669, Clanranald paid over £700 for expensive cloth, lace and French ribbon and silver buttons, at a time when he was in severe financial debt and should have been economising. There were also sums to be paid to ensure the good behaviour of the various factions within their territory and their obedience to the Crown, though this had the benefit of reinforcing the chiefs' authority over the leading clan *fine*. Subjection to the laws of the realm also resulted in the accumulation of heavy legal bills. For instance, in 1656, Mr John Bayne, agent to Sir James MacDonald, ninth chief and second Baron of Sleat, put in a bill for almost £2,975, mainly for legal expenses.[165]

As a planter, Antrim also had to contend with the financial problems incurred by many of the east Ulster undertakers in the early stages of plantation settlement. In an attempt to attract settlers and cash income in the early years, many landlords had leased for long terms (Antrim's leases were the longest) at low rents and with high entry fines. Therefore, when the plantation was under stress in the 1630s due to growing debts and political crises, and the rate of settlement had declined, the landlords shortsightedness simply increased the burden of the inflated costs. In an attempt to redress this, the Earl of Antrim sought to augment his rental by forcing his tenants to surrender their former leases, on the pretext that the leases had to be renewed after his father's death. The new leases were made at much higher rents, for example, the 303 year lease to one Brian O'Neill, made at £30 p.a. in May 1632 was replaced by a 41 year lease, in 1637, at £63 p.a. Yet, by the time the process was finished in November 1637, only one tenant, Cahal O'Hara, a substantial tenant near Ballymoney, had complained.[166] The problems of plantation were further exacerbated by the costs of legal disputes, by Antrim's extravagant living at court in England, from where he returned to Ireland in 1638, but could not raise even £300 credit in Dublin, and by his need to make good marriages for his family in order to cement his social position. For instance, Antrim paid a dowry of £2,700 for one of his daughters in the 1630s. By 1640, the second Earl had thus accumulated debts of £39,377, £12,944 of which represented money borrowed in England in the previous three years, and £9,110 of which had been borrowed in Ireland. He was being pursued by creditors, and was compelled to mortgage the barony of Carey, in its entirety, in an attempt to meet them.[167]

Moreover, a common burden which MacDonalds on both sides of the Irish sea bore, was the horrendous costs of campaigning in the civil war on the Royalist side, in both Ireland and Scotland, in the mid-seventeenth century. The MacDonalds of Clanranald, of Glengarry, those who constituted the forfeited Clan Donald South, of Sleat and the MacDonells of Antrim were all out, the Earl being elevated to a Marquis in recognition of his services in 1644. In Scotland, as well as Glengarry and Clanranald, MacDonald of Largie, and MacDonald of Sanda were forfeited by the Covenanters and, in Ireland, the Antrim estates which had been taken by the Scots on the arrival of the Covenanting army there in 1642, were assigned to those in service of the government after the break-up of the Catholic confederacy in 1649.[168]

Antrim had to work long and hard to retrieve his estates, and found himself in considerable debt on their restitution in 1665. Conversely, Glengarry was restored immediately, in 1660, and created Lord MacDonell and Arros for his unstinting support of Charles I. His estates having been in the possession of English adventurers and Cromwellian soldiers, Antrim had not received any income from them for some years, and had consequently built up debts as he attempted to maintain a semblance of his accustomed standard of living. However, by not offering any resistance to the Cromwellian government, Cromwell permitted him an initial income of £500 from his estates,

which increased to £800 by 1656. Finding his position in Ireland untenable, he was allowed to retire to England where he stayed until the Restoration.[169]

Unfortunately, Charles I's son did not extend the same affection to Antrim, as he had to Glengarry, for his deprivations in the Royalist cause. Men who had been totally against the Restoration until they had seen the turning of the tide, came to be highly favoured by Charles II. Some of these, being in possession of parts of Antrim's lands, had a vested interest in maintaining a united front. A league was formed against Antrim by English speculators such as Sir Charles Coote and Sir John Clotworthy, the son of a soldier who had fought against Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and an English adventurer, respectively, and some others.[170] They spoke malevolently of Antrim to the King, saying that he had betrayed his cause and that he was, besides, a Catholic and excluded from the general pardon extended to his enemies. Charles firmly believed all the accusations against him, and when Antrim presented himself at court, he was thrown into prison where he remained for several months.[171] With the help of some of his friends, he prevailed upon the King, demanding a judicial investigation into his case. He was eventually released on bail of £20,000 for six weeks, to allow him to gather evidence on his own behalf. The evidence was laid before a committee of the Privy Council who decided in favour of Antrim. Seeing the adventurers in a different light by this time, the King ordered the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Ormond, to prepare a bill for the restoration of Antrim's estates. However, Ormond took the other part and disagreed with the passing of the bill. The case was long and drawn out, being referred to the Court of Claims, but owing to the voracity of his enemies against him, Antrim was unable to obtain a decision in his favour for several years.[172]

It is a measure of the integrity in the relations between the Irish and Scots MacDonalds at this time (as opposed to some of their dealings at the end of the sixteenth century) that even before Antrim was restored to his estates, Sir James MacDonald, second Baronet of Sleat and Donald MacDonald, thirteenth of Clanranald, are found giving their bond of security for the Marquis in 1663. Ultimately, Antrim was restored to his estates in 1665, and coming into re-possession after such a time, not surprisingly, his creditors descended with their various claims, the majority contracted during the civil war period. 'These adverse circumstances notwithstanding, Lord Antrim turned his attention to the improvement of his property, and did what he could to satisfy the claims of his creditors.'[173] He also took measures to repay his MacDonald kinsmen in Scotland. In October 1676, he entered into an indenture disponing, in favour of MacDonald of Sleat and Clanranald, certain lands in the barony of Dunluce. The trivial rent, that is, one grain of pepper yearly and that only "if demanded," indicates that it was a mortgage to safeguard them against costs and charges arising out of the bond granted by MacDonald of Sleat and Clanranald, on behalf of Antrim, to William Ross in 1663.[174] This is probably a Captain William Ross who was mentioned in Antrim's reply to a rebuke by Ormond that he did not communicate openly with the Lord Lieutenant in his

business for the King in Ireland. Antrim said that it was alleged that his restoration would bring great prejudice and inconvenience, which he could not see, since there was so few soldiers and adventurers concerned in his estate. He wrote: "This particular I leave to Captain Ross." No indication is given of Ross's origin, though it would seem likely from his name that he was Scottish or of Scottish descent.[175]

A nineteenth century copy of the indenture shows that it was "projected in due forme (according to the laws in force in Scotland)." Moreover, although William Ross was dead by 1676, in his life time he brought a suit against Eneas Lord MacDonell (Glengarry), Sir James MacDonald (Sleat) and Donald MacDonald (Clanranald), that is, against the leading chiefs of Clan Donald, and obtained a judgement against them in the Court of Session in Edinburgh. Now that he had died, Ross's family or creditors were clearly calling in the judgement, and consequently, Antrim was making moves to save Eneas, Lord MacDonell, Sir James MacDonald and Donald MacDonald from any loss, costs and charges which they, or their heirs or executors, might sustain from any proceedings on the bond. By the indenture Antrim set and let to the said MacDonalds:

> all these Castles howses lands towne lands quarters tenements and hereditaments belonginge to the said Lord Marquesse scituat lyeing and beinge in the barrony an mannor of Dunluce and County of Londonderry commonly called the longe liberties of Coleraine or by with other name or names the same are called or knowne together with the rents reversions and remainders of all and singularr the premisses with the Purtences.[176]

The lands were technically to be held for 99 years by the MacDonalds from the date of the indenture, 11 October 1676, or until their money was repaid. If the Marquis had not cleared and discharged the leasees, that is, the MacDonalds of Sleat and Clanranald, by the last day of April 1678 (a year and a half from the date of contract) from all the troubles and charges they had sustained, then the "said suretyes soe bound ... shall be counter secured and Saved harmless by takeing the rents of the said demised lands." Security was provided for the tenants of the lands, by stating that the rents were to be taken "without prejudice to the former leases the tennants of the said lands had." However, the two Scots were to receive the said rents "from tyme to tyme as those shall grow due" until they were fully indemnified and satisfied for their trouble and expense concerning the debt. In other words, Antrim was mortgaging part of his estate by heritable bond. The document was only signed by Clanranald, which probably indicates that the bond collapsed.[177]

The above bond may have collapsed in the face of financial pressure from Argyll, for in 1680 Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl of Argyll made a declaration that he would not seek relief from the 20,000 merks which Clanranald owed him at that time, on account of his good services. This declaration indicates the extent of the hold which a creditor could have over his debtor, apart from

actually evicting him from his lands as in the case of MacLean of Duart.[178] Indeed, various MacDonalds had supported the MacLeans of Duart, from the late 1660s, in their feud against Argyll over their vast financial debt to him, in an attempt to prevent Argyll's domination of the Highlands. The MacDonalds who supported the MacLeans were the MacDonalds of Glengarry and Keppoch and the MacIans of Glencoe.[179] However, the MacDonalds were in a collectively weakened state in the 1670s and 1680s, both on account of pervasive debt and because of internal wrangling concerning the overall chiefship of the Clan Donald which served, partially, to break up an all-inclusive financial coalition of MacDonald chiefs. Glengarry's creation as Lord MacDonell and Aros in 1660 appeared to stir his pretensions to the chiefship over all Clan Donald, a claim which led to disputes among the different branches of the clan. It was most vigorously contested by Sir James MacDonald of Sleat, whose family had been established as the main line of the Clan Donald of the Isles since the mid-sixteenth century.[180]

However, in spite of the weak position in which this must have placed the Clan Donald, the fact that they were able to retain their estates and prevent them from being broken up, was largely due to a fierce display of solidarity with MacDonald of Sleat. In 1678, Sir James MacDonald of Sleat's financial situation was so desperate that various of his MacDonald kinsmen, including creditors, took an oath to free him from debt, and thus prevent their own ruin. He was also acknowledged as chief of the whole name and family of MacDonald by Donald MacDonald of Moidart, A. MacDonald of Ardnamurchan, G. MacAllister of Loup, Angus MacDonald of Largie, Alexander MacDonald of Glencoe and John Donaldson, a declaration which was eventually registered in the Books of Council and Session in 1726. In 1679, Sleat's debts were estimated at 100,000 merks. However, the MacDonalds largely managed to ride the financial storm by extending and taking credit amongst themselves, where this was possible. It was only MacDonald of Keppoch and Glengarry who refused to sign the declaration of loyalty to Sleat. Thus, of the 34,000 merks outstanding on wadsets granted by Sleat to seven creditors, the largest three sums of 10,000, 9,000 and 6,000 merks, were owed respectively to Donald MacDonald of Castleton, Archibald MacDonald of Bornaskitaig and Hugh MacDonald, Sir James MacDonald's son. Aside from this, Sleat was Clanranald's creditor for £64,000 in 1700.[181]

In the same year as Antrim's indenture to Sleat and Clanranald, the city of Londonderry granted a burgess ticket, on 2 October 1676, to Donald MacDonald, Captain of Clanranald, which indicates that he already had some economic interest in the county. It has also been noted that this was his area of campaign in the civil war, but since he was on the Royalist side and was involved in the taking of Derry, the freedom of the town could hardly have been bestowed on him for anything other than his economic interests in it![182] As for Antrim, that he had not yet mentally relinquished the ancient rights of his house to the expropriated MacDonald lands in Kintyre is shown by the fact that, in the following year, 1677, he matriculated arms in the Scottish Lyon Office. Again, in 1681,

the Marquis 'made a settlement of his estates, and executed a deed of entail of the four baronies of Carey, Kilconway, Glenarm, and Dunluce, giving life interests to himself, his brother, Alexander, and his heirs, with remainder to Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, whom failing, to Donald Macdonald of Clanranald,' commonly called the Captain of Clanranald.[183] The date of this Quit rent, given for life, is noted elsewhere as 27 March 1681.[184] As well as providing an element of consolidation of the Scots MacDonalds' holdings in Ulster, this settlement would seem to indicate that he was more indebted to Sleat than to Clanranald. It also shows, to some extent, that Antrim was part of the extended MacDonald credit network headed by Sleat.

In February 1682, the Marquis of Antrim died at Balmagarry and was buried at Bonamargy. The revitalised relationship between the Earls of Antrim and their MacDonald kinsmen in Scotland also continued on friendly terms with his successor, his brother Alexander, third Earl of Antrim and Viscount of Dunluce. A familiar correspondence was engaged in between Clanranald and both the Earl and Countess of Antrim throughout 1683 and 1684. Clanranald appears to have been set to continue his economic interest in Ulster, following his involvement there in the Marquis's time. Antrim wrote to him, addressed Donald MacDonald of Moidart, on 12 December 1683:

> Dear Cousin, - The Trustees for the Barony of Carey intend to set the Barony between this and May Day next, so that if you have thoughts of anything in it, you must be here by March or April at farthest, till which I shall endeavour to delay your concerns, and shall be sure to serve you in them all I can the little power he [the Marquis] left me in that or anything else.[185]

Thus Clanranald seems to have had, or sought, land interests in County Derry and in Antrim.[186] No information exists as to whether Clanranald pursued the matter. Antrim certainly chastised him at the end of the letter "I marvel I could not all this while hear one word from you, as easily you might by way of Edinburgh or Erwin [Irvine]," but by the following year Clanranald had obviously set his sights on the Isle of Rathlin. Antrim wrote to him, in this regard, from Dunluce on 8 December 1684:

> Dear, Cousin, - I have ever since my Brother's death put a stop to the setting of Rathlin, expecting you, and shall till May next, I have lately been in Dublin, and spoke to Mr. Nugent, who is content you shall have it before any other; he will be here next March, at which time it were necessary you were here, because he cannot come every day, and he only has the power to set the lands, so that it is fit you be here then, or sooner if your health and weather will permit.

He carried on to say that Nugent, who was one of Antrim trustees, would stay only 10 to 15 days.[187]

Relations between Antrim and Clanranald were notably close during this period. Antrim was clearly acquainted with his Scottish relatives in person, for he asked in his letter of 8 December for Clanranald's son - "I pray you bring your son along with you." This was Allan MacDonald, fourteenth of Clanranald, who fell at Sheriffmuir. He also longed "to hear how my cousin Sir Daniel doth in his health, and fear not so well as I could wish him."[188] This is a reference to Sir Donald MacDonald, third Baronet of Sleat.[189] Helena, the Countess of Antrim, was on familiar enough terms to include a letter from herself to Clanranald, on 8 December.[190] The Antrims were clearly expecting a visit from Clanranald to settle his business affairs, but after his visit to Ireland in 1676 he appears not to have left his patrimony until his death in Canna in 1686.[191]

On 13 December, Donald MacDonald, most probably third chief of Benbecula, wrote to Clanranald from Carey, making further mention of the leasing of Antrim lands in Ulster. MacDonald of Benbecula would appear, on occasion, to have acted on Clanranald's behalf in Antrim. In this letter, he referred to Clanranald's efforts to lease Rathlin indicating, in spite of his chastisement of December 1683, that Antrim was saving it for him: "I was discoursing My Lord of Antrim concerning that business of yours And I find my Lord if it be not your own falt verie condescending. That is to say he is content to lett you have that illand before any other for he told me he keeps that island for you this two years."[192] There were undoubtedly other takers for the island. Benbecula said that Antrim:

> hes keeped of Captain Leslie And Mr Boyd who was as I know my self trumping him about it, moreover My Lord sayes that he hes not the letting of that illand or any of the Barony of Cerry in his own pover absolutely. But what he had to doe, he spook to Mr. Nugent who at his Lordship's consent was willing to recept you as Tenant to that illand if the rent that is put upon it will satissfie you without as I suppose My Lord has mad knowne to you in his own letter.

Clanranald's landholdings and other economic interests in Carey were obviously sufficient to merit a trip to the Isles to discuss them on the Marquis's death, for Benbecula wrote that:

> This Mr. Nugent is the only person that the Lord Marquis left in trust for setting the Barony of Cery who is to be heir in north Uist for setting all that is onsette of My Lord's esteat. And if ever you intend to follow that bussines faille not to cease [seize] that opportunitie for you will find both my Lord and Nugent here at that tyme.[193]

Benbecula did not doubt that if Clanranald came to meet them that "you may have your bussines done to your satisfaction For my Lord has a reall keindnes for you more than for any other of his Lordship's name." Certainly there would appear to have been far more practical evidence of kinship between them than between Sleat and Antrim. Furthermore, "in token of this respect,"

Antrim asked that Clanranald "bring or send your eldest sone to him self to the effacte [effect] that he might be brought up with his own sone," which indicates a vestigal survival of the Celtic fosterage system in the late seventeenth century. Benbecula added, as if partially questioning Antrim's sincerity "And if it be so your Lordship may tak it both for keindnes and credit."[194] However, there is no evidence to suggest that the son, Allan, ever went to Ulster.[195]

The final extant document in the correspondence of this period is from an unspecified date in 1687, the year after Donald MacDonald of Clanranald died, which indicates that the interests he had in Antrim did not die with him. It reflects the growing awareness by the clan chiefs of the commercial value of their assets. Irish transactions in the Scottish Isles and west Highlands were of a more commercial nature or based on giving credit than social. The relevant document is an indenture of a fishing tack drawn up "between the Honorable Donnell McDonnell, Laird of Benuicolo in the Kingdom of Scotland on the one parte, and Mr. Hugh Kidde and Mr. Hugh McCollum, both of Dunluce in the barony of Dunluce and County of Antrime marchant, on the other part." Clearly Benbecula was acting in a similar capacity for his protégé, Allan MacDonald, the next chief of Clanranald, as he had done for his father, Benbecula. The tack was granted by Donald, for seven years, "for divers Good Considerations hime thereunto moveing." It would be interesting to know just what these considerations were, though they presumably relate to debt. The contract signed over "one Halfe of the Salmon fishing of the watter of Sett together with the fishing of the fresswater logh called logh Sett such as doth properly belong to the Honorable Captain of Clanranels and Leard of Moydortt, Lying and being on the north side of the River and logh." The first year's fishing was to be granted free, whereupon the premium increased to £5 sterling for the second year, and £8 sterling for the other five years.[196]

After this, almost a decade of correspondence comes to an end, though the MacDonald interest in Antrim, certainly that of MacDonald of Clanranald, did not. In the early nineteenth century, an economic commentator on the Highlands wrote that 'In the spring of 1743 Old Clanronald was in Ireland upon a visit to his relatives the MacDonalds of Antrim; he saw with surprise and approbation, the economic practices of the country and having a vessel of his own brought home a large cargo of potatoes.' Thus, not only were the chiefs of the Clanranald and Antrim MacDonalds in close touch, but the potato first made its appearance in the Hebridean islands of south Uist, and probably Benbecula, due to that Irish connection.[197]

Whatever the precise nature of MacDonald inter-relations at the end of the seventeenth century, a pertinent comment is provided in 1761 by Lord Beauchamp, in a letter of August 18th to 'Sir James' which provides a most apt postscript to a consideration of these affairs. Beauchamp wrote that he had just returned from Glenarm, and that as "I doubt not but you wish to be informed of the character of your great Irish relation I will endeavour to give you the striking concours of it."[198]

These factors would seem to identify 'Sir James' as Sir James MacDonald, eighth Baronet of Sleat who died in 1766.[199] The 'great Irish relation' is Antrim. Yet although Beauchamp proceeded to point out that "good-nature, and affability are the radical virtues" in Antrim's character, and that "he never had a vice which flowed not from an excess of virtue - his prodigality was really a noble sin," a prodigality which had severely reduced the worth of his estates, he nevertheless indicated that he had not extended such good-nature and hospitality to one of his long-lost Scottish relations:

> I had almost forgot Captain Macdonald - Lord Antrim disclaims all relationship with him and complains that making use of his name as an introduction, he troubled him for a fort night at Glenarm. My Lord, I assure you has not a grain of that diffusive family benevolence which would ensure a man a hearty welcome at his house, merely because his name is Macdonald, or that their grandfather's were well aquainted in the last century.[200]

The Captain MacDonald mentioned here is a little more difficult to identify. Assuming that the acquaintance of the grandfather's refers to a particular relationship, rather than just defining a general connection, the Captain appears to be one of two people. A further complication is whether 'Captain' is a military title, as it would be with MacDonald of Sleat, or a generic title as in the obvious case of MacDonald, Captain of Clanranald. In all likelihood, given the personalities featuring above in the Antrim/MacDonald relationships of the previous century, the term is generic, referring to the MacDonalds of Clanranald, but this does not totally exclude the possibility of its being a military title. The Captain could not be the grandson of Donald, the sixteenth Captain of Clanranald, because both of his sons died without heirs. The onus thus passes to the grandson of Donald of Benbecula, who died in 1730. In 1761 his son Ranald was Captain of Clanranald, the chiefship having defaulted to the cadet branch in the absence of any direct heirs. Yet, clearly he was the son and not the grandson. His son Ranald (later the eighteenth chief on his father's death in 1766) is better known as young Clanranald of the '45. Although not the Captain of Clanranald, he had escaped with his wife to France after the rebellion, where 'with the help of Prince Charles Edward and Louis XV, he entered the army, serving under Marshal Saxe.' Given that anyone who was able to muster a body of men - and there would presumably have been other jobless Jacobite retainers on the continent - was accorded the rank of Captain, it is perhaps more likely that this Captain is young Ranald. Certainly he had been able to return to the family estates in 1754 because the judges of the Court of Session had annulled the bill of attainder (in which he had mistakenly been named Donald).[201] It would also undoubtedly explain Antrim's coolness, because he would not wish to be associated with Jacobitism, particularly only months after the French commander Thurot's brief foray into Carrickfergus during which he captured the castle and had resupplied in Islay.[202]

Beauchamp's final comments about the importance attached by Scots, in general (and here, Sleat in particular), to kinship connections, are also worthy of note in terms of how they were perceived by Englishmen in the post-Union period. He stated:

> I never met with a Scotchman who had not more or less of this national foible. I do not call it weakness, because it hardly deserves so harsh a name. Pray guard against it 'tis like other folly's contagious - however number's may conceal it in Scotland from observation, I assure you it is ever ridiculed in English Company. Forgive the freedom of my admonition - I am too prejudiced in your favour, to espy a flaw or speck in your behaviour - I have heard this objected to by others - or I should not have perceived it myself.[203]

Thus, at a time of full-scale commercial exploitation of landed estates, there was a proportional weakening of social ties and bonds of kinship not only between relations in Scotland and Ireland, but also within Scotland and Ireland themselves.

Conclusion

The links among the clan *fine* illustrate that there were about five different types of social bonding - marital, fostering, financial, commercial, and cultural and recreational - though the fifth type 'cultural and recreational' is dealt with separately, later.[204] The marriages and fosterings of the sixteenth century are mainly associated with the mercenary trade. As the seventeenth century progresses, particularly after the civil war period when both the Catholic and Gaelic causes were effectively depressed, the links which formerly had been basically military and political, and enshrined in close relational bonds between the families involved, particularly MacDonalds, were translated into commercial links, especially the financing of debt. Commercial contacts appear to both have been initiated and sustained by earlier social connections based on kinship. Thus, the seventeenth century evinces a certain redefining of relationships between Scottish and Irish Gaels, and the emergence of a North Channel élite. Although the majority of these families remained Gaelic-speaking, scrutiny of the mainly economic material tends to indicate that people who were not necessarily Gaelic-speaking were also involved in this interaction.[205]

For instance, with reference to the fishing tack of 1687 granted by Clanranald,[206] Mr. Hugh McCollum is probably of west coast of Scotland derivation, while Kidde is an east coast Lowland name, connected with Dundee from the sixteenth century.[207] What the tack does show, however, is that money raised on the Irish credit market was being used to exploit west Highland and Island resources, and that Clanranald was bringing in Irish expertise to improve his estates. It was perhaps an attempt to begin the gradual reorganisation and improvement of his estate so that he

could stem the upward spiral of accumulating debt. Irish credit and entrepreneurship were used not simply in the fishing industry but also, for instance, in the exploitation of lead-mining in Islay by Irishmen tacksmen at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and a few decades later in kelp manufacture.[208] Thus Clanranald's granting of the fishing tack should not just be seen as a further extension of previous social contacts, but as an indication of a new type of commercial interaction.

At the same time, the more traditional lines of kinship bonding continued to run alongside the newer commercially-based ones, though this was often of necessity. For instance, the Gaels, particularly the MacDonalds, seem consistently to have bailed each other out of debt or stood surety for one another. This was for a number of reasons, not least of which that a debt was less likely to be called in at an awkward time among kinsmen, but also because the Highlanders were notoriously bad debtors. Lowlanders were, thus, generally unwilling to credit them readily with large sums of money. Moreover, there were few towns in the Highlands, and no inclination on behalf of many of the west Highland and Island clans to enter credit agreements with Argyll, the most likely Highland creditor, because he tended to try and turn the debt of most west Highland landowners to his own advantage and their detriment. Accordingly, many clan chiefs looked to their own clansmen, that is, their tacksmen, for credit, and also in the MacDonalds' and MacDonnells' case, to their Irish and Scottish kinsmen. To a certain extent, in Scotland, this was justified, for with the increasing effectiveness of government authority in the Highlands and Islands in the seventeenth century, and the chiefs having to stand financial liability for their clan in Edinburgh, it was only fair that the tacksmen took on some of that responsibility in the home territory. Naturally, all debts were secured against land, which was the only asset regarded as secure, especially in the more distant transactions across the North Channel. The suggestion, in 1684, that Antrim might foster Clanranald's eldest son, may have been used simply to add a more human element, on traditional Gaelic lines, to the emerging commercial ties. If this appears to be stretching a point too far, nonetheless, it is clear from Lord Beauchamp's comments in 1761 that by the mid-eighteenth century social links were of secondary, and commercial interests of paramount, importance in the broad and varied relationship between Irish and Scottish Gaels.

NOTES

1. Scottish settlement was originally instigated in Ulster by the marriage of a MacDonald to a Biséd heiress in the late fourteenth century. See introduction to thesis.
2. See below for details, section II. Case study: Economic inter-relation and financial solidarity of the Irish MacDonnells and Scots MacDonalds during the latter part of the seventeenth century.
3. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 112-13.
4. Donald Jackson, *Intermarriage in Ireland, 1550-1650*, (Montreal, 1970.)
5. Hill gives this date as 1590 in his *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 212.
6. Jackson, p. 74.
7. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 118.
8. Jackson, pp. 74-75.
9. *CSPI,* 1596-1597, p. 447.
10. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 353.
11. *CSPI,* Nov. 1600-July 1601, p. 322.
12. Jackson, p. 74; *CSPI,* 1598-1599, p. 53. According to an entry in the State Paper, on 3 November 1597, Tyrone had originally promised MacSomhairle Buidhe the daughter of Sir John O'Dogherty in marriage. (*CSPI,* 1596-1597, p. 465.)
13. *CSPI,* 1596-1597, p. 448.
14. *CSPI,* 1598-1599, pp. 10, 41.
15. *Nua Ghaill*, the new English element, basically comprised those who were loyal to the English Crown, and Protestant. Most of those who were descendants of the medieval English colony in Ireland had become assimilated to the extent of becoming Catholic, but still remained loyal to the English Crown, and were known as *Sean Ghaill*, the Old English. Many of them were assimilated to Gaelic tradition, employing, for example, brehons and bards. (*A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 10, xlii.)
16. Jackson, pp. 73-74.
17. Rev. Archibald MacDonald, 'A Fragment of an Irish Ms. History of the MacDonalds of Antrim,' *TGSI,* 37, (1934-36), p. 279; Jackson, p. 75.
18. Jackson, pp. 75-76.
19. Jackson, pp. 73, 75; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 178, 253, 289; 'A Fragment,' p. 278.
20. Hill, p. 360.
21. Hill, pp. 360-61.
22. Jackson, pp. 75-76.
23. Jackson, pp. 75-76; Timothy Paul Joseph McCall, 'The Gaelic background to the settlement of Antrim and Down 1580-1641,' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1983), p. 103.
24. Jackson, p. 75; Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, (Belfast, 1981), footnote to p. 136. Note that he was a lieutenant-colonel not a colonel as Jackson indicates. For more of whom, see above.
25. Jackson, p. 76.

26. 'A Fragment,' pp. 278-79.
27. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 367.
28. BL 15,895, Hyde Papers and Correspondence 1688-1709, IV, fol. 45.
29. BL 15,895, fol. 46, 5 March 1701.
30. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 10, 13.
31. The whole nature of hand-fasting is now held in question. See above, Chapter 5, Section II. The Protestant Initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.
32. Ronald Black, 'Colla Ciotach,' *TGSI*, 48, (1976), pp. 217-18, quoting *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 115.
33. Donald J. MacDonald of Castleton, *Clan Donald*, (Edinburgh,1978), p. 321.
34. Brian Samuel Turner, 'Distributional aspects of family name study illustrated in the Glens of Antrim,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1974), p. 120.
35. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 189.
36. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 149.
37. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 219. Old O'Neill was presumably Conn Bacach, who was created first Earl of Tyrone in 1542. He had two other legitimate sons - Conn and Feidhlimidh Caoch - and three illegitimate sons. (*A New History of Ireland,* IX, p. 142.
38. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 327.
39. *Scots mercenary forces,* p. 106; *CSPI,* 1588-1592, p. 94.
40. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 62.
41. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 120-21, 37. Hill is of the opinion that Somhairle Buidhe was born in about 1505 (*MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 121), while Donald MacDonald estimates that he was born about 1510 (*Clan Donald* (1978), p. 263), which is perhaps more likely. It is, however, perfectly feasible that he married at the age of 78 to cement a political alliance, though no contemporary evidence throwing light on the matter has been found, since he is not noted in the State Papers until the middle of the century. Turner intimates that the Scots not only settled in the northern Glens, but also in the southern Glens, due to the consistent appearance of the names MacKay, McNeill and MacAllister in the parish of Tickmacrevan from the seventeenth century. See Turner, p. 126.
42. See above, Chapter 1, for details.
43. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 182. The third son, James, succeeded Somhairle Buidhe, due to the deaths of his two elder brothers in skirmishes. Alexander was killed in 1585 in a skirmish against a Captain Merriman and his elder brother, Donald, a few years earlier in skirmishing near the Bann. (p. 187.) According to a fragment of an Irish manuscript of c. 1700 (published in translation), which is a record of the history of the MacDonnells of Antrim, he had five legitimate sons by Mary O'Neill. Only four are named, however - "the first born was that noble Hector of all Ireland, James, the second Ranell, and Eneas Voitghragh and Daniel Ultach." ('A Fragment,' pp. 265-66.) For O'Hara, see below under the MacDuffies. Mary's father Con maintained the Scottish connection. His second wife, Mary, was a Scot, a

daughter of Alexander Macrandalboy MacDonald. He died in 1559. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 122.)

44. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 189.

45. *CSPI,*1592-1596, p. 68.

46. *CSPI,* 1588-1592, pp. 63-64. His first wife, Mary, died in 1582.

47. *CSPI,* 1596-1597, p. 249. However, she went on to marry the O'Cahan. See above, section I A. From an Irish perspective in relation to the ruling élite and Scottish Gaels.

48. PRONI D3819/A/3/12, the MacDonnell Papers; *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 192. This PRONI item is a printed book of various MacDonnell pedigrees, the Heremon genealogies. Note that Hill states that a great-grandson of Sir James of Dunluce married Penelope. It was, however, his great-great-grandson who married her. It should also be noted that PRONI T812, a pedigree of the MacDonald family of Glencoe and Drumbohena, County Fermanagh, in Ulster, indicates that William (c. 1749-1829), son of James MacDonald of Glencoe, purchased the lease of Drumbohena, in Ulster, in around 1790 and married Anne Jane Argie or 'Nic Fheardhaigh.' Since this occurred after 1760, it has not been included within the text of the thesis, but it should be noted that the MacDonalds of Drumbohena were also Scottish Gaels of an eighteenth century settlement.

49. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 52. 'Maeldubh' means 'the black chief,' and 'nan Capull' means 'of the horses.' (*MacDonnells of Antrim,* footnote to p. 53; *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 34.) Note that the MacQuillans were also, in origin, a Scots mercenary family. MacQuillan or the Irish 'MacCoilín' is a variant of 'MacCaílín' or the Scots Gaelic 'MacCailein' - 'son of Colin,' the usual patronymic of the Campbells of Argyll. 'The family of fighting men brought over by the O'Donnells of Tirconnell in the fifteenth century were sometimes called MacCailín, sometimes MacAilín, and it is impossible to say which form is correct.' (George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, (New York, 1946) p. 560.)

50. *Alasdair MacColla*, pp. 310, 34; *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 53-54. Hill (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 52) notes only the first two sons, but Stevenson notes three. 'Fiacail' indicates that Gilleasbuig was born with teeth.

51. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 53; The Rev. George Hill, *The Stewarts of Ballintoy (with notices of other families in the district in the seventeenth century),* (Ballycastle, 1976 reprint), footnote to p. 9. By 1555, the MacQuillans of the Route had been subdued, and James, chief of Clan Donald South, had given the lordship of the Route to his brother Colla Maeldubh. When Colla Maeldubh died, in May 1558, the lordship was offered to his brothers Angus and Alexander who both refused it. Somhairle Buidhe, the youngest of the brothers, was happy to accept it. Inasmuch as Colla Maeldubh had at least been married to a MacQuillan, the latter had probably been a little more able to accept their state of domination. By the following summer of 1559 violence was, thus, renewed between the MacDonalds and MacQuillans. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 123-24.)

52. 'Ciotach' means left-handed, or more often ambidextrous. This is the father of the most renowned warrior in Gaelic tradition, Alasdair MacColla. For more of whom, see Chapter 2, section II B. Islay rebellion 1614-15, and Chapter 3, section IV. Covenanting period.

53. *The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, footnote to pp. 9, 10.

54. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 35.

55. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* p. 57; *Alasdair MacColla, p. 55.*

56. *Alasdair MacColla*, pp. 39, 43.

57. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 114.

58. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 114-17. Alexander married Miss MacDonnell of Nappan and had several children. Michael Roe, his second son, was the father of Dr. James MacDonnell of Belfast who was known as the father of Belfast medicine. He was also a man of great learning and accrued a large collection of genealogical material relating to the MacDonnell family. For which see PRONI D3819, the MacDonnell Papers.

59. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 118-19.

60. 'A Fragment,' p. 264.

61. Earle Douglas MacPhee, *The Mythology, Traditions and History of the MacDhubhsith-MacDuffie Clan*, 3 vols., (Vancouver, 1973), I, pp. 17, 8; III, pp. 1, 3. According to a twentieth century definitive Irish surname study, the name Mahaffy, also anglicised as MacAfee, MacHaffy and MacFie, derived from the Scottish Gaelic Mac Dhuibhshíthe (black-haired man of peace), is most numerous in Donegal. (Edward MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland*, (Dublin, 5th edition, 1980), p. 205.)

62. MacPhee, I, pp. 4, 6. MacPhee points out that the Rev. Somerled MacMillan in *By Gone Lochaber* (Glasgow, 1971) and in personal correspondence with him, has particularly supported the view that the MacPhees were established in Easter Ross before they came to Colonsay.

63. MacPhee, II, p. 41, quoting Col. R. E. Pearson, *A History of the Fee Family*, 12 b, pp. 463-66.

64. 'A Fragment,' p. 266; MacPhee, II, p. 14. At this time, MacSomhairle fought against the O'Haras and MacQuillans at Ballymoney. Hugh O'Hara was then chief of the sept, but his brother Cathal, asked to be married into the family and clearly hoping to gain the chiefship, defected to MacSomhairle, who subsequently proclaimed him the O'Hara. Cahal O'Hara was married to Dool Oge MacDufie's daughter, Margaret, which is a token of the family's standing with the MacDonalds, "and so was Hugh O'Hara excluded and the youngest brother Cahall exalted." Margaret and O'Hara had two sons who inherited the estate of Hugh O'Hara. ('A Fragment,' p. 266. The battle of Ballymoney is not dated in the ms. but Somhairle Buidhe died in 1589, so it would have been shortly after this.)

65. 'A Fragment', pp. 277-78; MacPhee, I, pp. 18-19; MacPhee, II, p. 14; Donald Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625*, (Edinburgh, London and Dublin, 1836), p. 108. Certainly, after the execution of his father Eóin Cathanach, chief of the Clan Donald South, in around 1494, Alexander (Somhairle Buidhe's father) possessed no heritage in Scotland and probably lived in the Glens of Antrim until James IV was killed at the battle of Flodden. The last time he is documented in the State Papers as definitely being in Ireland is in 1532 when he led seven or eight thousand men to Ireland for James V. (Gregory, p. 108.)

66. MacPhee, III, pp. 40-41. To what extent this man can be identified categorically as the progenitor of the McAfees, when orthography was not standardised, is debatable. Indeed, MacPhee has shown that the

form 'McAfee' was commonly found in Bute towards the end of the eighteenth century, but not in Colonsay. It should, however, be stated that in spite of the plethora of useful information which this book provides about the MacPhees, there are a number of inconsistencies in its presentation. Note, for instance that III, p. 41, states that John and Elizabeth emigrated to Armagh, whereas information quoted in I, p. 4, indicates that John moved to Antrim. No attempt has been made to indicate which of the two was correct. In view of the incidence of settlement for the McAfee family provided from statistical evidence much later in 1890, when all of the 493 families with the anglicised spelling 'McAfee' were in Antrim, it seems likely that Antrim was the place of settlement.

67. Randal Bàn was a younger son of John Mòr and Moire Biséd. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 27.) One particular instance of a member of this family being in Ireland is documented in 1591, when, according to a secondary source allegedly quoting a manuscript pedigree of the MacDonnells of Ballypatrick in Culfeightrin, Sir James MacDonald of Largie escaped from Argyll 'as if by a miracle,' though the reason for his flight is not specified, and went to Ireland. He was received by his kinsmen the MacDonnells of Antrim, who courteously extended Clough Castle, in the barony of Kilconway, to him. He remained there for the rest of his life, died there (not dated), and was subsequently buried in Bunamargy. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 27, citing a ms. pedigree of the MacDonnells of Ballypatrick in Culfeightrin.) However, it should be noted that according to the family genealogy, there was no chief with that forename at that time. Hector MacAllister MacDonald was the sixth of Largie and he died in about 1590, leaving no legal heirs. He was succeeded by his nephew, Archibald MacDonald, son of John, who became seventh of Largie, and died in 1605. (*Clan Donald*, III, p. 382.) There is always the possibility that James was an illegitimate son of Hector MacAllister MacDonald. Other than this, the name does not appear amongst the names of the legitimate successors or their offspring. This information has been included in the present account of the MacDonalds of Largie because information included in a ms. pedigree should not be totally discounted. Corroborative information explaining this reference might come to light at a later date. The same secondary source states that 'Sir James's' son was restored as laird of Largie after the execution of the Marquis of Argyll in 1661. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 27.) However, there were many chiefs in the intervening period. John was followed by his son Alexander who became eighth of Largie.

68. *Clan Donald*, (1978), p. 261; *Clan Donald*, III, p. 383. His wife is referred to in the minutes of the Synod of Argyll held at Inveraray in October 1642, at a time when Catholicism was equated with Royalism and Irish Confederacy. "The assembly understanding that the Lady Lergy is a papist and continues obstinat therein, Whereof it is ordained if shee give not satisfaction to the presbyerie, that shee repaire to Dunoone on the first of January next 1643 that shee may have conference with Mr Ewin Cameron, minister there, to get resolution of her doubts and questions for the space of two months. At the expyreing of which tyme, if shee give not satisfaction, then the presbyterie to proceed against her with excommunication." (Duncan C. Mactavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639-1651*, SHS, 3rd series, 37, (1944), p. 43.)

69. SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, fol. 13.

70. Turner, p. 77.
71. *Scots mercenary forces in Ireland*, pp. 97, 99, 105.
72. Turner, p. 133.
73. *The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, p. 27.
74. Turner, p. 133. The Alexanders, Earls of Caledon, were a cadet branch of the MacAllisters of Loup and Tarbert, and allied to the Alexanders of Menstrie. The family was established in Ireland at the time of the plantation of Ulster. In 1613, 39 Scots were planted by Sir James Cunningham in Donegal. Nine of these were planted on the lands of Eredy, parish of Clonleigh, a group which included a John Alexander. His son was in the siege of Derry, receiving a grant of the land of Ballyclose, parish of Drumachose, in Newton Limevady. He appears to have been a merchant. He married a Miss Hilles, daughter of a County Derry landowner, and was succeeded by his son, John, who also lived at Ballyclose, but purchased the estate of Gunsland, Donegal as well. John married Ann White, daughter of John White of the Cady Hill, Newton Limevady, and was succeeded by Nathaniel Alexander, his son. (*Clan Donald*, III, pp. 192-93. Nathaniel's third son, James, by Eliza, daughter of William McClintock of Dunmore, County Donegal, succeeded him. James advanced himself in service in India and was elevated to the Irish peerage on 6 June 1790, as Baron Caledon of Caledon, County Tyrone. He was subsequently made Viscount Caledon and then, on 1 January 1701, created Earl of Caledon.)
75. *Clan Donald*, III, pp. 550-51.
76. *The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, p. 6.
77. Turner, p. 145.
78. *The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, footnote to p. 16.
79. PRONI D3819/A/3/3, The MacDonnell Papers. No dates are given for the marriage, but taking 25 years as a generation, the marriage would probably have been in around 1620.
80. SRO GD92/86, MacDonald of Sanda Muniments.
81. *Clan Donald*, III, p. 392. For Anne McCaulay, see just above. Both Ranald of Sanda's father and grandfather had been killed at the massacre of Dunaverty in 1647 and he had been reared by his kinsmen, the Stewarts of Bute, because his grandfather Gilleasbuig Mòr had married Christina Stewart of that family. (*Clan Donald,* III, p. 391.)
82. *The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, footnote to pp. 29-30, pp. 6-7, 30. See below, section I C. xi., for Red Bay Stewarts.
83. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 438.
84. MacColla's mother was of the house of Dunseverick.
85. *The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, p. 11.
86. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 65-68.
87. Turner, pp. 145-46.
88. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 438.
89. 'These estates consisted of five marklands of Kilcathanmore, three marklands of Kilcathanbeg, three marklands of Langlelorid, twenty shilling-lands of Langilkechad, two marklands of Dungdill, or Dunzull,

three marklands of Kildavanane, the £5 lands of Ballinkaillie and Blackhouse, of old called the £5 lands of the Forrest to Bute, together with the family mansion of Kilcathan, so beautifully situated on the bay of the same name.' However, since his name is not recorded further after this year as owning estates on Bute, Hill is of the opinion that he probably sold the estate. (*The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, pp. 34-35.)

90. See Chapter 12, section V, Commercial connections of the Gaelic *fine*.

91. Mary Bruce Johnston (transcriber), *Rothesay Town Council Records 1653-1766*, (Edinburgh, 1935), p. 343.

92. Johnston, pp. 431-32.

93. Johnston, p. 220.

94. *The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, p. 59. Note that no information is given about these Stewarts in Sir James Balfour Paul (editor), *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols., (Edinburgh, 1904-1911), V.

95. It must be remembered with all these variations on the name Stewart, however, that there was no standard authography at the time. Therefore the distinction is not particularly significant.

96. Turner, p. 146.

97. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 119.

98. Lieut.-Col. Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, *Some Notes upon the Mackays of the Rhinns of Islay with reference to the Mackays of Kintyre, the McGhies of Galloway, and the Irish MacGees*, (Inveraray, 1979), p. 3.

99. Turner, p. 127.

100. There are also Mackies, McKies or McGhies of a Galloway origin in Ireland. (Gayre, pp. 1, 48.)

101. Gayre, pp. 12, 14-15, quoting a paper read to the Royal Irish Academy, 5, 12 January 1852, p. 230.

102. PRONI D3819/A/1/9, The MacDonnell Papers. The copy was obviously made in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

103. Turner, p. 127.

104. Gayre, p. 15.

105. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 117.

106. Turner, p. 126.

107. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* footnote to p. 117. See above, section I C. xi. Stewarts of Red Bay.

108. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 116.

109. Turner, p. 127.

110. The 'Owen' is therefore probably a translation of the Gaelic 'Eoghan,' which can be translated as John.

111. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 440.

112. Turner, p. 126.

113. Gayre, p. 29.

114. Turner, pp. 126-27. It has been pointed out that most of the papers about the Rhinns MacKays were found in possession of the MacLintocks of Londonderry. (Gayre, footnote to p. 23.)

115. Gregory, pp. 423-25; PRONI T1071, Pedigree of Col. James Graham Robert Douglas McNeill C.B. and of the McNeills of Faughart, Cushendun, Gallochelly and Colonsay.

116. It is possible to identify the other McNeills referred to in the pedigree from this Lachlan.

117. A. I. B. Stewart, 'Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' *The Scottish Genealogist*, 34, no. 4, (Dec. 1987), p. 380.

118. See Chapter 2, section II. Final destruction of the Clan Donald South.

119. 'Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' pp. 380-81.

120. 'Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' p. 381.

121. 'Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' p. 382.

122. 'Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' p. 381.

123. Turner, p. 131.

124. A. I. B. Stewart, 'Some Descendants of Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' *The Scottish Genealogist*, 34, no. 4, (Dec. 1987), p. 377.

125. 'Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' p. 381. This daughter does not appear on the pedigree, only a daughter Jane. Note also that there seems to be some confusion as to whether Archibald was the second or third son. According to A. I. B. Stewart's 'Lachlan McNeill Buidhe' p. 381, who cites his source as the McNeill of Losset family papers, he was the third son. In the McNeill pedigree he appears as the second son, however. Having no further information as to which is correct, he has been noted as the second son simply for easier access to the pedigree. Their position has little significance other than this, since neither was the heir.

126. Randal McDonnell, 'The McNeills of Cushendun and the McNeiles of Ballycastle,' *The Glynns*, 1, p. 21.

127. 'Some Descendants of Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' p. 377; R. McDonnell, p. 21. The information relating to the McNaughtons is visibly derived from the pedigree, though it is practically illegible on the original.

128. 'Some Descendants of Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' p. 378.

129. This was in County Louth.

130. 'Lachlan McNeill Buidhe,' p. 381. See also Chapter 9, section III A. Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism. Note that Lachlan's youngest legitimate daughter was also called Margaret.

131. R. McDonnell, p. 21; McNeill pedigree.

132. SRO GD328/23, Scott, Moncrieff and Trail, W. S. Collection (includes papers relating to McNeill of Ugadale.) See Chapter 13, section I, General trade links.

133. SRO Ex SC54/2/53 bundle 1, Inveraray Processes, 1739. The lands in Kintyre held by Dr. Archibald McNeill of Belfast were the 3 merkland of Carnbeg and little Carshellough, the 4 merkland of Carnmore and Meckil Corshellough, the 4 merkland of Branthein, the 4 merkland of Killmichael, the 4 merkland of Shedrall, the 3 merkland of Larigin Husheun, the 6 merkland of Ronnacherin, the 2 merkland of Shellay and Narrachan, the 3 merkland of Dounasherrie, the 4 merkland of Ulladill, the 4 merkland of Ballachgarran, the 4 merkland of Beanchar, the 4 merkland of Beancharmannoch, the 2 merkland of Clachag, the 1 merkland of Blarie, the 4 merkland of Rannachin, the 3 merkland of Kallipuill, and the 4 merkland of Gortenwauch, as well as the Isle of Cara. The party to whom he assigned the lands is blank in the document.

134. SRO GD 328/22.

135. SRO GD 328/22.

136. SRO GD 437/113, MacNeill of Taynish and Campbell of Danna titles. Note that one of the witnesses at Ballyphilip is Thomas Fullartone, curate to the Rev. Archibald McNeill, Chancellor of the Cathedral of Down.

137. SRO SC 54/2/49 bundle 5/1. He chose John MacDonald of Largie, Donald McNeill of Colonsay, Neil McNeill of Ugadale, Ronald McNeill of Kilchrist and Archibald of Danna, on his father's side, and Hugh Williebie Montgomery Esq. and Captain William Montgomery of Killough, on his mother's side, as his curators.

138. Frank Forbes Mackay, *MacNeill of Carskey. His estate journal 1703-1743*, (Edinburgh, 1955), pp. 17, 27.

139. Forbes Mackay, p. 74.

140. Johnston, pp. 897-99.

141. R. McDonnell, p. 21; Turner p. 129. Here, the evidence comes from researches made into the above families of Irish McNeills, when a descendant of the McNeills of Cushendun laid claim 'to an entailed estate in Ugadale and Losset in the Mull of Cantyre.' Around 1820 a woman had presented herself to Edmund Alexander McNeill, (1785-1879 the great great great-grandson of Lachlan from Kintyre) saying that if he would financially reward her, she would provide him with information which would inherit him a considerable estate in Scotland. He dismissed her unceremoniously, but was later informed that proceedings were under way in the Court of Session in Edinburgh to establish the title to Ugadale and Losset, the estate of the late Captain Hector McNeill. The old connection had still been in evidence in Edmund Alexander's youth, when he had spent holidays and visits with Captain Hector. Edmund Alexander appears to have had many of the qualities admired in the native Irish. He had apparently built the brig in which he went to Kintyre 'with his own hand inside the bar at Cushendun and used to sail, single-handed to visit with Capt Hector McNeill at Ugadale.' Many stories were told of his physical strength and skills. Moreover, because his father had died when he was only five, his mother had kept him in Cushendun, and not sent him away to school with the result that he spoke fluent Irish and mixed with the ordinary folk. Not only did the McNeills of Cushendun still visit Ugadale at this time, but also the McNeills of Ballycastle. It seems that the latter relationship may have been revitalised when the wife and family of Alexander McNeill of Ballycastle were sent over to Ugadale at the outbreak of rebellion in 1798. There is thus evidence of a strong connection with Scotland lasting over one hundred years, shown in two Irish branches of the family. More than this, Edmund Alexander went on to marry Rose McNeill, the daughter of Alexander of Ballycastle, in 1817, probably having met her in Ugadale when he visited. (R. McDonnell, pp. 21-22.) Although he would not have realised it at the time, this union must have strengthened his later claim to the Scottish estate. The contention of the title had arisen because Captain McNeill had no legitimate heirs. Edmund Alexander became sufficiently interested to pursue a long law-suit which successfully established him as rightful heir to the inheritance. They were related through their seventeenth century ancestor, Lachlan McNeill Buidhe's fourth son, Torquil (from his first marriage), who was the ancestor of Captain Hector and his elder brother Neill buie, Lachlan's second son, from whom Edmund Alexander was descended. However, possession being nine-tenths of the law, he was unable to

dispossess the inheritance from its occupier, by then of thirty years, George, who was the illegitimate son of McNeill. (R. McDonnell, pp. 21-22.)

142. Argyll and Bute District Archives, DR226 fol. 54a, Malcolm of Poltalloch Papers. See Chapter 14, section I. Settlement during the mercenary period, for coin hoard evidence.

143. Argyll and Bute DA, DR226 fol. 54a; Peter Townend (editor), *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry*, 18th edition, I, (London, 1965), p. 488; *Fasti*, IV, pp. 5-6.

144. MacPhee, III, p. 15, quoting C. A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, I, (New York and London, 1902), p. 614.

145. Argyll and Bute DA, DR 226 fol. 54a; *Burke's Landed Gentry*, I, p. 487; *Fasti*, IV, pp. 5-6.

146. *Scots mercenary forces*, pp. 150-51; 'Observations of Mr Dioness Campbell Deane of Limerick on the West Isles of Scotland,' in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club, IV*, part 1, (Glasgow, 1847), p. 43. It should be noted that the majority of Hill's information about this lady is erroneous. In a footnote to p. 130 he states that she was married to Colin, Earl of Argyll, rather than to Archibald, the fourth Earl. He also states in a footnote to p. 142 that she was the third daughter of Hector Mòr. Here, the more or less contemporary evidence of Denis Campbell, Dean of Limerick, in his report on the Western Isles in c. 1595, has been taken to be correct, that she was the daughter of old Lachlan MacLean. (See 'Observations.') However, Denis Campbell only notes two sons of Seán O'Neill by Catherine MacLean. Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy draws attention to the third, Seán Og, who is mentioned in 1588 and appears to have had a half-brother - Seán's son by Maguire's daughter - who was killed in 1581.

147. Rev. George Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608-1620*, (Belfast, 1877), footnote to p. 33. Moreover, although there were not necessarily any more marriage alliances, MacLeans continued to be involved in Ireland in a military capacity. For instance, on 14 May 1651, in the presbytery of Lorn, "Lachlane McLaine being in Rebellioun and being citet did compear befour the presbiterie the said day and declairit his heartie sorrow and greiff for the great sinns in breaking of the covenant and strenthening the hands of the enymeis be going on with them" in their rebellion against the Kirk and King. (SRO CH2/984/1, Lorn Presbytery, fol. 2.) Given the nature of the citation, there is every likelihood that this Lachlan was a member of the clan *fine* of one of the MacLean families, though Sir Lachlan MacLean of Duart died in 1648. (John Mackechnie, *The Clan MacLean*, (Edinburgh and London, 1954,) p. 32.) He was probably the heir of Murdoch MacLean, tenth of Lochbuie, who J. L. Campbell notes as submitting to the Synod of Argyll in 1650. (J. L. Campbell, 'The Catholic Church in the Hebrides: 1560-1760,' *The Tablet*, (31 December 1955), p. 656.) Certainly, Ewen MacLean of Treshnish deserted, with his followers, from the Covenanters to Montrose in 1645. (David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, (Belfast, 1981), p. 179.) Lachlan was ordained to stand in 'alvin habite' and do public repentance.

148. For instance, PRONI D3156 is a collection of the family papers of the family of Campbell of Killyman, of Moy, County Tyrone and Ballycastle, County Antrim. While it is possible that these Campbells were descended from Ayrshire Campbells, it was not possible to confirm or deny this because the papers were uncatalogued and not open to viewing.

149. Tough flexible branches.

150. *Scots mercenary forces*, pp. 98-101, 106; Wallace Clark, *Rathlin - Disputed Island,* (Portlaw, 1971), pp. 83-84.

151. SRO SC 54/22/32/1, Family papers of Campbell of Braglen.

152. SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, fol. 21.

153. *Rothesay Town Council Records 1653-1766*, p. 302.

154. Sir William Fraser, *The Sutherland Book*, 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1892), I, p. 175.

155. Fraser, I, p. 190.

156. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 76, quoting Spalding, *History of the Troubles*, p. 511.

157. Fraser, I, p. 208; *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, footnote to p. 136. See Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster. Hill misrecords John Gordon as George. Stevenson also notes this mistake in *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates.*

158. Fraser, I, p. 208.

159. Fraser, I, p. 448.

160. The Gordons of Deeside and Braemar spoke Gaelic, however. See Alasdair Roberts, 'Aspects of Highland and Lowland Catholicism on Deeside,' *Northern Scotland,* 10, (1990), pp. 19-20.

161. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 77.

162. For Lochbuie, see Chapter 10, section III A. The Irish contribution to the work of conversion, and for Irish priests in Barra, see Chapters 6, 8 and 10.

163. Similar connections have been shown earlier in this chapter in relation to Bute and Antrim Stewarts in section I C. ix, and between west coast of Scotland and Antrim McNeills in section I C. xiii. The more commercial aspects of these connections are dealt with in the economic chapters of the thesis, Chapters 12 and 13.

164. Frances J. Shaw, *The Northern & Western Islands of Scotland: Their economy & society in the seventeenth century*, (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 45.

165. Shaw, pp. 45-46.

166. For further details, see Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster. Cahal O'Hara was the tenant who sided with Sir Arthur Chichester against MacDonnell.

167. Ernest Raymond Gillespie, 'East Ulster in the early seventeenth century: a colonial economy and society,' (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 1982), pp. 129-30.

168. *Clan Donald*, III, pp. 384, 392; *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 278.

169. *Clan Donald*, II, pp. 729-30.

170. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 287, footnote to p. 328. Sir John Clotworthy or Viscount Massereene, was also an ardent presbyterian.

171. *Clan Donald*, II, pp. 730-31.

172. *Clan Donald*, II, p. 731. It was apparently whispered amongst the courtiers that Antrim had promised the King that the Antrim estates would ultimately be bequeathed to a lady close to the royal family and that this was the reason for the King's change of heart. This story was certainly believed by the diarist Samuel Pepys who wrote on 22 February 1664: "The King hath done himself all imaginable wrong in the

business of my lord Antrim, in Ireland, who, though he was the head of rebels, yet he [the King] by his own letters owns to have acted by his [the King's] father's and mother's and his commissions; but it seems the truth is, he [the marquiss] hath obliged [bound] himself, upon the clearing of his estate, to settle it upon a daughter of the Queen-Mother's, by my Lord Jermyn, I suppose, in marriage, be it to whom the Queen pleases; which is a sad story." (*The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, p. 38.)

173. *The Clan Donald*, II, p. 732.

174. NLS Ms. 3784/14, Papers from the Rev. A. J. MacDonald of Killearnan, fols. 32, 33. In Scottish terms - a heritable bond or wadset.

175. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, pp. 296-97, 299. Hill notes pp. 283-84, 287, ten soldiers and adventurers who had been granted lands on Antrim's estate. He also notes that Ross obtained a pension of £200 p.a. on 16 August 1665. This, though unspecified, was presumably from the Dublin government.

176. NLS Ms. 3784/14, fols. 32-33. Here, the question must be addressed as to why Glengarry should be indicted when he was not party to the original indenture. Glengarry's involvement was probably as a guarantor arising out of his own debts to Sir James MacDonald, for Sir James MacDonald of Sleat had taken Glengarry and Clanranald to court in c. 1674 to clarify the amounts of money which they owed him. (SRO GD201/1/110, Clanranald Papers.)

177. NLS Ms. 3784/14, fol. 35. Witnesses to Clanranald's signature were G. Gordon, probably George, the brother of the Earl of Sutherland who married the Marquis's sister Rose in 1643, D. McDonell, Archibald McDonell and Robert Cusack.

178. Shaw, p. 44.

179. *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 285.

180. *Clan Donald*, III, pp. 165-66. It was probably in their capacity as the main line of the Clan Donald that the succession of the Antrim estate was to pass ultimately to them, failing heirs male of the Antrims and their heirs apparent, the MacDonnells of Kilconway, at the end of the seventeenth century. For which, see Chapter 4, section III A. The 1715 rebellion.

181. Shaw, pp. 44, 46; *Clan Donald*, III, pp. 167-68. The oath of 1678 is printed in *Clan Donald*, II, appendix p. 786, under the title the Oath of Friends - "... since such of us subscribers to whom this familie is oweing soumes of monie are not sufficientlie secured each of us sall owne ane ane others quarrelles againest all persones (his majestie & his lawes excepted) who wrongs us to that effect till all of us be sufficientlie to our apprehensiones secured in law."

182. *Clan Donald*, (1978), p. 317.

183. *Clan Donald*, II, p. 732-33.

184. NLS MS 3784/19, fol. 43.

185. *Clan Donald*, II, p. 736, originally from the Antrim Charter Chest. The barony of Carey was in the Glens of Antrim, and included the parish of Culfeightrin within its bounds. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 147.)

186. Possibly Clanranald was even seeking translation of his right to the lands in Coleraine mentioned in the heritable bond of October 1676, above, to some in Antrim, until the mortgage was redeemed.

187. NLS Ms. 3784/19, fol. 46. According to Donald MacDonald's letter of 13 December, below, the Marquis of Antrim entrusted Mr. Nugent with the setting of the Barony of Carey. Note that Mr. Nugent and Mr. Sheridan were referred to as the Marquis of Antrim's trustees on 16 April 1691. (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1690-91, p. 338.)

188. NLS Ms. 3784/19, fol. 46.

189. *Clan Donald*, II, p. 737.

190. This was possibly written in the same year, that is 1684, in which case it probably went by the same bearer, but the year is not given.

191. SRO GD201/4/27, Clanranald Papers. "Honored Cossen, My Lord and I, are much pleased that you give us hopes of seeing you hear this springe sence I can assure you wee have a very great vallew and esteem for you and most really acknowledg your obliging concern for us and our little wans who I praise God are very well and I am sure when th(e)y have sense enough will be very serviceable of your favors to them which shall ever be owned by Honored Cossen .... Helen Antrime."

192. SRO GD201/4/28. His reference in the letter to North Uist, and that the letter was addressed to his cousin, would seem to identify the writer as Donald, third chief of the MacDonalds of Benbecula (grandson of the notorious Raghnall mac Ailein of Benbecula), a collateral family, who later, in old age, became sixteenth chief of Clanranald for a short period, following the death of both Donald MacDonald of Clanranald's sons, Allan and Ranald, to whom he had been tutor. This obviously, then, was the link between the two cousins at this point.

193. SRO GD201/4/28.

194. SRO GD201/4/28.

195. Hill notes of fosterage that 'this curious social arrangement was in force more generally, and to a later period in Scotland than here.' (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to page 33.) Fosterers would generally see to the child's education, his mental and physical well-being, and give training in estate and man-management. As might be expected, fostering was still prevalent amongst the MacDonalds in the early sixteenth century, before the beginnings of the break-up of the Gaelic order towards the end of that century. The Irish ms. of c. 1700, for instance, states that "it was more natural for a McDonald to be fostered by a McFee than by any other for the first that was called McDonald was fostered by Dushi MacMurphy and many others of the name of McDonald fostered by the McFees.' ('A Fragment,' p. 277. The McPhees were Recorders of the old kingdom of the Isles.) However, Hill cites evidence for the fostering of the Marquis of Argyll's two sons with minor branches of the clan Campbell gentry in the 1640s, which seems to indicate that he felt it was already unusual in Ireland by this time, or he should not have had to use a Scottish example. (*MacDonnells of Antrim*, footnote to p. 27.) There is also evidence in the estate journal of McNeill of Carskiey, 1703-1743, extracts 34, 38, (pp. 61-62) that the practice of fostering still continued in the Highlands in the early eighteenth century. Thus, it was perhaps by dint of their Scottish connections that the practice continued with the MacDonnells of Antrim, when it appeared to have died out in the rest of Ireland. However, it must be stressed that this putative fostering contract

between the Antrim and Sleat is the only reference found to the fostering practice of the Clan Donald chiefs in the late seventeenth century.

196. SRO GD201/2/3.

197. Redcliffe N. Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato*, (Cambridge, 1949), p. 358. It is said that the people of the islands were at first unwilling to plant the potatoes, and that Clanranald had to imprison some of them. So too, in Benbecula, he insisted that the potato tubers be planted, but when the crop was harvested the potatoes were apparently dropped at Clanranald's front door in sacks, the people stating that they neither wished nor intended to eat them themselves!

198. NLS Ms. 3134, Yule collection, fol. 30.

199. It should be noted that Sir James's brother, Sir Alexander, ninth baronet of Sleat, who succeeded him in the absence of issue, was created an Irish peer in 1776, with the title of Lord MacDonald. (*The Scots Peerage,* V, p. 45.)

200. NLS Ms. 3134, fol. 30.

201. *Clan Donald*, (1978), p. 324.

202. See above, Chapter 4, within section IV. The final Jacobite attempt of 1759-60.

203. NLS Ms. 3134, fol. 30.

204. See Chapter 15, section III. Legitimate social contact, and Chapters 16, 17 and 18.

205. See economic chapters of this thesis, Chapters 12 and 13.

206. See above, end of section II.

207. Black, p. 396.

208. See below, Chapter 13, sections V. Fishing, and VI. Smuggling, and footnote 111.

CHAPTER 12
HIGHLAND AND HEBRIDEAN TRADE WITH IRELAND IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Introduction

It should be stated at the outset that the following two chapters, which discuss economic relations, are not intended to be an extended study of trade between the Highlands and Ireland, particularly Ulster, because this might constitute a whole topic in itself. They aim to give a general overview of the subject, which is integral to an analysis of links between Scottish and Irish Gaels from 1560 and 1760. Moreover, the difficulty in ascertaining whether trading links are actually between Irish and Gaelic-speaking Gaels, rather than simply English-speaking representatives of North Channel families, tends to preclude a definitive study. 'It has been suggested that sixteenth-century trade with Ulster was of little consequence. This may have been true for much of the century, but by the end of it there was considerable commercial activity between Ulster and Scotland.'[1] Although this previously held view of the general inconsequentiality of Scottish trade with Ireland has now undergone considerable review in several studies,[2] it is particularly difficult to measure Irish trade with the Highland and Hebridean ports and vice-versa, because there is a marked paucity of port books and other official records by which to estimate the scale of economic interchange. The lack of extant Highland port books has probably occurred because of the ports' distance from central administration and that of Irish port books, mainly because of the variety of troubles which have always plagued Irish record-keeping. However, using an amalgam of government and private papers, and the few port records which survive, it has been possible to construct a general picture of some of the economic links of the period.

I. SOURCES

In terms of primary sources for these economic chapters, the State Papers have, once again, proved an invaluable source of information for the sixteenth century in the absence of other extensive sources.[3] For the seventeenth century, a very detailed *exposé* of the west coast fishing trade, which distinguishes between Lowland and Highland fishing boats and gives information on the Irish season, can be found in the papers of the Stirling-Maxwells of Pollok.[4] For the eighteenth century, some indication is given of Irish grain imports to the west coast through the eyes of a main east coast competitor, Bailie John Steuart,[5] while the Campbell of Ardchattan papers contain many documents on an Irish wood-cutting company which operated throughout the Highlands.[6] The Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts give information on the general commodities legally traded with Ireland, while the Campbeltown Outport Books provide hitherto little-used information on the

extensive smuggling activities in the western Isles.[7]

II. MERCENARY CONTRABAND

Before 1612 traders and seamen were the only Scotsmen legally allowed into Ireland, under a statute of Philip and Mary designed to exclude and prohibit marriage of the Irish with the troublesome redshanks. However, occasional references to Highland trading with Ulster in the official State Papers are a testament to its existence and sometimes to its type, if not to its extent. Commerce also became tied up with mercenary activity on occasion, as a means of exacting retributive security payments. For example, in March and May 1564 there was a total of three petitions from 'William Ocarmyke and William Arnott .... for restitution of their ship and wines, taken from them in the haven of Carlingford, by Ferdorough Magennis, under the rule of O'Neill. O'Neill refuses to restore the ship, etc. till he have restitution for the hurts done by James M'Donnell,' his brothers and other Scots. It is interesting to speculate whether one of these merchants was, himself, a Kintyre man for 'Ocarmyke' is probably 'MacCormack' and is definitely representative of the area.[8] This surmise is, perhaps, given further credence with the knowledge that O'Neill's brother-in-law allegedly impounded the cargo illegally, on the night of January 4, because the O'Neills could get no redress for the many hurts done by James "Mac Dhomhnayll," his brothers, and other Scots. If the vessel had a link with Kintyre, the revenge would undoubtedly have been sweeter. O'Neill complained that he could not lay his complaint before the Queen of Scots because the MacDonalds intercepted his messengers. He asked that two commissioners be appointed to settle the dispute, one by the Queen (of England) and the other by the Scottish Queen.[9] Although the outcome of the request is not specified, by June the 'two poor Scots' were said to be contented.[10]

Some years later, on 2 May 1587, the English were prepared to use trade in a similar manner as a strategy to bait the Irish. The Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir John Perrot, wrote to William Cecil, Lord Burghley (Elizabeth's chief minister) regarding O'Donnell, that "if it please Her Majesty, I could take himself, his wife (who is a great bringer in of Scots), and perhaps his son, by sending thither a boat with wines."[11] In spite of the hazards of seizure, the importance of the Irish trade to Scotland in the late sixteenth century can surely be judged by the protests of the western burghs to James VI when a fugitive from Elizabethan Ireland was arrested in Scotland and sent to England for execution. The burghs were afraid that such good turns to the English might hazard their position with the Irish![12]

Merchants in general, Irish and Scottish, are frequently found acting as informers because of their obvious role in fostering communications. Thus, on 7 August 1569, the Master of the works at

Armagh wrote to the dean of Armagh[13] detailing the report of native Irish merchant "Caher M'Seain" [Cahir M'Shane] who, along with other merchants, had learned of the arrival of a Scottish army while in Turlough Luineach's country, that is, Tyrone.[14] Similarly, on 8 July 1593, the English were informed by John Stevenson, 'a Scottish merchant, who tradeth much with Knockfergus,' that Donald Gorm MacDonald (seventh of Sleat) was in the process of gathering 5,000 Island Scots, who were allegedly to make an attempt on the Isle of Man.[15] Equally, because of their mobility, and in an age where the majority of people rarely travelled forth of their immediate environs, merchant apparel was a good disguise for those travelling illegally from one place to another, either for military or religious purposes.[16] Thus, in February 1594, a document in the State Papers notes that Irish priests on the continent were arranging for an agent to go to Ireland to persuade Turlough Luineach O'Neill and the Earl of Tyrone to revolt against Elizabeth, the agent, John Creuagh, an Irish priest, was to travel as a merchant. 'He should have gone in habit and likeness of a Scottish merchant... He should embark himself in the town of "Cammfyre in Zealande" where the Scottish staple now lieth, where by favour of the said Scottish men he should pass safely into Scotland, and thence to Ireland.'[17]

Although there were many risks, Scottish trade was, nonetheless, beneficially affected by the mercenary trade in Ireland. At a basic level, there was a profit to be made from weaponry and other military contraband, besides which, in spite of the *buannacht* system,[18] additional foodstuffs were sometimes brought in from Scotland. According to an English source, Scottish skippers ran arms with "great villany" from the Clyde to the Irish rebels in the 1570s and 1580s. It is possible that some of these skippers were Highlanders using the Clyde as an entrepôt, for trade with the west Highlands was of more significance to the Clyde ports before the expansion of the port of Glasgow in the seventeenth century:[19]

> The trade with Ireland and the Isles, because it was local and could be conducted in small vessels, enabled the Glasgow merchants to progress in wealth and experience, and encouraged them to devise plans which, as the seventeenth century went on, were to result in the building of a deep water outport and the improving of the waterway of the Clyde.[20]

Names familiar in the Highland mercenary scene crop up continually in a commercial context. Thus, in November 1583, Lady Agnes O'Neill (née Campbell) and some others in Strabane, became cautioners before Glasgow burgh court to pay £40 sterling to Enochean O'Donald and others for "the ransom and releis of Mathew Trummebill merchant burgess of Glasgw ... furth of thee handis of Enochean O'Donald be quhom the said Matthew was tane for thee allegit airt and parte of the slauchter of umquhil Donachie O'Donald brother of Enochean O'Donald in Ireland."[21] These operations show that trading with Ireland from the Highlands took place on two levels. First, directly from small ports in the western Isles and the Highlands themselves, and second, on an

indirect, but just as significant basis, through the Clyde ports.

It was doubtless in an attempt to stem this flow of military provisions, as well as to promote internal trade rather than trade with Scotland, that the following prohibitive item was included in a list of instructions for Commissioners appointed to deal with the Scots and Irish inhabitants in Clandeboye, County Down. Dated May 1586, it indicates a great deal, by negative inference, about how the Ulster MacDonnells traded, instructing them:

> That the Scots and other inhabitants of the Glynns and Route do not trade or traffic, buy or sell, in creeks or corners of the seashore, within the said countries with any Scottish merchant or merchants, or otherwise, with any countrymen strangers inhabiting without Her Majesty's dominions, but with the merchants of some of Her Majesty's corporations of Ireland.[22]

Certainly, at the beginning of Tyrone's rebellion, in the 1590s, weapons and ammunition went from Scotland into Ulster, in spite of various proclamations to the contrary, their reiteration clearly indicating their ineffectiveness.[23] A considerable trade appears to have been carried out through ports in County Down, doubtless because they facilitated the short, direct route to Scotland and the shippers thus ran less hazard of being caught by the English. The main offloading ports seem to have been the river of Strangford and its continuation Lough Cuan, and the Bay of Dundrum. As early as May 1595 Glasgow merchants had been supplying Tyrone with military hardware, powder and lead. Achinross, MacLean's secretary, wrote to George Nicolson, an English agent in Scotland, that Tyrone's agents would transport their purchases from the Lammas fair in Glasgow to Ireland, with the help of people from Arran and Bute and others who did not live in the burgh.[24] However, the earliest reference in the Irish State Papers actually occurs a few months before than this, on 10 February 1595, in a report from the bailiffs of Dundalk, which shows that the men of Tyrone and Somhairle Buidhe's son, James, had brought '£500 worth of gunpowder from Glasgow.'[25] Moreover, as noted above, the trade had undoubtedly been going on in previous decades, even if it was now extended.

The same James MacSomhairle Buidhe claimed later that month, on 27 February 1595, that rather than run the said powder to Tyrone, "for as much as I am becoming Her Majesty's true subject, I have put my hand in that fire with the Earl of Tirone, that I have taken two thousand pound weight of powder, and a thousand pound of lead, that was going to him." He even claimed that the Governor's messenger and Captain Carlisle's messenger[26] had witnessed this. It need hardly be said that such a charade would have been easily arranged. Certainly, on 23 July of that year the Earl's powder was still said to be in the Islands. Yet, the Highlanders had nothing to lose and everything to gain by playing the English game. Thus, MacSomhairle soon protested, on 3 October 1595, that 'where it was reported that the boat of powder which he made stay off, that he should

have sent it to the Earl, by solemn oaths he sweareth the contrary, and that all and every deal of the same powder is yet in his own custody, saving what he hath spent to his own use.' In a communication of 12 May 1596, John Beagh, a Strabane merchant, is identified as procuring powder for the rebels out of Scotland, but MacSomhairle Buidhe was clearly implicated in the trade, for the next sentence states that Somhairle Buidhe's son was not to be 'enlarged.'[27] John Beagh, elsewhere anglicised as John Bath, a merchant in Dunnalong and Strabane, was Tyrone's main agent in the Scottish trade. On 26 August 1595, Beagh was arrested in Glasgow but was fortunate enough to have no contraband found on his boat and had to be released.[28]

At the Scottish end of the contraband trade, "One Alexander Steward, a Scot dwelling in the town of Glasgow" is highlighted as a supplier, in a memorandum of July 1597. Although he lived in Glasgow, his name perhaps points to a connection between those in Bute and Arran who Achinross stated were prepared to help transport ammunition to Ireland in 1595. Stewart is said, at one time, to have sold '£2,000 worth of gunpowder, and at other times furnishes him with as much as he will have, and brought to the Earl from Scotland three Scottish workmen who make muskets, culivers, and pistols.' Another of Tyrone's men in the Scottish trade is mentioned by name, on 29 October 1597, as "Garlon." Although artillery and weaponry was also sold to Tyrone from Irish merchants, from places such as Dundalk, it appears that all of Tyrone's powder came from Scotland.[29] Yet, while they may have had a bigger market with the native Irish, some Scots merchants were obviously willing to sell wherever they found a buyer. Thus, John Baxter, of unspecified rank in the English military, informed that in the Lent of 1599, when in O'Donnell's country of Tirconnell in Donegal, two Scottish barks came in with provisions, which were able to supply all their wants 'or else they would never be able to endure.'[30]

On 10 September 1597 the Lord Deputy, Thomas, Lord Burgh, tried to persuade Burghley to intervene with the King of Scots to restrain the sale of powder. He wrote graphically: "I can assure your Lordship, it is scarce with the rebels at this instant, for this summer hath made them blow off much... The merchant will hardly without great compulsion be stayed, for he sells it for 2s. 6d. the pound." In spite of this, intelligence revealed, on 29 October 1597, that great stores of powder, lead and match had been landed from Scotland at Lough Foyle. Yet, the screws were clearly being turned, for by 1 November Captain Thomas Williams reported to the Privy Council that most of Tyrone's great men were wavering and were in need of munition. 'Powder with them is at five shillings a pound,' that is, almost double the price of two months' previously.[31]

Much of the contraband trade went into the Down ports. On 9 May 1599, the Earl of Essex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, instructed 'Captain J. C.' to enter the river of Strangford and pass through into Lough Cuan 'where you shall seize upon such boats as are suspected to carry relief unto the rebels of those parts.'[32] 'Captain J. C.' is not identified, but can be none other than Captain James

Carlisle.[33] Accordingly, the Captain subsequently reported that he entered the lough. He was informed there by the Vice-Constable of Kilcleefe that two days prior to this Magennis of Iveagh had seized all the boats in the lough, Scots as well as others, which he used to transport shot and horse over the river to raid Ferdorogh McSeneshall in the Lesser Ards. However, whether this was true, or whether traders other than Scots were also supplying the rebels, and the Vice-Constable was attempting to protect them, is a matter for conjecture. The rest of the statement supplies information about Scottish trading in Ireland. Captain J. C. reported that when he returned to Strangford Castle 'Magennis (having been advertised of my coming northwards by the Scots that trade Dublin and Drogheda, and do use to go into Strangford to buy hoop-staves), left 200 shot aboard the boats at Strangford, to wait my coming, and to keep the said boats for the service of Tyrone.'[34] So too, when asked to write down what he knew of the Dufferin area, Sir Arthur Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus (and future Lord Deputy) stated in 1602 that the lough is full of islands and is entered by the river of Strangford. It has been a great support to the rebels throughout the rebellion "by a frequent trade into it of Scottish barques with munition, cloth, wine, and aqua vitae."[35]

In part of his instructions to the Captain J. C., Essex ordered him to 'take care, during your being on that coast, that no Scots' boats or barks, or others, shall enter into any harbour or creek, between the Red Bay and the Bay of Dundrum, with victuals and munition for the use of the rebel.'[36] The Captain however, replied that it was virtually impossible to curtail that trade with boats other than those which use oar-power. 'The channel betwixt Galloway in Scotland and that part of Ireland is so narrow, and the tides so strong, that it is impossible in summer to keep the Scots from landing on that coast, or from entering with their rowing boats and gallies, malgré all the shipping of barks and pinnaces that can be brought, which only stir with wind and sails.' He recommended the use of two galleys with 20 oars a side as the only vessels which could contain the smuggling. His suggestion for 'the same to lie at the Raghlins'[37] is possibly indicative of a west Highland element in this trade. Clearly this was to counter the *modus operandi* of the Irish, for on 10 May Henry Bird, Commissary of Musters for Newry and Carlingford, wrote to Cecil informing that: "At the river of Strangford there lieth three or four boats, wherein the enemy hath manned in each some twenty musketeers, to lie in wait for such small barks as shall go along the coasts between Knockfergus and Dublin."[38]

Finally, Captain J. C. recorded the arrival in the river of Strangford and the Bay of Dundrum, on 15 June 1599, of 'sundry Scottish boats and barks with munition, morions, and swords (as it is publicly there talked), which Brian McArt McBaron and Magennis furnished their men withal.' He expressed a desire to cut off 'this traffic and intercourse of Scotland, which is the only nursery of all the traitors' means.' The role of Scotland in military supply was clearly an important one, but more interestingly he also detailed its continental source. The significance of the Scottish trade would

appear to have been two-fold - 'munition out of Dansk and men out of Scotland to continue these rebellions.'[39] By 16 December 1600, even though the Irish were expecting arms and munitions from Spain, Sir Arthur Chichester remarked that if garrisons were placed at Strangford, Coleraine and Lough Swilly to keep the Scots from supplying them 'all Spain could not afford them munition to fight with us one year.'[40]

Part of the Scots' willingness to trade with the Irish was the strength of English sterling which circulated there. John King,[41] deputy receiver of the revenues in Ireland, wrote from Dublin on 2 April 1601 informing of a scarcity of money in Dublin owing to the absence of the Lord Deputy, and that there was a general expectation of a new, that is, reduced coin. He stated that:

> the rebels have now reasonable store of this sterling coin, which serveth them to make traffic withal with the Scots and other stranger; whereof if they be once disfurnished (as our green merchants will soon have drawn home the good, and left the bad abroad), they may make shorter markets by much than now they do, although it is beggarly enough with them at the best.[42]

The English, however, egoistically insisted that Ireland had no goods for trading with other nations and that all trade from Ireland was chiefly maintained by sterling which was continually exported to Scotland, France and Spain, to the ultimate impoverishment of England. The debasement was also rationalised by the need of the common people for the lower valued coins "insomuch that for want of small moneys they are constrained to stamp tokens of lead and to buy Scottish copper moneys upon the Borders." However, on 15 January 1602, Sir Arthur Chichester wrote from Knockfergus reporting great misery there. The new coin would not circulate and Scots and others in the country would not take it, because "their trading for small sums will not bear their charge in seeking it returned from the places of exchange."[43]

An indication of the wares, other than weaponry and ammunition, traded, was given by Fynes Moryson, Secretary to the Irish deputy during the last years of Elizabeth's reign, who detailed western seaboard exports to Ireland in around 1598. "The inhabitants of the Westerne ports of Scotland, carry into Ireland and Neighbouring places, red and pickeled Herrings, Sea coales, and Aquavitae, with like commodities, and bring out of Ireland Yarne and Cowes hide or Silver."[44] While the coal undoubtedly came from the Ayrshire fields, some Highland produce is probably reflected in the other two commodities. In return the Irish traded oats, barley, timber and fish. With the failure of Tyrone's rebellion there was clearly not so much calling for illegal weaponry, but trading probably continued much as it had done before. Sir Thomas Phillips of Coleraine remarked in April 1612 that when Coleraine was in his possession prior to plantation "the Scots resorted thether in great number, for every summer there came betwene 40 and 60 barkes and boats into the Band [Bann], which brought merchandizes and carried away timber and boards and other

commodities such as the Country did yeeld." The trade seems to have followed the boundaries of the Gaelic Scots' settlement in Ulster and to have been initially linked to the supply of the mercenaries. It is also significant here that trade with Coleraine declined during the first two or three years of the plantation, after the Londoners had taken over, supporting the supposition that this trade was based on mercenary connections.[45]

Information from official papers in the 1590s further attests to the importance of Irish timber in Scoto-Irish trading at this time. Timber was needed not only to replenish mercenary losses, but also for fishing vessels. It also points out the economic significance of the mercenary income to the Scottish Gaels:

> The Scots, if unable to support themselves in their own country, come over here and disturb the peace of Ireland, encouraging those that are willing to rebel. The timber of which their gallies are made comes chiefly from Wexford, Wicklow and Arklow The men of these places either sell to merchants in Dublin, who "trock" the same to the Scottish merchants for Scotland. Some timber is sent to Carlingford and Carrickfergus to be sold, but not so much as in Dublin. It is easier for the Scots to get timber from Ireland than from their own isles.[46]

The timber bought by the Scots at this time was largely from the province of Leinster in south-east Ireland, in spite of the areas of woodland apparent in Ulster at this time. In view of evidence from the early eighteenth century this appears largely to have been because of the poor quality, that is, softness, of the Ulster timber.[47] The wooded areas of the Dufferin, in east Down, also attracted Scots attention in the 1550s and 1570s.[48] A contributory factor was also the extensive clearance of woodland, particularly in east Ulster, which resulted in a probable shortage of good building timber. In east Ulster the only area remaining, by the 1640s, which harboured timber of any commercial value was the east coast of Lough Neagh. This was largely because it was settled late and was not properly developed.[49] (For wooded areas, see fig. 12.1, Irish woodlands c. 1600.) The government were, nevertheless, determined to stop the trade because it enabled the building of galleys to oppose their policies. Although this was of particular importance during Tyrone's rebellion in the last decade of the sixteenth century, the government had been attempting to stop the flow of timber to the west coast of Scotland since the 1560s (and probably earlier), since Ireland was the major source of supply to Argyll, the southern Isles and the surrounding coastal districts.[50] The policy of the English authorities, combined with greater maritime vigilance, would appear to have had some effect. The last major expeditionary force of galleys mounted by Hebridean chiefs, in the summer of 1595, aimed to execute a raid on the Isle of Man at the same time as a second projected Spanish Armada on England, before joining a 'diversionary Irish rebellion' led by Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone. The fleet comprised fifty galleys with about 120 boats in all, as well as a varied estimate of between 2,400 and 4,000 men, mainly MacDonalds and MacLeods,

Fig 12.1
IRISH WOODLANDS c. 1600

Modified from
T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin,
F. J. Byrne (editors),
A New History of Ireland, III,
(Oxford, 1976), p.144.

under the leadership of Angus MacDonald, chief of Clan Donald South. However, English espionage activities enabled reinforcement of Manx defences. Archibald Gruamach, Earl of Argyll, and Sir Lachlan MacLean of Duart, then in the pay of the English government, reduced the fleet by twelve galleys and a probable 800 men by subtle maneouvering and force, while disharmony concerning their mercenary payment was sown amongst the rest. The fleet was ultimately repulsed from the Isle of Man by 1 August, the rearguard was sunk off the Isle of Rathlin, and the remainder was routed off the Isle of Copeland.[51]

The official source of the 1590s also indicates that trading in grain surpluses, which became so much a feature of trading in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was obviously well under way in the sixteenth century. 'For the remedy of this, commissioners should be appointed to see the markets served, and no licence at all to be granted for carriage forth of grain or victual but as the statutes do licence. ... steps to be taken and penalties to be imposed to prevent the exportation of corn and of timber except for the making of fishing boats on the coasts.'[52] It was, indeed, in diversification from the building of galleys to fishing boats that the boat-building trade probably continued in the Highlands of Scotland, in the seventeenth century, using Irish wood. However, the timber trade has not been dealt with further in this chapter because most of the evidence found pertains to the eighteenth century.[53]

It is also clear, by inference, that the excess Irish grain was sold in Scotland. The archbishop of Cashel, referring to methods of increasing revenue on 30 May 1592, stated that corn was very cheap in Ireland and money scarce. The implicit understanding is that grain was sold to increase the money supply in Ireland. However, the archbishop wrote that it 'is prohibited to be transported out of that realm, whereby many undertakers and farmers run in arrearage of their rent, for which in the end they must have forgiveness, and so Her Majesty defrauded of great sums.' He therefore suggested that a general licence be granted to permit tranportation of corn 'to all parts of England only,' and that the custom duties would augment English revenues. The undoubted inference, here, is that much of the corn passed into Scotland.[54] Certainly dearths and food crises, associated with high grain prices which caused significant mortality, have been identified in Scotland in 1562-63, 1571-73, 1585-87 and 1594-98.[55] There were also bad harvests in Scotland and a considerable dearth in 1600.[56] Moreover, there were specifically localised Highland famines in 1602 and 1604. Master James Fraser, minister of the parish of Wardlaw (now Kirkhill), Inverness, who wrote the history of the Frasers to 1674, stated that in 1602 there "was a dearth and famin all the North and Highlands over." That year was therefore known as *Bliadhna a' chath* or the 'year of the corn husks.' Though there were mortalities, it appears that the greater emphasis on pastoral farming resulted in conditions being less critical in the Highlands than in the Lowlands. "There ensued a great mortality all the north highlands over, but that milkness gave them some subsistance." Nonetheless, it was sufficiently serious to cause the Highlanders to break out "in excursions and

depredations," which contributed, in part, to the planting of Lewis with Lowlanders. There was also a famine in the Highlands in 1604 which resulted in mortalities.[57]

Although more grain passed from Ulster to Scotland than vice-versa, it was a two-way traffic. In Ulster, at the end of the sixteenth century, the continued skirmishing destroyed at least some of the crops and generally increased the price of foodstuffs, making it difficult for the English in particular to maintain their armies. On 18 January 1597, the price of ordinary wheat was the exhorbitant price of about 70s the quarter. This situation was exacerbated by the failure of the fishing industry at Waterford and it was stated that 'unless herring come from Scotland, the scarcity in Ireland will be great.'[58] According to the Montgomery manuscripts there were good harvests in Ulster in 1606 and 1607, and no imports were necessary from Scotland, which indicates that there had been imports from Scotland in other years.[59] The export of grain was from Ulster to Scotland was an important source of profit in the early years of the plantation, but when the Scottish Privy Council increased the duty after 1618 in order to protect Scottish producers from Baltic imports, this also reduced the incentive to arable farming in Ulster, or probably to ship it illegally. Oats continued to be shipped on a regular basis from Coleraine, Derry and Carrickfergus to Scotland, but the economic activity in Ulster remained predominantly pastoral.[60]

With the plantation of Ulster at the outset of the seventeenth century, commodities traded with Ireland and vice-versa continued largely as before, but the growth of the economy engendered by the new settlers, with their new agricultural techniques and industrious attitudes was responsible for expanding the markets of both countries.

III. GENERAL TRADE WITH ULSTER FROM THE PLANTATION TO THE REVOLUTION

It has been argued that Scotland's trade relations with Ireland were not of great dimension until the late 1630s, because their economies were similar - 'both were essentially raw material producers with a slight superstructure of simple industries.'[61] However, there is ample evidence to indicate that trade with Ireland had already become important to the western ports by the end of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the argument that two countries producing raw materials could not sustain a viable trade link is clearly fallacious, as long as they exchanged goods which were mutually exclusive. Trade in military contraband also continued for, at the time of the Islay rebellion, the English government were wary of the possibility of the rebels receiving munitions from Ireland.[62] However, it was the early years of the plantation of Ulster and the settlement of hundreds of Lowland Scots in the north-east of Ireland which dramatically increased trade through the Clyde ports.

Before the expansion of the later seventeenth century, the Clyde ports acted largely as regional trading centres, importing wine and continental goods for the home market which included the Highlands, and sending goods such as coal and fish to Ireland.[63] However, the scale on which trade was conducted directly with Ireland from the Gaelic Highlands, is more difficult to gauge quantitively, in the absence of any substantial source material. Traditional ports used from the time of the mercenary trade were Campbeltown, Mull, Inverlochy, (old) Oban, and Stornoway, and it can be assumed that trading continued through these ports to the main ports on the north-east of Ireland, such as Derry, Larne, Belfast, Donaghadee and Drogheda.[64]

An informed analysis of the early plantation trade has been made from records listing the imports to Derry, Coleraine, Carrickfergus, Strangford, Ardglass, Killough, and Dundrum, but unfortunately these records cease in 1615. Although there appears to have been a decline in trade with Scotland for a few years, probably while the settlers established themselves, Scottish trade into Ulster ports exhibits a marked increase from 1613. After this, the settlers began to import supplies. Thus, between Michaelmas 1612 and Michaelmas 1615 import to Coleraine from Scotland increased four-fold (while total annual imports almost trebled), and it should be remembered that there is evidence for a substantial Highland presence in Coleraine. Exports to Scotland also increased dramatically.[65] Analysis of the Derry port books of 1612 to 1615 reveals that the largest percentage of the town's export trade was with Scotland. In the year 1614-1615, for example, Derry had an export trade amounting to £9,935, 25% of which was with the continent, 31% with England and 44% with Scotland.[66]

The improvement in commerce between Scotland and Ulster was largely due to the Scottish settlements there. Imports included a wide variety of goods ranging from foodstuffs to iron pots, kettles, sickles, powder, lead, iron and clothes. The Derry records frequently list the import of "pladdes" and "skoch cloth" which might be indicative of a Highland presence. On the other hand, Irish exports to Scotland were almost totally of agricultural produce, mainly beef, tallow, hides and meal, with some cheese, butter, livestock, malt, fish and timber. Exports from the Down ports, in particular, were more exclusively of grain.[67] Ulster had an extremely fertile climate for grain growing and in years of relative political stability, assisted by the improved methods of agriculture introduced by some of the planters, it consistently produced high yields. The new settlers wanted to make a profit and brought advances in estate management to Ulster from Scotland and England. However, though lime was extensively used as a fertiliser in south-west Scotland in the early seventeenth century, cattle dung or wrack was used, for example, in east Ulster. Indeed, men such as the second Earl of Antrim or the English agent on the Conway estate, George Rawdon, introduced English rather than Scottish agricultural improvements. For example, the commissioners enquiring into the state of the plantation, in 1622, stated that the Earl of Antrim had "banished that barbarous custom by holding all his tenants to the fashion of English ploughing."

However, the almost complete dependence on agricultural produce in many of these areas, and the sparse development of rural industry constituted, in itself, another problem, for harvest failure devastated the local economy. This was rarely a problem in the relative stability of the 1620s, but the 1630s brought both bad harvests and a shortage of specie.[68] Although there is no direct evidence of ships entering Highland ports during this period, because there are no extant west Highland port books, it is significant that Irish imports to Campbeltown during the 1740s almost exactly mirror those of the early seventeenth century. It is, therefore, more likely than not that this trade was in operation shortly after the burgh's erection in 1609 (as Lochhead).[69]

The establishment of a merchant settler and shopkeeper class in the plantation towns has been recognised as particularly significant, bearing in mind that the majority of seventeenth-century settler towns had an average population of about 200 people. Larger towns such as Derry, in which some 215 stone and slated dwellings had been built by 1616, with further growth beyond the walls of the town, had an recognisable merchant community. Some twenty Derry merchants can be identified from the Derry port books of 1612 to 1615. At Strabane, which consisted of some 80 houses in 1619, there is also evidence of a sizeable group of Scottish merchants. Of the first twelve burgesses of the town, seven have also been identified in the surviving Derry port books of the same period. There is also mention in the Derry port books of another Strabane man, the Highland-sounding David Morrison, as well as four other Strabane merchants. The particular context of their trading has not survived, but evidence of the commodities traded has. For instance, in January 1615, Morrison imported various goods including iron and wrought iron, brass pans, iron pots, lead, soap, fat madder for dyeing, woollen cloth, coarse linen and aniseeds.[70]

After 1615, in the absence of Irish records, the extent of Highland trade with Ulster must be deduced from the Scottish Lowland records, particularly the Dumbarton custom books. These indicate that trade continued at an even rate until 1619, when there was a substantial decline from the 39 ships which went to Ireland in 1618-19 to 12 in 1620-21. The reason for this seems to have been that Scottish harvests in the early years of plantation fluctuated, which allowed for import of Irish grain when they were poor without adversely affecting the home market. However, Scottish harvests were good in 1617, 1619 and 1621, and customs penalties set on imported barley and wheat, on 26 November 1618, were subsequently doubled in October 1619. These tariffs were mainly introduced to staunch the flooding of the Scottish market by Baltic grain, but they also affected grain imports from Ireland. Although the duty was reduced in Spring 1622 because of the poor Scottish harvest, there was unlikely to have been much surplus from the Ulster harvest. An anonymous report on Irish trade, probably by the Commissioners of 1622 on the Ulster plantation, refers to the "good store of oates" transported from the northern parts of Ireland into Scotland, but laments that "for these two yeares last past there is allmost none transported by reasons of an extreame rate of Custome in Scotland sett upoun oates brought thither from Ireland, being almost as

much as the goods cost."[71] After consultation with some of the nobles, and with Commissioners from a number of shires and burghs, the Privy Council of Scotland operated a flexible tariff from April 1626 where imports were stopped if Scottish prices dropped below a set level, and exports were prohibited if they went too high.[72]

Grain continued to be smuggled into Scotland, including the Highlands. In 1637, the Irish surveyor general, George Monck, particularly mentioned the creeks in Loughswilly:

> upon which Lough many new plantactions do border with Scotts who have several markett townes, at Rathmullin Shiphaven, and others, out of which much Corne and cattle goes, and much goods and merchandizes are imported of all sorts, and no officers or waiters to control them...

Nevertheless, a proportional connection between the declining Scottish grain market and a fall-off in migration to Ulster has been mooted. 'It would seem ... that more than just coincidence accounted for the concurrence of the period of stagnation in the development of the Ulster plantation with the loss of one of the settlers' most profitable markets.'[73] Exports to Scotland did not rise substantially again until 1627, in spite of the bad harvests there in 1621, 1622 and the serious national famine in 1623. However, it appears that the crisis of the early 1620s resulted in heavy imports of Baltic grain to the burghs on the east coast, which perhaps partially explains this. It was not until the 1630s, with rent rises in Scotland, that migration to Ulster dramatically increased again.[74]

Just when the colony was being injected with new blood which would have increased economic output, the civil war struck. Many hundreds of Scots fled back to their country of origin, leaving their homesteads, in the more immediate attempt to save their lives. Until recent reappraisal, this was thought to have had such a decimating effect upon the Ulster economy, that following the war: 'Export trade had languished, and Ireland had been drained of so much of her currency that there was little in circulation but clipped, debased, or counterfeit coins. Over wide areas agriculture had almost ceased; there was a general shortage of corn, and cattle had been destroyed in large numbers.'[75] Yet, though the Ulster economy undoubtedly suffered, it would still have been necessary to supply provisions for the Covenanting armies in the north of Ireland.[76] More significantly, when port book evidence becomes available again for Derry, in 1644, the grant total of three export cargoes recorded for the town, from 25 March to 29 September, all had destinations in Scotland.[77]

Recent research into the period of the Interregnum has tended to show that centres of trade such as Belfast were not significantly hit by the civil war. The area was still being cessed 15 years after the start of the war, which indicates an ability to pay, and new ideas were being introduced in rural

industries such as the setting up of potash and soap manufacture near Lisburn by George Rawdon. It has even been suggested that the war provided a stimulus for change, and that certain elements in society profited from warfare.[78] Certainly, economic intercourse with Scotland continued, for at about the same time, on 23 July 1654, a certain Edmont O'Neill, of unstipulated origin but clearly Irish, was admitted as burgess and freeman of the burgh of Rothesay in Bute.[79] Yet, to what extent there was significant benefit for areas which were not already centres of trade prior to the war, and to what extent there was change and variation, is perhaps a subject for more extensive research. As trade revived again during the Restoration period, Irishmen continued to be created burgesses in Highland and Island burghs. Thus, on 13 October 1665, Williame M'Kerlie in Downpatrick in Ireland was also created a burgess and freeman of the burgh of Rothesay "and hess libertie grantit to him to exerce the liberties thairof for payment of £40 money scotts of burges fyne." Later in the same year, on 6 December, George Gravat and Thomas Insche, merchants in Carrickfergus, were admitted as burgesses of the same burgh. In this instance, the commodities in which they traded are mentioned, the merchants being "most willing to tak ane chop within this brughe and pute in ane factour for thame to keip coill and candill and beir all portabill chargis with the rest of the inhabitants of the said brughe."[80]

During the latter half of the seventeenth century, trade with the Highlands continued to operate through two main channels - Glasgow and Ireland. There were also subsidiary channels in Inverness, and Edinburgh, where most chiefs increasingly spent parts of the year. Yet, while Highland proprietors obtained most of their luxury items, such as dried fruits, spices, sugar and wine through the Clyde ports it appears that deficiencies in staple goods were more readily met from Irish markets. Here, the main import was grain.[81]

There are two important considerations in Scoto-Irish trade during this particular period. The first is the Jacobite rising of 1689, during which the government attempted to cut off enemy supplies, so that in the beginning, there was an embargo on trade with those areas of Ireland controlled by the Jacobites. Although this embargo was chiefly intended to prevent the supply of men and munitions from continental ports in France and Spain, as well as any movement in the opposite direction, it doubtless redounded on North Channel trading. The government were equally solicitous of preventing supply and communication between the Jacobite Gaelic Highlands and Ulster. Nevertheless, it is clear from remaining evidence[82] that ships did get through in both directions, partly because the tides made it a difficult channel to police, and partly because of the brevity of the journey. While trading would undoubtedly have been curtailed: 'Evasion softened the impact of wartime restriction, but privateering vessels, seizing merchant ships often indiscriminately, discouraged trade as well.'[83]

The second point of significance during this period is the famine suffered universally in Scotland,

in varying degrees of severity, throughout the decade of the 1690s. It has been pointed out that there were significant harvest failures between 1660 and 1700, but shortages only in 1674, and from 1693 to 1697.[84] Yet, while areas in the Lowlands may have been more capable of shipping in surpluses from surrounding areas, agricultural farming in the Highlands was carried out on a more piecemeal basis, mainly due to the terrain and the lack of large, fertile plains. An exportable surplus was regularly produced in Lismore, Luing, and Seil, Tiree and the Uists and, in good years, by Skye, which could be sold to supplement the crop on those islands, such as Mull, where the amount of grain grown was small.[85] However, in years of poor harvest, there would have been no surplus and Highlanders and Islanders were dependent on shipments from the north-east of Scotland and Ireland. Indeed, it may in no small part account for the frequent mention of Mull's trade with Ireland, in the records that survive, that Ireland was its major supplier of meal.[86]

However, It should be noted that in comparison with the national frequency of dearth in the sixteenth century, the famines of the seventeenth century were, in general, more localised so that regional shortages could, in theory, be met by supplements from other areas. In reality, though, whether grain was supplied internally from the south-east of Scotland or not, there were always grain shipments from Ireland to the west coast of Scotland, as long as Irish harvests were adequate. As well as the Highland famine of 1604,[87] there was another localised Highland famine in 1650, one in the extreme north of Scotland in 1634-36, as well as a serious nation-wide famine in 1623. Food shortage also affected many areas in 1674-76, while there was yet another localised food crisis in the far north of Scotland in 1693-95.[88] In years of general crop failure, such as the 'lean years' from 1695-1700, it was particularly necessary to look to Ireland, and Highlanders were not renowned for a fine distinction between legal and illegal shipments. 'Certainly throughout the seventeenth century there is evidence of much toing and froing, mainly in small boats which could run well up the river mouths (a not inconsiderable factor in smuggling), and there are some years, for example 1695-96, when Irish arrivals feature prominently at Glasgow.'[89] Furthermore, if there was a marked increase in legal shipments to those western ports for which records remain, it is highly likely that there was a proportional increase in trade to the Highlands.

IV. GRAIN TRADE

Since the Highland economy was predominantly pastoral and the profit mechanism mainly geared to the cattle trade and secondarily, to the fishing and extractive industries, there was never a great deal of surplus grain in the region. Large areas were not given over to arable farming, and any thoughts of such would have been limited by the general nature of the terrain. The main grain was the traditional oats, as well as bere or barley. Although some areas in the north-west mainland and isles had relatively more plentiful harvests than others, their agricultural enterprises were not on the

scale of the Lowlands. This was clearly pointed out by Martin Martin in one of the few published tours of the islands written by an islander, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, whose journey was undertaken in about 1695. Martin Martin indicated that "The North-West Isles are of all other most capable of Improvement by Sea and Land." However, this had not occurred because of their distance from trading towns, and because the inhabitants spoke Gaelic, which supposedly hampered their opportunities to trade at home and abroad, or to acquire "Mechanical Arts, and other Sciences." While it might have been true that fewer people in the north western Isles were bilingual than, for instance, those who traded from Campbeltown, it is difficult to conceive of this being an insurmountable problem for traders, and it would certainly have been less so in terms of trade with Ireland.[90]

Martin Martin's comments on island arable potential and its lack of development were more pertinent: "They have not yet arriv'd to a competent Knowledg in Agriculture, for which cause many Tracts of rich Ground lie neglected, or at least but meanly improv'd, in proportion to what they might be." His suggested solution was: "If two or more Persons skill'd in Agriculture were sent from the Low-lands, to each Parish in the Isles, they would soon enable the Natives to furnish themselves with such Plenty of Corn, as would maintain all their poor and idle People." Their agriculture was, in his view, in an infant stage, with many large areas of ground never having been manured. Such land, if cultivated, might double the number of inhabitants and save cows from dying from lack of fodder in the winter. This state of affairs was, he felt, "so much the more inexcusable, because the Ground in the Western Isles is naturally richer in many respects than in many other Parts of the Continent; as appears from several Instances, particularly in Skie, and the opposite Western Isles, in which there are many Valleys, etc. capable of good Improvement" and, in many areas, the soil was appropriate for wheat.[91]

However, in the general absence of agricultural improvement, available evidence seems to indicate that grain supplements from Ireland were an annual occurrence from the time of the Ulster plantation (and before), in spite of any legal restrictions or protectionism. For where grain could not be shipped directly through legitimate companies, it was smuggled. 'Corn laws' designed to limit imports from Ulster had been introduced following the particularly good Ulster harvests of the 1620s, but laws 'anent Irish victual' in Scotland continued to be enforced throughout the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth.[92] Moreover, the availability of surplus grain during the early decades of the Ulster plantation was doubtless assisted by the tradition of paying the rent in grain in arable areas, because it was difficult for tenants to market it. On 8 March 1624, for instance, Archibald Stewart in the Route made part payment of his rent to the first Earl of Antrim in grain. By the 1630s, however, many landlords were demanding their rent entirely in cash. Certainly when the second Earl of Antrim re-leased his estate in 1637, all food payments were converted to cash. This may have contributed, in part, to the food shortages at the end of that

decade, because the tenants now had to market surplus grain themselves, and it was difficult to sell small quantities to merchants because of the shortage of specie in Ireland.[93] Thus, in February 1677, a consignment Irish victual came to the Highlands, although this was not a famine year. Campbell of Inerawe wrote from Tervine to the Earl of Argyll on the 27th of that month indicating that on the "tuenty fourt of this Instant ane party went out of the hous of duart and did sease our boat with Irishe victuall in Loch Spelve sex myls from duart."[94]

As for the effect of the first Jacobite rebellion upon the grain trade with Ireland, it might be imagined that the Irish crop suffered significant deprivation or destruction during the military campaigns of 1689 and 1691. On the contrary, it appears that the destruction was on a far lesser scale than during the civil war earlier in the century.

> Ulster ceased to be a theatre of military operations after July 1689; the rest of the eastern half of the island a year later. Arable cultivation was not greatly upset; neither famine nor plague decimated the civilian population. Livestock numbers were, however, sadly depleted, either by destruction, sheer plundering or acquisition for victualling the army.

In spite of the rebellion, Ireland could still supply surplus grain to Scotland, because the 'subsequent harvests were well above average in a decade in which harvest failure was quite common in Europe.'[95]

Scotland's need was undoubtedly greatest during the famines of the 1690s, and not least in the Highlands. A letter survives, during this period, from John Clark at Clachanseill, in the Lorn district of Argyll, to his superior Campbell of Barcaldine. Clark was an administrator and was involved at the time of the letter, on 17 May 1695, in addressing the food shortage on Barcaldine's estates. He wrote that "I have dellivard thes four bolls of meall acording to your orders and sealed the sacks and I solld two pocks to them for meat." Nevertheless, there was clearly some local discontent for he continued, "but I lost hallf ane boll with the abuce [abuse] at the marcat and the eating of myce. Ther is a great skercty of oatboll with us as I have seen this long tym but espesali in Mull and in others qurers [quarters] also." The main purpose of the letter was his benevolent but entrepreneurial desire "to have your sund [sound] adevice to take a start to Irlland for a parsall of meall to suply the Contri and also for my own prfit." Since it was a time of national scarcity, it being one of 'King William's Ill Years,' he may have feared the high-jacking of his cargo, for he pointed out that "ther is no hasard for I know no fos [foes] I have in Argill or Lorn and if it pove [prove] a prosprus voyeg I wad be the beter this siven years if I bring any meall to the contri." His intention appears to have been to exchange Argyll timber for Irish grain, but "malckonnell," one of Barcaldine's servants, was unwilling to fell wood without orders: "I spoke to malckonell about wode to the meall and he talld me he wad not medall with any wode with out your orders so Sir you

wad send him orders to Cout [cut] a pair of (foat?) and a pare of (wypers?) and ane other tree of four foot long ane foot and ane hallf square all of ocke."[96]

What other commodities would have been traded for grain? In all likelihood, fish or occasionally cattle, perhaps even small quantities of tartan pladding and animal hides, which were the main exports of the Highland region, or possibly dairy produce. The cattle trade was the major source of ready income to the landed interest in the *Gaidhealtachd*, becoming increasingly necessary to finance expensive tastes as London grew in importance in the lives of many chiefs. Beasts were sold in the Lowlands in exchange for grain, while some were transported to England where they would have been in direct competition with Irish animals.[97] Some 20,000 Scots cattle were sent south in 1662, and this figure increase in later years.[98] Such cattle shipments as went to Ireland would have been on an occasional, and very piecemeal, basis as can probably be deduced from the surviving eighteenth-century evidence in the absence of any for the seventeenth.[99] The main commodity other than grain in which an export trade was developed, during the seventeenth century, was fish. Most of the indigenous Highland trade was centred on Stornoway in Lewis, but because it was only a burgh of barony, it was prohibited, for most of the century, from direct involvement in foreign trade.[100] Nevertheless, there was fishing on a less organised scale from most of the harbours along the west Highland coast, and one good catch would have been sufficient to trade for a consignment of grain in Ireland.[101]

V. FISHING INDUSTRY

While the distinguishing feature of the commercial development of Britain during the seventeenth century was supposedly 'the entry of the idea of co-operation and unification of effort into national trade and the displacement of the individual by the State-directed company,' in practice this was largely a myth. Inspired by England's attempts to develop its trading and manufacturing resources, Scotland sought to promote its own commercial development, and one of the major resources in both countries was the offshore fishing. Charles I was particularly anxious that his kingdom's fishing rights should only be exploited by British subjects and not by the Dutch. Dutch fishermen had followed the migration of the herring shoals from the Baltic to the North sea at the end of the sixteenth century, and had heavily fished the bounteous fishing waters of the coast of Britain, extending in the 1590s to the waters around the Isle of Lewis. They were the pioneers of deep-sea fishing and their industry was very effectively organised. Fishing on licence in Scotland, England and Ireland, the Dutch were excluded from a 28-mile protection zone around the coast.[102] Nonetheless, in spite of Charles I's desire to set up a British fishery or 'a commoun fishing,' the disparate interests of the member countries largely hampered the proceedings. Scotland, in particular, off whose coasts were most of the prime fishings grounds in the British Isles, saw no

reason why English adventurers should be accorded any greater privileges than Dutch or French fishermen.[103]

The situation at the beginning of the seventeenth century was this: 'Lacking the capital or the technical expertise to compete realistically against the Dutch herring busses, Scottish aspirations tended to be concentrated on the exploitation of inshore fishing and the development of the fishing resources around the western Isles, notably the herring and white fish in the sea lochs of Lewis.'[104] However, it was not just the Dutch with whom the native Gael had to compete, but also with the royal burghs which had a monopoly on the export of herring and salmon. Although James VI created burghs of barony in Stornoway, Gordonsburgh (later Maryburgh and Fortwilliam) and Campbeltown, it was not until later in the seventeenth century that any royal burghs were erected on the west coast.[105] (For locations see fig. I.4, Scotland - Land over 300m.) A report of 1605 stated that "the maist profitabill and easie fisching" was to be had in the Isles and their lochs, but that the burghs "ar debarrit be the wiolence and barbarous crueltie, abusis, and extortiouns of the hielandis and cuntre men." Certainly, by 1610, the Fife Adventurers, a company of Lowlanders licensed to promote the fishing in Lewis, had abandoned Stornoway, leaving their patent with MacKenzie of Seaforth.[106]

As for Ireland, Secretary Coke commented, in Charles' reign (undated), that whereas, formerly, no one had fished off Ireland without a licence, the Dutch were attempting to do so and had established a company in Amsterdam, called 'The Irish Company,' to exploit those fishing grounds. Another contemporary writing in about 1630 specified the types of fishing engaged in off the coasts of Ireland. Although there had formerly been a herring fishing on the east and south coasts, there had been none for the past three to four years. Off the south-west coast there was pilchard fishing, while off the north and north-east coasts there was herring fishing "but so uncertain as no proportion can be made for the same." Important fishing areas off the east coast of Ulster were around the Copeland Islands, the waters off the north Down coast, off the west Down coast around Groomsport, and in that area of Newry, off the south Down coast, where the customs of fish were held by the Bagenal family. There was also an Irish, as Scottish, inland salmon fishing dominated by the river Bann, eel fishing in Lough Neagh, and offland cod and ling fishing. (For the Bann and Lough Neagh, see fig. 1.6, Sixteenth-Century Ulster.) Fishing was particularly important as the Ulster plantation sought to establish itself, because when the fish were marketed, they injected necessary cash in to the rural economy for a relatively small capital outlay.[107]

In Scotland, as in Ireland, the licensing system was open to abuse. In Lewis, Seaforth sought to promote the fisheries by granting settlement privileges to the Dutch and by applying for a charter to erect Stornoway into a royal burgh. The burgh was granted provisional royal status in July 1629, but Charles partly responded to the Dutch threat by announcing his proposal to erect an Association

for the Fishing, for all three kingdoms, in July 1630, with a monopoly of the fishing in British waters. Lewis was to be the centre for the Association, which was granted a new patent of privilege to allow plantations to be made there. Significantly, intercourse between the native inhabitants and Highlanders of the mainland was to be stopped, especially intermarriage, and all foreigners were to leave the island. It is clear that this was an attempt to extend the policy of 'the daunting of the isles,' by divide and rule, as exercised under Charles' father. However, there is no evidence to suggest that any attempt to prevent this intercourse succeeded. It would, indeed, have been almost impossible to implement. It is also worthy of note that it was thought more expedient to remove the foreigners through the agency of the Law Justices of Ireland, who were to be instructed to send a fleet to remove foreigners from the coasts and take them to Ireland, from where they were to send them back to their own countries.[108]

In terms of native exploitation of the fishing off the west coast of Scotland, the Gaels largely engaged in what was known as 'land fishing,' that is, fishing for herring within the 28-mile coastal limit and in the land lochs. This was in contrast to the 'buss fishing,' or deep-sea fishing engaged in by the Dutch and which Charles I was intent on promoting in the hands of the British. The west coast fishing employed much smaller and fewer vessels than the Dutch "in respect of the deepness and narrowness of the Lochs, and wantt of Harbours for resett of vessels of greater burden." In Charles' reign, about 800 boats of 5 to 6 tons were involved in this fishing, though as the season progressed this number could rise to 1500. The deep-sea fishing, by contrast, generally used boats of 30 to 40 tons, which were manned by 16 men.[109] One of the King's main aims for the Society for the Fishing, which was finally erected on 20 October 1632, was to secure unrestricted access to the fishing in the western Isles for English adventurers whose provincial associations were to be encouraged to set up fishing bases in locations near the Minches. The Scots objected to sharing the richest fishing grounds in Britain within a new 14-mile coastal limit and within the inland lochs, and in the west it was planned to take out bonds of security against harrassment by the Islesmen. Nevertheless, the Society failed in its operations in the western Isles for a number of reasons. Not only was it opposed by the Islesmen, but it was interrupted by the civil war, thirdly, it received little co-operation from the Scottish administration, and finally, its council was staffed by members who were financially inept. It also failed because it faced naval opposition from the Dutch and Dunkirk pirates.[110]

Under Cromwell, the Scottish fisheries were theoretically encouraged, but little was achieved because of naval operations against the Dutch. Though this was more generally on the east coast, in the north sea, the third Earl of Seaforth complicated the west coast situation by coming out in support of the King, and continuing to offer fishing facilities to the Dutch in return for aid against Cromwellian troops, who had a garrison in Lewis. After the Restoration, the pattern almost repeated itself. Charles II erected new Societies for the Fishing in Scotland, in June 1661, as well

as a British fishery in the Corporation for the Royal Fishery, in April 1664, mainly in the continued attempt to deflect trade from the Dutch. The fishing suffered, however, as under Charles I, from naval hostilities between Britain and Holland from 1664 and 1674. Following the Anglo-Dutch wars, a number of people, particularly in England, sought to renew interest in national support for the fishery, and in May 1676 a charter of incorporation was granted to the Company of the Royal Fishery of England. For similar reasons, this second attempt also failed. Shortly after its inception, many ships in the fishing fleet were confiscated by the French who were pursuing a war against Holland and Spain, while, by the 1680s, the kingdom was once again unstable and consequently, financial support was scarce. In 1690 Parliament dissolved the company.[111]

A good deal of detailed information about the potential of the west coast of Scotland fisheries is contained within a set of documents incidental to Court of Admiralty business, which dates from the early 1670s.[112] It was probably as a result of a similar revival of interest in the west coast fisheries, under Charles II, that the establishment sought information about the extent of that fishery. The manuscripts refer to the herring trade on the west coast of Scotland, make frequent reference to Ireland, and provide specific information about different aspects of the trade in the early 1670s. A questionnaire asks basic queries about the herring fishing in terms of boats, men, equipment, packing and the fishing season.[113] The responses to this and other documents clearly show that Scottish boats went to the Irish fishing grounds and vice-versa. The ordinary fishing boats were crewed by four men and were said to be about 22 feet long, with 11 foot at the mast. "After the fisheinges done they [masts] ar heightened for irish voyages with 2 or 3 foote highte of deales, which will be done with 20 dailles, & laid aside when they goe to the fisheing."[114] In contrast to the situation at the end of the sixteenth century when the wood for Highland boats often came from Ireland, at this time, boat timber usually came from Lorn or nearby "but woodes failleing, supplie is likelie to be had from Lochaber" or Lochetive ["Locheatie."] This was the "great timber," and provides evidence of the growing commercial awareness of the Highland chiefs through exploitation of their forestry resources. "The Clapboard" came from Ireland.[115]

The herring boats ordinarily set to sea on St. James's day, 25 July, although fishing was allowed at an earlier date from 1672. The herring fleet comprised about 400 boats, from which anything upwards of 200 often went to Ireland. "Ther will goe sometymes 300 boates to Dublin, Waterford, Washeford Carlingford & the Ile of man; Who ar all enacted in the Admiral bookes for ther enterie 8 s. st. And payes under the name of tithe the 20 pennie, but natives pay the 10d." They generally stayed there until Hallow day, that is, the end of October.[116] Yet, the fishermen were always prepared to stay as long as there was a catch. This is attested in a kirk session entry for Kingarth, in Bute, on 12 February 1685, where Janet Jamieson was compearing for adultery. The father of her child, Thomas Rodger, was said to be "perisht at the herring fishing in Ireland, November last."[117] In Scotland the fishermen payed the assize of herring to the Crown, a duty of "a thousand herring

of every boat that passes to the drave," that is, "ane thousand hereing of each take that holds viz: of the Lambmas tack, the winter tack (&) the lenten tack."[118] However, the assize of herring of the west seas of Scotland was almost exclusively leased by the house of Argyll in the seventeenth century, and it certainly held the tack when these documents were written.[119] By an act of James VI parliament 9.i.60 the fishermen were to bring the herring "to free portes to be sold to free burgesses," where those in contravention of the act were to pay two parts of their catch to the Exchequer, through the burgh magistrates.[120]

In the north country lochs, the Admiral set the price of herring and ordered that no foreigner could buy until the natives had been provided for, because "the forainers invite the fishers to sell by the greatenes of thair prices, & thairby ar enabled to be at the mercats abroade, befor natives ar able to set out with theirs." Foreigners were, thus, not allowed to buy before the afternoon. In the western seas there were "but few forainers except som few from Ireland" and the fishers and salters usually agreed on prices "as they best may."[121] The main market for western Isles fish was Ireland. In Ireland, the system differed. There, the fishermen paid Admiral duty of one noble (6s 8d sterling) on each boat, and "the 20^{d} of the pryce of the herring is payed for viccarage teynd albeit it be oft compounded at ane easier rate." Moreover, a fair amount of accountability prevailed in Ireland, with the Admiral Court being "keeped once a week near the fleett attended by a jurie of 13 fisher men. Lykewyse by consent of the fishers acts are made for regulating the fishing." On the west coast of Scotland jurisdiction over the fishermen had been contested between the Admiral and the tacksmen of the King's assize herring, with the latter having possessed the jurisdiction for many years prior to the writing of these documents in the 1670s. The major profit of the jurisdiction was the exaction of a fine of £50 Scots for fishing before St. James's day. Each Scottish fishing boat also paid 2 merks Scots in viccarage to the minister as part of his local stipend, though as in Ireland, "this is estimat but the half of the viccarage for the 20 herring is acclaimed as viccarag(e) in the first place wher fish are sold, Albeit ordinarly this is remitted to allure the fishers to sell their fishes in this or that burgh."[122]

Each Scottish boat was said to have 24 nets which, when sewn together, were called a 'tow' and 12 or more spare nets if they went to Ireland.[123] However, "Eache fisheing boate have two teawes when they goe to the Ireish fisheing, But in the westerne fisheing they have but one teaw."[124] The fishermen in the west, "if they come not good speede," usually went to the herring fishing in August or September at the bar of Dublin.[125] Differences in the 'tow' could enable a seasoned observer to identify the origin of the boat. Scottish nets were ordinarily eight fathoms in depth, which shallowness they found to be an advantage if the net was rent by stones or rocks, whereas the English were 18 or 20 fathoms deep.[126]

The best herring were to be had in Loch Fyne (see fig. 2.2, The Western Highlands) and Loch Long

in the west. Clyde herring were also said to be good.[127] The Campbells of Argyll dominated the herring trade on Loch Fyne which was the main herring ground for the west coast ports, and part of the rents of both Argyll and Campbell of Glenorchy were made up in barrels of herring.[128] In the north, the best herring were had in Loch Broom (see fig. I.4, Scotland - Land over 300m) and Loch Maree ["Lochmavies"], but these were heavily fished by boats from the east coast burghs. More interestingly, "Ireish hering Isles hering & Ballantrea hering" were "reidie & long."[129] Fishermen distinguished between unspawned herring which attracted the highest prices, and spawned herring which were not so good.[130] Herring usually began to venture forth of the lochs from May or June through to September, always moving from the south to the north. The full herring were taken in the mouth of the lochs and "in the west ar ordinarielie taken about the muille of Kintyre, Lochinkeran & therabout, & ar a short fat hereing."[131] Herring were not ordinarily fished in Scotland until 25 July "save in Trammall nets in bayes & crockes, but these neither good nor many." Similarly, "On the Ireish coasts as in Loch Suillie, Carlingford & specially at the Barrs of Dublin Watterford & Washford wher is the greatest plenty of herring the fishing begins at Lambmass & continues till November." However, in Scotland, the Privy Council had observed that fishermen chose "alwayes" to venture out on the payment of a fine or mulct of no more than 5 merks Scots rather than lose what they could earn from early fishing, as well as "that in experience it is of late found that the earliest salting is the best, have therfor by ther act the 2 April last allowed the fishing to begin on the 14th of June yearly."[132]

For the curing of fish, salt had to be of a high quality and was generally imported from the continent, particularly from Portugal. However, it appears that the common Scottish salt was used in the Highlands:

> As to the strength of our Scottish whyte salt in the salting of herring, it hath not been much used in the west countrey But I am credibly informed that in the Isles fishing they safely & profitably use it after this following manner. Immediatly when the herring are taken out of the teaw or netts they put them in ane large trough rouleing them with salt And ther after instantly salt them, judgeing them by this rouleing (as they term it) more fitted & disposed for the reception of salt in the barrell. Therafter they are repacked as above.

This had the drawback of using more salt, but presumably this was substantially offset by the cheaper cost both in terms of freight and of the Scottish salt itself.[133]

Yet, it was rarely the common people who profited from the herring fishing. During the sixteenth century and, indeed, into the seventeenth century, much of the export of cured herring from the western Highlands was in the hands of the Dutch, or was financed by Lowland merchants. Since the export of herring was legally the monopoly of the royal burghs and there were no royal burghs

on the west coast until towards the end of the seventeenth century, there was little profit for local people. However, there was one class of Highlander who benefited from the situation, the *fine* class of landowners and tacksmen. Any strangers curing in their area had to pay high dues for the curing yards they erected, for their accommodation huts, for right of anchorage off shore and for the seaweed which kept the fish moist before it was barrelled. The role of the clan chiefs and tacksmen as entrepreneurs should not be underestimated, though it was not until the eighteenth century that they began to back their own people financially in the off shore herring and cod fishing.[134]

VI. COMMERCIAL CONNECTIONS OF THE GAELIC *FINE*

Although the evidence of the financial dealings of the Ulster MacDonnells and Scottish MacDonalds expounded in Chapter 11, was clearly based upon kin ties, it was also illustrative of a growing North Channel commercial connection. This network was not confined to MacDonalds. A similar connection, based on kin ties, and manifested commercially through such tokens as burgess tickets, was also evident between the Stewarts of Bute and of Ballintoy in Antrim.

There is a similar variety of instances in the Rothesay records which expands upon the continuing kinship connection of the Ballintoy and Bute Stewarts. For instance, on 16 December 1668, Ninian Bannatyne, feuar of Kames appeared at the court of the burgh of Rothesay, accusing Mr. Robert Stewart in Kilchattan, whom he alleged had been entrusted by Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy to relieve his father, Hector Bannatyne of Kames, of a debt owed to him by Mr. James Cunningham, writer in Edinburgh. Robert Stewart, however, swore under oath that he had no commission from Archibald Stewart to relieve him. Nonetheless, the case is indicative of the financial connections which were known to exist between these Stewarts. At the same time, a certain Ninian Stewart came before the court at Rothesay asking for instruments, that since John Stewart in Ballintoy had been arrested and taken to the tolbooth at the instance of Robert Beithe, he should therefore be liberated from being cautioner for him.[135] This was clearly an expedient attempt on Ninian's part to minimise his losses, but it is interesting that the Stewarts were standing surety for each other in a similar way to the MacDonalds in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Similarly, on 23 October 1672, Donald M'Gilchrist appeared as procurator for Robert Stewart, consenting to the registration of a bond originally subscribed in 1661 in the town books of Rothesay. By the bond, Robert Stewart Archibaldson, merchant in Ballintoy in Ireland, confessed himself justly indebted to Donald M'Gilchrist, merchant burgess of Glasgow, of the sum of £35 Scots "for certane wairis bought and receavit be me fra him quherwith I grant me weill satisfeit with full exoneratioune thairof."[136] It appears that this Robert Stewart had a longer standing

connection with Bute, for a "Robert Stewart Archibalds sone," merchant burgess of Rothesay, had pursued a libel on 24 November 1661, against one Alexander MacConachie in Bogany and John MacConachie, his son. Stewart had claimed good and undoubted right to the lands of Langriggis, hortriggis and Lytlefauldkaill, in Bogany. The case is interesting not only in terms of the Irish and Scottish connections, but in terms of the social effects of the civil war and the opportunism which it encouraged.[137]

As with the MacDonalds, others besides Stewarts were also drawn into their commercial sphere of influence, especially with regard to the inevitable network of debt. Thus, on 12 July 1670, John Ker Johnson, a Rothesay burgess, "became bund and obleist as cautioner and souertie for Gilmorie M'Ilvrini" from "Knokan within the countie of Antrim in Irland" who was incarcerated in the tolbooth of Rothesay at the instance of James Stewart Adamson, burgess of Rothesay, or David Stewart as his assignée. Johnson was to ensure that M'Ilvrinnie appeared in the tolbooth the next Saturday to answer to his charge, under pain of 500 merks Scots. Four days later, on 16 July, Ker presented M'Ilvrinnie anew, to be warded at the instance of the Stewarts "because of new actit bund and obleist as cautioner for the said Gilmorie M'Ilvrinnie that he sould be answerabill as cautioner for him to the said James and David Stewarts as law will for any debts or sowmis of money that they could lay to his charge preceiding the dait heirof." M'Ilvrinnie, in his turn, bound himself to relieve Ker.[138] The close connection between Bute and Ireland was undoubtedly fostered by the Stewarts, but it did involve other players. On 21 February 1672, Mathew Beith was decerned to pay Duncan M'Allester, assignée to William M'Karlie in Dounpatrick in Ireland, the sum of £15 Scots which Mathew owed him, "conforme to ane noit grantit be him to the said William M'Karlie thairupone."[139] The links between the Bute and Antrim Stewarts were still strong in the 1680s. Thus, Robert Stewart, son of James Stewart in Ballintoy in Ireland, was admitted as burgess and freeman of Rothesay, on 2 November 1686.[140]

Yet another way in which Highland communities in Ulster maintained links and continued to interact with their native communities back home, was through inter-relation at the level of the service industries, which were undoubtedly based on kinship ties. Here, the evidence returns to the MacDonalds. For instance, towards the end of the period, on 19 September 1756, a missive from Ronald MacDonald of Clanranald senior, seventeenth of Clanranald, to his tailor has survived, which indicates that the Clanranalds, who had substantial interest in Ulster in the seventeenth century, still maintained connections there in the eighteenth. From Benbecula, Clanranald wrote to Donald MacDonald in "Balcastle in Ireland." It is obvious from the letter that travel between Ireland and the Isles was looked upon as fairly commonplace: "as this goeth by your spouse, I need tell you, no thing of the state of the family, as shee can inform you of all thats Requisite, only as I want on to attend my person; that I would preferr you, to that service, Before any hear."[141] Clanranald seemed to think little of fetching, or requesting the services of a tailor from Ireland to

Benbecula. Moreover, such a request doubtless had a precedent. He did, however, include the proviso that "if you think to make better Bread there, acquaint per first opportunity, that I may provyde on in tyme to serve me."[142] It seems more than likely that this Donald MacDonald was the subject of the Gaelic folksong 'Tha mo chionn air mo leannan' (I am fond of my sweetheart) which appears to have been composed in honour of a young man in the army of Charles Edward Stewart. The song indicates that the subject was one Donald MacDonald of the MacDonalds of Clanranald and that he was a tailor. It states that the composer will be sad if he is exiled to the Indies (as were many of the Jacobites), and fears that he will not return to Eigg. If this Donald MacDonald is one and the same as the above, the song offers the additional information that the tailor was exiled to Ulster because of his Jacobitism.[143]

Conclusion

Though, until very recently, historians have been slow to realise the extent of trade between Ireland and Scotland in the second half of the sixteenth century, it is nonetheless evident that the commercial links which existed then, formed the basis of the expansion in trade between the two countries from the time of the plantation of Ulster. In the latter half of the sixteenth century Scottish traders served the mercenary contingents, both those who had settled in Ulster and those who came across as seasonal fighters, with provisions and military necessities. They continued to trade to the same Ulster ports when the Protestant settlers came to the escheated counties in the seventeenth century. The Highlands and Islands main export to Ulster was fish - herring, cod and ling. However, with the introduction of more vital methods of husbandry, the grain-producing areas in Ulster were expanded and improved, so that oats continued to be exported to Scotland, both legally and by smuggling, in return for various domestic and perishable goods supplied to the planted settlements. As the population in Scotland expanded in the eighteenth century, the demand for Irish grain was sustained and increased, and was available at far more competitive prices in the Highlands and Islands than from its only Scottish competitor, the north-east coast of Scotland. There is evidence that, in years of shortage or severe famine, Argyll farmers exported surplus grain to Ireland in order to profit from prices competitively turned in their favour, even if this was to the disadvantage of their own localities.

NOTES

1. M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I*, (London, 1973), p. 290.
2. See T. M. Devine and David Dickson (editors), *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, (Edinburgh, 1983.) See also M. Cullen and T. C. Smout (editors), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900*, (Edinburgh, 1977.)
3. See *CSPI*, beginning with the volume covering 1509-1573 to the volume covering 1608-1610.
4. Strathclyde Regional Archives, Papers of the Stirling-Maxwells of Pollok, T-PM107/7/20-24.
5. MacKay, William (editor), *The Letter-Book of Bailie John Steuart of Inverness 1715-1752*, SHS 2nd series, 9, (Edinburgh, 1915.)
6. NRA(S)/934. These are the family papers of Lt. Col. Robert Campbell-Preston, Ardchattan Priory, Bonawe, Oban, Argyll.
7. SRO E504/8/1-3; SRO CE82/1. Of the main secondary sources for the plantation period, Perceval-Maxwell's *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* has made ample use of the port books which survive for Londonderry, Coleraine, Carrickfergus, Strangford, Ardglass, Killough and Dundrum up to 1615, as well as Lowland Scottish port books, particularly Dumbarton customs records. For the rest of the seventeenth century there is general information in F. J. Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland: Their Economy and Society in the Seventeenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1980.) There is evidence for the staple fishing and grain trades in L. E. Cochran, *Scottish Trade with Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1985), and in two articles on the Irish smuggling trade by L. M. Cullen, one of which deals particularly with 'Smuggling in the North Channel in the Eighteenth Century,' *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 7, (1987), pp. 9-26, and the other, more broadly with 'The smuggling trade in Ireland in the eighteenth century,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 67, section C, no. 5, pp. 149-75.
8. Alternatively, but less likely, it might indicate Carmichael.
9. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, pp. 232, 234.
10. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, 9 June 1564, p. 237.
11. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 338.
12. Perceval-Maxwell, p. 290.
13. Churchmen were another important arm of the informer system.
14. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 411.
15. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 126.
16. As indeed was military disguise for religious purposes too.
17. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 205. "Cammfyre" = Campvere.
18. For which, see Chapter I.
19. S. G. E. Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 1550-1625,* (Edinburgh, 1960), p. 66, quoting "A Speciall Direction for Divers Trades."
20. Lythe, p. 70.
21. James S. McGrath, 'The Administration of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1574-1586,' 2 vols., (unpublished PhD, University of Glasgow, 1986), I, p. 209, quoting SRA Ms. C1/1/2 fols. 97r, 110v. Agnes O'Neill was to be

relieved of the principal sum by Trumble's mother and other parties. She seems to have made trips to Glasgow fairly frequently. In April 1573, the Earl of Argyll 'was going to Glasgow for five or six days to speak with an aunt of his lately come out of Ireland, and with her one Con O'Donell, as he termed him, a great man.' (*CSPS,* 1563-1569, p. 545.)

22. *CSPI,* 1586-1588, p. 70.
23. Perceval-Maxwell, p. 290.
24. Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy, *Scots mercenary forces in Ireland (1565-1603)*, (Dublin and London, 1937), pp. 260-61.
25. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, p. 296.
26. Captain James Carlisle was a specially commissioned government spy who worked in Ulster, and was particularly assigned to establish the details of the Scottish position there. (Hayes-McCoy, p. 308.)
27. *CSPI,* 1592-1596, pp. 229-300, 346, 414, 522.
28. Hayes-McCoy, p. 260-61.
29. *CSPI,* 1596-1597, pp. 362, 431, 362, 390.
30. *CSPI,* April 1599 - February 1600, p. 335.
31. *CSPI,* 1599-1600, pp. 393, 435.
32. *CSPI,* 1599-1600, pp. 69-70.
33. For whom see footnote 25 above.
34. *CSPI,* 1599-1600, p. 71.
35. Hayes-McCoy, p. 318; *CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 505. When Sir Geoffrey Fenton reported the arrival of a ship of 150 tons in Lough Foyle on 14 February 1600, it not only becomes clear which nationalities generally traded with Ulster ports, but also that liquor was as much the requisite of fighting men as shot, the two frequently being transported together. The ship was thought to have come either from France 'to make sale of some rotten wines amongst the Irish in Ulster,' or to have been a Low Countryman coming via Spain, or from Scotland, whose merchants 'are wont to trade thither with wines, when they can find no vent for them at home.' (*CSPI,* 1599-1600, p. 472.) This trading was, therefore, likely not to have been Highland, since as late as 1633 a statute ratified the privileges of the royal burghs whose burgesses alone had the right to engage in foreign trade and to sell wine. (Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland James V - James VII*, (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 392.) By 28 February, the ship had proved to be a Scottish vessel.
36. *CSPI,* 1599-April 1600, p. 72.
37. *CSPI,* 1599-1600, pp. 72-73.
38. *CSPI,* 1600, Mar-Oct, p. 173.
39. *CSPI,* 1600, Mar-Oct, p. 73.
40. *CSPI,* 1600-1601, p. 85.
41. Note that the writer of this extract is named as F. King, but this is clearly a mistranscription for J. King, who was deputy to the Treasurer of Ireland at this time. See, for instance, *CSPI, 1601-1603,* p. 121, for another reference to King.
42. *CSPI,* 1600-1601, p. 266.

43. *CSPI,* 1601-1603, pp. 226, 233, 287.

44. P. Hume Brown (editor), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1891), p. 87.

45. Perceval-Maxwell, p. 291.

46. *CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 667. To trock = to bargain, deal or exchange. This information is found in the addenda to this volume, which consists of Mss. dating from 1565 to 1654 in the collection known as the Hanmer Papers. Dr. Meredith Hanmer was a renowned Anglo-Irish antiquary of the age. Born in 1543, he was a graduate of Oxford, but following some scandals, he escaped to the Irish Church where he became archdeacon of Ross and vicar of Timoleague. During the period concerned he became Warden of Youghal College in 1598, from whence he moved to Kilkenny in 1603. (pp. lxxx, lxxxi.) The papers deal largely with the history of Waterford but seem to include a good deal of supplementary information from which general inferences can be made.

47. For the timber trade in the eighteenth century, see Chapter 13, section IV. Timber and Charcoal-Iron industry.

48. See below, Chapter 14, section I. Settlement during the mercenary period.

49. Ernest Raymond Gillespie, 'East Ulster in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Colonial Economy and Society,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 1982), pp. 15-16.

50. Rev. John MacInnes, 'West Highland Sea Power in the Middle Ages,' *TGSI*, 48, (1972-74), pp. 527-28. For instance, in 1569, the Earl of Argyll issued a proclamation from Largs calling all men between 16 and 60 to assist him against Queen Mary's enemies, and he started building galleys. On hearing report of his ship-building activities, the English authorities in Dublin sent orders to Carrickfergus and Wexford to prohibit the export of timber to the Earl. Argyll must, thus, have been heavily dependent on imported Irish wood, particularly oak and yew. (pp. 527-28.)

51. Allan I. Macinnes, 'Scotland and the Manx Connection: Relationships of Intermittent Violence, 1266c.-1603,' *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 8, (1982), pp. 373-74.

52. *CSPI,* 1601-1603, p. 667.

53. See Chapter 13, section IV. Timber and Charcoal-Iron industry.

54. *CSPI,* 1588-1592, p. 492.

55. T. C. Smout, 'Famine and Famine-relief in Scotland,' in L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout (editors), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900*, (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 22.

56. William Croft Dickinson and Gordon Donaldson (editors), *A Source Book of Scottish History 1567-1707*, III, 2nd edition, (London and Edinburgh, 1954), p. 360.

57. William MacKay (editor), *Chronicles of the Frasers: The Wardlaw Manuscript, entitled 'Polichronicon seu Policratica temporum, or, the true genealogy of the Frasers,' 916-1674. By Master James Fraser minister of the parish of Wardlaw (now Kirkhill), Inverness.,* SHS, 1st series, 47, (Edinburgh, 1905), pp. 236, 239; 'Famine and Famine-relief in Scotland,' p. 22.

58. *CSPI,* 1596-1597, pp. 213-14. However, by 29 November 1597, it is clear that the fishing had also failed in Scotland, for the Council of Ireland asked for a supply from England, because in Ireland herrings are "a

most necessary provision." (p. 456.)

59. Gillespie, p. 50.

60. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 176.

61. Lythe, p. 69.

62. For Islay rebellion, see above, Chapter 2, section II B. Islay rebellion 1614-15. The rebels were also supplied from the Highlands. 'In 1617 John Shaw, described as a merchant living in Skye, received a remission under the privy seal for his part in acts of piracy and depredation committed by the Islay rebels.' (Shaw, p. 164.)

63. S. G. E. Lythe and J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939*, (Glasgow, 1975), p. 65; Shaw, p. 162. As early as the 1630s, MacLeod of Dunvegan was known to have had a Glasgow tailor called James Ogilvy, however this is perhaps more significant in terms of absenteeism than commerce.

64. For the mercenary trade, see Chapter 1; Susan MacDonald, 'Campbeltown's overseas trade, 1750-1775,' *The Glynns*, 7, (1979), p. 10.

65. Perceval-Maxwell, p. 292. This material survives in Leeds City Council Libraries, Archives Department.

66. R. J. Hunter, 'Ulster Plantation Towns 1609-41,' in David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd (editors), *The Town in Ireland*, Historical Studies, 13, (1979), p. 75.

67. Perceval-Maxwell, pp. 301-03.

68. Gillespie, pp. 3, 5, 70-71.

69. SRO E504/8/1-3, Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts; Donaldson, p. 229.

70. Hunter, pp. 59, 63, 71-73.

71. Perceval-Maxwell, pp. 303-06.

72. *RPCS,* 1625-1627, beginning on p. 277. A consultation of the Council with some of the nobles, with Commissioners from a number of the shires and burghs on the questions of 'restraint of export of certain commodities, free import of others' etc.: "...and so we broght thame by mutuall consent to mak humble supplicatioun to your Majestie graciouslie to permitt that exportatioun of vittaill might be free to all burgessis and gentlemen who in formar tymes wer permitted to transport vittaill to doe the like heirafter in maner following: to witt, to transport wheate so long as the price of the boll did not exceid fourtene merkis, beare when the price of the boll wes not above ellevin merkis, and meill and aittes, the price of the boll not surpassing eight merkis. And, for the fredome of importatioun when the price of vittaill sould exceid that rate, that it sould be laughfull to the Burrowis to import freelie all sortis of graynis to be sold to the subjectis; and, however, the pryceis of cuntrey vittaill ruled, they sould be permitted to import ry in all abundance, upoun conditioun that thay might not sell or dispone upoun any thairof within the kingdome so long as the pryceis of wheate, beare, meale and aittes sould not exceid the rates above praescryved." (p. 279.)

73. Perceval-Maxwell, p. 306.

74. Perceval-Maxwell, pp. 306-08, 315; 'Famine and Famine-Relief in Scotland,' p. 23.

75. J. C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923*, (London, 1966), p. 110. 'It seems to have been at this period that the potato, a crop not easily seized by marauding troops, became an important element

in the diet of the rural poor.'

76. Thus, a receipt survives, dated 30 January 1643, from Mr. John Darley, quartermaster of Argyll's regiment in Ireland, for herring. (NRA(S)/1209, Argyll Survey I, bundle 1015.)

77. Hunter, p. 77.

78. J. H. Ohlmeyer, 'Strife or Stability: East Ulster, 1603-1669,' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of St. Andrew's, 1986.) The work of Dr. R. Gillespie has been particularly innovative in this respect. I am grateful to Jane Dawson, lecturer in Ecclesiastical History at New College, Edinburgh, for drawing my attention to this dissertation.

79. Mary Bruce Johnston (transcriber), *Rothesay Town Council Records 1653-1766*, (Edinburgh, 1935), p. 2.

80. *Rothesay Town Council Records 1653-1766*, pp. 107, 109. Gravat and Insche were permitted the exercise the liberty and privileges of the said burgh "provyding they keip and chap within the said brughe and have thairin at leist the mater of £20 sterling worthe of guids quhilk they undertuik to do and during thair awin absence to appoint ane factour to mak seall thairof."

81. 'Glasgow's situation made it a convenient centre for trade with almost all parts of the Western Isles, particularly Islay, Mull and islands north as far as Skye and the Uists.' (Shaw, p. 162.)

82. See above, Chapter 4, section I. Irish involvement in the 1689 rebellion, and Burnet's letter in Appendix VII.

83. L. M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660*, (London, 1972), p. 27.

84. T. M. Devine, 'The Union of 1707 and Scottish Development,' *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 5, (1985), p. 25.

85. Shaw, p. 159.

86. For example, see the letter from John Clark to Campbell of Barcaldine, in section IV. below.

87. See above, section I. Mercenary Contraband.

88. 'Famine and Famine-relief in Scotland,' p. 22.

89. Lythe and Butt, p. 57.

90. Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1987 facsimile of the 2nd edition, 1716), p. 336.

91. Martin Martin, pp. 336-37. Note that in Martin Martin's account 'corn' is often synonymous with 'grain,' whereas, in other accounts, it seems to pertain more specifically to 'wheat.' The breakdown of crops grown in the various areas of the Highlands and Islands and their general level of productivity can be fairly comprehensively gauged with reference to Martin Martin, as well as the occasional comment made by the Catholic priests in the latter decades of the seventeenth century. Martin Martin held Skye to be one of the more productive islands. "The arable Ground is generally along the Coast, and in the Valleys between the Mountains, having always a River running in the middle; the Soil is very grateful to the Husbandman." The soil was largely black, but had clays of various colours. White marl abounded in Corchattan, which in favourable conditions grew good barley. In some areas such as Kilmartin, the soil apparently produced a good crop of oats even though it had not been manured for many years. Moreover, "In plentiful Years, Skie furnishes the opposite Continent with Oats and Barley." (Martin, Martin, pp. 139, 132, 140. The

north wind, however, was held to be most destructive to the corn. (p. 172.).) Martin Martin provides further information for other islands. Lewis, for instance, had an arable stretch of 16 miles on the west side, with a few areas of arable on the east. However, in general, the soil was very sandy. With reference to the bad harvests in the 1690s, he states that "This Island was repute very fruitful in Corn, until the late Years of Scarcity and bad Seasons." They grew barley, oats and rye in Lewis, though it was noted that bread made from grain grown in soil treated with soot "occasions the Jaundice to those that eat it." (Martin Martin, p. 2. To what extent this is credible, however, when he clearly attributes the cause of a good hangover to the bread and ale made with corn grown in untilled ground, has to be questioned. "They observe likewise that Corn produced in Ground which was never tilled before, occasions Disorders in those who eat the Bread, or drink the Ale made of that Corn; such as the Head-ach and Vomiting." (Martin Martin, pp. 2-3.).) Similarly, in Harris, although the soil was also mainly sandy it yielded "a great Product of Barley and Rye in a plentiful Year," especially if the ground was manured with sea weed and there was sufficient rain. "I found the Product of Barley to be sometimes twenty fold and upwards, and at that time all the East-side of the Island produc'd thirty fold." However, this only occurred when the season was favourable and where the ground had been cultivated for some years and manured. The islands of Pabbay, Taransay and Ensay, all off the southern coast of Harris, Sandreray, off the southern coast of Barra, and Ornsay, Guillamon, Altvig, Trodday, and Isay, off Skye, Colonsay, the east side of Iona, Muck, and Canna were all said to be "fruitful in corn and grass." Though, in North Uist, most arable soil was on the west coast, where the soil yielded ten to thirty fold of barley in a plentiful year. The inhabitants also grew oats and rye. (Martin Martin, pp. 42-43, 47-48, 50, 53, 94, 162, 165-66, 170, 246, 257, 274-75. Clearly Martin Martin must have expressed his doubts about such a positive outlook. In his account of North Uist he states: "I have upon several occasions enquir'd concerning the Produce of Barley, in this and the neighbouring Islands; the same being much doubted in the South of Scotland, as well as in England: and upon the whole, I have been assur'd by the most antient and industrious of the Natives, that the Increase is the same as mention'd before in Harries." (Martin Martin, p. 53.).) In Benbecula, the eastern side of the island was arable, with the customary sandy soil and grew the same corn as North Uist. South Uist too, grew barley, oats and rye in similar proportion to its northern neighbour. (Martin Martin, pp. 81, 84.)

A letter of Archbishop Plunkett of Armagh to Propaganda in 1671, specifies that in Barra, though they grew no wheat or corn, barley, oats and spelt grew well. (C. Giblin, 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles, c. 1670,' *Franciscan College Annual*, (Multyfarnham, 1954), p. 18. Spelt is a kind of wheat giving very fine flour, otherwise known as 'German wheat.' Although the letter is Plunkett's, it uses information provided by the missionary Francis MacDonnell.) Martin Martin's account of Barra's arable production some 24 years later, specifying that Barra grew barley, oats and rye, tends to indicate that in this case 'spelt' is the equivalent of rye. (Martin Martin, p. 89.) On the other hand, Mr. Cahassy, priest on the Highland mission at the end of the seventeenth century, comments on the relative scarcity of grain in his area. Being stationed in the Moidart district, he was probably referring to that district but he was also familiar with

Skye, Glengarry, Strathglass and Uist. On 8 November 1685 he wrote from Paris, in one of his periods abroad, to a friend: "It should be verie tedious to give you heir a relation of the hardship of that mission. In a word you shall know that the countrie is one of the roughest and without any exception the barenest that is in europe. They have no corn at all but some little oats which they sow in the litle parcels of land which they commonly dige with spades for no pleugh can stand wher they have them because of the precipices, this oats is scarce rype to perfection ever because of the frequent Raines hail snow and thunder so that comonly their provision of bread is consumed at patrikmesse or sooner ... such as did travell know not wheat more then the kinkina drogue And hes no more skill in eall [ale] or beir making or tasting then malago vyne." (SCA, BL1/90/1, Blairs Letters, fol. 3. Kinkina drogue = Quinine, that is, a drug used as a febrifuge.) In a similar letter written on the same day, he speaks of the same coastal areas. "... when the sea tyde is full it comes to their doors in the most part of them being Maritime ...." (SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 3. The missionaries commonly referred to Knoydart, Moidart, the two Morars and Arisaig as the maritime districts. "... and the Rocke montaines stikes so nier to there Bake [back] which is the cause they have no arable lands att all and consequentlie litle or no corn at all." (SCA BL1/90/2, fol. 3.)

As for the more southerly isles, Arran was mountainous with slopes around the coast, and only the glen was tilled. There were particularly "capacious Fields of Arable Ground on each side of Brodick-Bay." (Martin Martin, pp. 217-18.) Gigha was "for the most part arable, but rocky in other parts" and grew oats and barley. As for Islay, the south-west and west of the island was fairly well cultivated, with 6 miles between Kilrow on the west and Port Askaig in the east which was arable. Though Mull had previously been recognised for its "extraordinary Fruitfulnss in Corn," having been tilled every year, "it is become less fruitful than formerly." The north side of Coll contained the majority of its arable ground, growing barley and oats. The coast of Rhum was "arable and fruitful," while the east side of Eigg was considered more arable, with the whole island, nonetheless, being "indifferent good for Pasturage and Cultivation." St. Kilda produced oats and barley, the latter of which was the "the largest in the Western Isles." (Martin Martin, pp. 228, 239, 267, 271, 273-76, 280.)

92. See below, Chapter 13, section VI B. Case studies in the smuggling of grain.

93. Gillespie, pp. 50, 64, 72. Owing to the problem of marketing small quantities of grain on Lord Conway's estate in west Antrim, the agent, Sir George Rawdon, offered to act as middleman for all the tenants because the merchants would only deal in large quantities. (Gillespie, p. 72.) He, thus, performed a similar role to the Highland tacksman in comparable situations. For further details on the re-leasing of Antrim's estate, see Chapter 11, section II. Case study: Economic inter-relation and financial solidarity of the Irish MacDonnells and Scots MacDonalds during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

94. NRA(S)/1209, Argyll Survey I, bundle 493, no. 444. The entry in the Survey states that 'Campbell of Inveran wrote from [Torline?].' I am grateful to Alastair Campbell of Airds for pointing out to me that there is no Campbell of Inveran and that this must therefore be 'Inverawe.' Equally, 'Torline' is more likely to be Tervine, near Inverawe, or alternatively, Torosay near Duart, though this seems further from the form. It is, perhaps, of interest that a notice of illegal importation of Irish victual during this year, is mentioned in

the papers of the Lowland family of the Stuarts of Castlemilk. On 5 July, Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk was fined £100 sterling, modified by the Council to £40, which probably indicates a lack of severity in its imposition, for having "Irish victuell alleageat imported" into his lands. (NLS Ms. 5321, Stuart Stevenson papers (Castlemilk Ms.), no. 19.) This is noteworthy on two counts. Firstly, many Stewarts held lands in Antrim before, and from the time of, the plantation with whom Stewart may have built up contacts. Secondly, many years later, there were Jacobite inclinations in the family. In 1753, Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk met with Dr. Cameron in 1753. (British Library Add. Ms. 33050, fol. 374.)

95. *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660*, p. 27.
96. SRO GD170/1, Campbell of Barcaldine papers, fol. 654.
97. Donald Woodward, 'A Comparative Study of the Irish and Scottish Livestock Trades in the Seventeenth Century,' in L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout (editors) *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900*, (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 149-50; I. F. Grant and Hugh Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, (London, 1987). pp. 153-54.
98. Donaldson, p. 387.
99. See below, MacLean of Lochbuie, in Chapter 13, section I. General trade links.
100. Shaw, p. 159.
101. See below, Chapter 13.
102. John R. Elder, *The Royal Fishery Companies of the seventeenth century*, (Glasgow, 1912), pp. v, 4-6, 13-14, 22, 24-25.
103. Allan I. Macinnes, '*The Origin and Organisation of the Covenanting Movement during the reign of Charles I, with particular reference to the west of Scotland*,' (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1987), I, p. 435. This has now been published under the title *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641*, (Edinburgh, 1991.)
104. Macinnes, I, pp. 409-10.
105. Donaldson, p. 247.
106. Elder, p. 31.
107. Elder, p. 26; Gillespie, pp. 61-63. The area of the cod and ling fishing off the Irish coast is not specified, but was presumably off the north and north-west coasts which were the closest in geographical proximity to the Scottish cod and ling grounds.
108. Elder, pp. 31-34.
109. Elder, pp. 27, 36-39. Compare with documents of the 1670s below, which state that the herring fishing engaged about 400 boats.
110. Macinnes, I, pp. 424, 444, 448-49; Donaldson, p. 247.
111. Elder, pp. 85-88, 90, 98, 110, 113-14.
112. These documents survive in the papers of the Stirling-Maxwells of Pollok. I am indebted to Mr. Andrew Jackson, Principal Archivist of Strathclyde Regional Archives, for drawing my attention to this source.
113. Strathclyde Regional Archives, T-PM107/7/20/20.
114. SRA T-PM107/7/20/21.

115. SRA T-PM107/7/20/21; SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 5.

116. SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 5.

117. *The Session Book of Kingarth, 1641-1703*, p. 148.

118. SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 3.

119. According to the Historical Manuscripts Commission survey of the Argyll papers, the old rentals of the Argyll estates indicate that the annual value of the assize herrings was worth more to the family than the annual land rental of the estate of Rosneath. The first noted delegation of jurisdiction of the western seas, to the family, is a copy gift of Admiralty, dated 3 April, 1585, by Francis, Earl of Bothwell to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, Justice General of Scotland, and to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass. It assigned jurisdiction for a year, in all the bounds where the sea flows in the water of Clyde from the water of Denny, the Mull of Kintyre and the point of Ardnamurchan. On 5 July 1600, Dame Anna Douglas, Countess of Argyll received a lease of the assize herring in the same bounds, from Sir David Murray of Gosperty, comptroller to the King's Majesty, for four years, for the yearly payment of 14 lasts of herring. On 20 December 1607, Archibald, Earl of Argyll was granted a lease by David, Lord Scone, comptroller to the King's Majesty, of the assize herring of the western seas, for seven years, on payment of 14 lasts of herring yearly. Although Sir George Erskine of Innerteilth, one of the senators of the College of Justice, got a tack of the assize herring of the western seas on 9 August 1619, for 19 years, on payment of £1000 annually, he nevertheless, assigned this to Archibald, Lord Lorne, on 4 June 1624. This was recognised by Charles I who granted a lease to Archibald, Lord Lorne, dated 17 November 1632, as having right by assignation, to the said assize herring, for 19 years. On 2 October 1660, Archibald, Lord Lorne and his heirs received a lease of the assize herring of the western seas for 19 years, from Charles II, on payment of £1000 p.a. On 26 January 1677, Charles II, with consent of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, granted a 19 year lease of the same, with the profits and commodities thereof, to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, for payment of £1000 yearly, each Whitsunday. King William III also granted Archibald, Earl of Argyll and his heirs a 19 year lease of the assize herring of the western seas, for payment of £1000 Scots p.a., on 27 June 1698. (For Her Majesty's Stationery Office, *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, part 1, Report and Appendix*, (London, 1874), pp. 481-82.)

120. SRA T-PM107/7/20/24. "And if unfree men sell ther hereing to unfree men or strangers or carie them forth of the realme ther escheit falles the one halfe to his Majestie the other halfe to the burgh who shall convict them." Moreover, every vessel going to the fishing in the North Isles was bound to bring in a third of its load to the free burghs to be sold in Scotland.

121. SRA T-PM107/7/20/22.

122. SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 3.

123. Not all the boats chose to go to Ireland. "If they stay at home the furdest length they goe in the begineing is to Lochincaran to the west, or to the Holy Ile on the easte of Aran to the southe." (T-PM107/7/20/21.)

124. SRA T-PM107/7/20/24.

125. SRA T-PM107/7/20/22. Fishermen continued to go to the Irish fishing at about the same date in the eighteenth century, for in the Rothesay Session book for 17 September 1709, John M'Kinlay indicated that

he was willing to satisfy for illegally fathering a child "but beggd earnestly to be delayd till he should return from the herring fishing in Ireland to which he was instantly going." On the same day, one John M'Kirdie had already gone. (*The Session Book of Rothesay, 1658-1750*, pp. 263-64.)

126. SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fols. 3-4. Similarly, differences in the tow were one of the easiest ways to distinguish a Lowland boat from a Highland boat. "This teaw hath ane balk roape (as they call it) on quhic[h] all the netts coupled (as abovesaid) doe hang. And for distinction sake it is of ane weell tanned hempen coarde (if it belong to ane Lowlander) but of ha[ire] (if to ane highlander)." [The word 'haire' has been deduced from one of the other mss. which refers to 'haire roapes & bowes' on the Highland boats.] The tow was sunk in the water by small egg-shaped stones which were fixed to the hem, at about 2 fathoms distance from one another. Yet it was not only the net cord which differed but also the floats. "To the said balk roape which is of equall length with the wholle teaw (which consisting of 24 metts if 192 fathomes length) by the help of some stringes, a great many bladders are fixed (if it be ane Lowland boatt) and for the same distinctions sake a great many bowes, that is to say peices of sheepes skins (if the boatt be ane hieland boatt) bloune with wind to support the teaw from sinking which stringes are made deeper or ebber." (SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fols. 3-4.) These "bowes" that is, "bloune sheepe skin barke" were, more specifically, said to have been "bounde to ane bitt of timber with ane hole through which they blow the winde." (SRA T-PM107/7/20/21.) By this system they were able to sink their nets to the different depths required at the different fishing grounds - 70 fathoms in Lochfyne, 42 in Loch Long and not above 8 fathoms at Greenock. Each boat carried at least 120 bladders or bowes. (SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 4.) The herring, when caught, were sold in different measures in different regions. They were sold "aither by measure of barrell & half barrell as in the Isles of Scotland or by taille as in the west seas and in Ireland by hundreths and thousands, compteing alwayes six score to the hundreth." However, by an act of 2 April 1673 the Scottish Privy Council prohibited sale of herring by taille, the largest measure, "the too much handling of them being esteemed prejudiciall." Measures were henceforth to be made up of maizes and half maizes which was "to be so much as may contain two hundreth & sixty good herring & the full maize to containe twyce also much." (SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 3.)

127. SRA T-PM107/7/20/21, 22.

128. Jane E. A. Dawson, 'The Origins of the 'Road to the Isles': Trade, Communications and Campbell Power in Early Modern Scotland,' in Roger Mason and Norman MacDougall (editors), *People and Power in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 92-93.

129. SRA T-PM107/7/20/21, 22; Dawson, p. 92.

130. The normal spawning month was November, and the nearer the herring drew to spawning the leaner they grew, and continued so for some time afterwards. "The Ireish herring are naither in taste so good nor so fatt as the Scottish of the western seas." The reason ascribed to this by some was that the Irish herring inhabited the shallow waters of the coastline by which they were much exposed to storms and often fled 16 miles into deeper water. Whereas "in the Scottish shoares in the loches & firthes the watters are calmer deeper & sheltered by the surrounding moutaines from the violence of stormes; the grounds of the deepths also mixed with ane soft mudde conveyed by the great rivers of fresh waters that disgorge

themselves therinto; & ther by more disposed to the reception & cherisheing of the spaune, & also of the herrings themselves." (SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 2.)

131. SRA T-PM107/7/20/22.

132. SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fols. 1, 2. This fine is put into sharp perspective when it is recorded that the price set by the Admiral on a barrell of herring "is not usuallie below six pence nor above 12 Merks Scotish or 28 s. Scot. the barrell." (SRA T-PM107/7/20/22.) It had previously been thought that owing to their fatness and the summer heat the herring were unable to withstand salting, however this had been "confuted now as ane vulgar errour" not only from Dutch experiments "But of late both in Scotland & Ireland they now begin to salt at Lambmass which is the first of Auguste that without prejudice." Prior to this salting had not begun until 27 September. (SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 1.)

133. SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 5. "Only by the rouleing there will be spent a thrid part more of salt then by simple salting, so as ane barrell will tack six pecks salte Lithgow measure in rouleing and salting." Even salt beef was said to keep for the best part of two winters, in a good condition, by the use of Scottish salt, though "being above measure dryeing it was best not to use so much therof in salting as wee use of foraigne salt." (SRA T-PM107/7/20/23, fol. 5.)

134. 'West Highland sea power in the Middle Ages,' p. 533.

135. *Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, pp. 162-63.

136. *Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, p. 307.

137. *Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, p. 68. The lands to which Stewart claimed right were, at the time, possessed by M'Conochie by virtue of a disposition of a reversion made to him by John Gray, his brother-in-law, at Ballycastle on 4 February 1658, when "the said Johne Gray haid sold to the said perseuar all and haill the saids lands of Langriggis Shoirtriggis and Lytlefauldkaill togidder withe all rycht of reversioune lyferent or any uther rycht or tytle quhatsumever he haid to the samyn." Therefore, by that and by his infeftment which followed on it, Stewart claimed undoubted right to the said lands, and sought to be entered and possessed of them. The M'Conochies had intruded into the lands while John Gray, the heritor, was in Ireland, on the death of his mother, Euphame Kelsow, in 1659, who had a liferent interest in them. Stewart was claiming for £720, or £60 p. a. for 12 years, being the cost of six bolls of farm victual at £10 per boll, which Gray used to pay to his mother, and which, since her death, the M'Conochies had wrongly intromitted with. It seems that the M'Conochies had been owed a certain sum of money by Gray. Their claim on the land had been established by a contract with John Gray, on 18 November 1648, by which they "haid only ane heretabill securitie of the yeirly annuelrent of the principal soume of 550 merkis to be uplifted and tane out of the saides landis sua that the said John Gray and his foirsaids ware only lyable to them in payment of the ordinar and laufull annuelrent of the said principall soume dureing the non payment thairof." Therefore, the M'Conochies' intromission with maills, farms and duties of the lands should be liable to Stewart of the superplus, to which he had right. At court, on 13 November, Allexander M'Conochie had confessed that John Gray payed six bolls of rent to his mother p.a. This part of the libel was thus found to be verified. The M'Conochies also produced inhibitions served by Donald Campbell in Glasgow against John Gray, on a bond of 80 merks owed to Campbell by Gray, which had been assigned

to Allester M'Conochie before Stewart's disposition. M'Conochie therefore declared that Stewart "could have no rycht to the saids lands till the inhibitiounes ware purgit." In order to purge them before the court, Stewart offered to pay M'Conochie a just reckoning of the superplus of the mails and duties of the lands he had intromitted with, which principal sum, annualrent and penalty, as contained in the bond, by this time amounted to 196 merks. (*Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, pp. 69-70.) No further action on the case is recorded.

138. *Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, pp. 190-91.

139. *Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, p. 222.

140. *Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, p. 413.

141. SRO GD201/5/89, Clanranald Papers.

142. Here, aside from any connections which had survived from the previous century, it should be remembered that the flight of persecuted Protestants from Benbecula to Ireland was recorded in 1750. Some of these may have been MacDonalds. See Chapter 9, section I. The significance of Jacobitism.

143. Alison Ann Whyte, 'Scottish Gaelic Folksong 1500-1800,' (unpublished B.Litt. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1971), pp. 329-30.

CHAPTER 13
HIGHLAND AND HEBRIDEAN TRADE WITH IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

It has been argued that the greatest impact of the Scottish-Irish trade was felt in the small ports on the north-east coast of Ireland and in those on the fringes of the north-west Highlands and Islands. For the ports in the north-west of Scotland, the trade in fish to Ireland was one of the main sources of ready income and a means of getting necessary grain supplies.[1] The main Highland ports of the period were Stornoway, Tobermory, Fort William, Oban and Campbeltown, though there was also trade with ports such as Inveraray. (See fig. I.4, Scotland - Land over 300m.) It is known that these ports largely exported herring, cod and ling, in return for grain, salt and barrel hoops for their fishing industry. Indeed, they 'provided between 50 and 100% of Scotland's exports of fish to Ireland, most of which were exported from the main west-highland port of Campbeltown.'[2]

In the new century there was a steady increase in the demand for grain because the Highland and Island population continued growing throughout the eighteenth century, even if not as rapidly as in the Lowlands.[3] The letter-book of the Inverness merchant bailie John Steuart shows that in the first half of the eighteenth century the grain deficiencies in the Highlands were sometimes supplied from the north-east of Scotland. At the same time, there is evidence in the bailie's letter-book to show that the west Highlands and Islands also continued to buy meal from Ireland, from where the freight charges undoubtedly compared favourably with those from the north-east.[4]

The rigid protection of the grain trade was also continued, in an attempt to maintain indigenous prices against cheaper grain imported from outside. Grain production in Ulster, a century after the plantation, was significant only in the settled areas. Sir William Burrell, who went on tour in Scotland in 1758, including an excursion to Antrim, wrote of Belfast, that: "I observed the enclosures were large, the Fences were either stone Walls, Furze Hedges, or stones raised 2 feet and covered with Mould, the Crops are very fine, consisting of great Quantities of Grain, Flax, and Potatoes." He made a distinction between this and the predominantly Catholic parts of Ulster, such as the town of Antrim, where he found the number of natives to be "to the great Detriment of Cultivation."[5] Similarly, in Ballymoney, County Antrim, he found that "the Land is extremely fertile but the Occupants give themselves little Trouble in the Cultivation of it, so that many 100 Acres lye in a manner, waste, the Consequence of which is, that the same sort of land which in other Parts let at £1.10.0 sterling here brings in only £.0.7.6. p Acre."[6] Clearly, those areas which are known to have been predominantly or significantly native Irish or Highland in settlement, clung to their traditional pastoral economy, and did not promote arable farming.

I. GENERAL TRADE LINKS

The majority of Campbeltown merchants forged their trading links with Ireland. The basic items traded remained mainly as in the previous century. The benefits of the short distances involved and ready markets in the north-east of Ireland were too obvious to ignore. Dozens of ships sailed each year between Campbeltown and the Irish ports of Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Newry, Londonderry, Ballycastle, Larne, Drogheda, Dundalk, Cushendun and Cushendall. Although the main export, herring, was ferried to all these ports, Dublin and Belfast exhibited the greatest demand. A substantial amount of barley, bere and malt for Irish distillers and brewers was also exported, though this trade was subject to the corn laws as were imports in the opposite direction. Campbeltown further acted as an entrepôt for Ayrshire coal, which occasionally came up through Campbeltown to supply Belfast, Dublin, Londonderry and Glenarm, rather than making the crossing direct from the Lowlands. The larger fishing busses, which were common by the end of the period, often re-imported Irish beef, bread and biscuits as well as the other cargoes mentioned below.[7]

Although it might be thought that the Highlands were fairly self-sufficient in cattle, Kintyre black cattle were said to be "corrupted with Irish blood."[8] While not advocating the existence of a major trade, the short crossing and the existence of kinsmen and contacts just a few miles across the sea, nevertheless made it as easy to replenish a deficient stock with Irish beasts as Scottish. Though larger numbers of beasts crossed to Galloway for transport to the English markets, imports to the Highlands were on a more piecemeal scale, perhaps for use in breeding or to strengthen the strain.[9] A manuscript account of Irish cattle sold to George Thomson gives details of such small-scale transactions undertaken by Neill McNeill of Ugadale in 1759. McNeill was buying the cows from various vendors in Cushendun, in north-east Antrim (close to the shortest crossing to Kintyre), through the agency of George Thomson. It is readily apparent that Ugadale involved his kinsmen in his transactions.[10]

The account indicates that Neill McNeill of Ugadale owed George Thomson £38 9s 2d for twenty cows bought from various vendors, and £23 2s 9d for fifteen bullocks. The largest sum detailed in the account is £77 15s 7d, which gives a useful guage of the size of business being undertaken. Moreover, the list of the various individuals from whom the twenty cows came further enforces the piecemeal nature of their acquisition. For instance, "widow mc Alister in Glenshesk" was paid £1 16s 6d for a black cow, and "Manis O Cean in Glen Dun" was paid £1 15s for "a Riget Black Cow." The bullocks were also purchased from "sundry persons." One was "from Captain Mc:Neille of Coshendon a brown." Another total details "2 Cows from Neill mcNeill of Basharkan." So it is clear that relatives continued to trade with, and on behalf of, each other on both sides of the North Channel.[11] Equally, exchange occurred in the opposite direction. A receipt for cows survives, dated 26 August 1710, from Donald Ferguson, merchant in Down, to Murdoch MacLean younger of Lochbuie.[12] The trade was not simply in the beasts themselves, but one of the most unusual entries documented in the

Campbeltown custom records is for "Six hunred Irish Cow horne" imported from Newry at a duty of 9s 7½d.[13]

With the beginnings of the textile industry in Campbeltown in the 1750s, flax for linen was also imported from Ireland.[14] However, this was probably an entrepôt trade, for it is noted that they imported "from Holland ... some small quantity of Flax, but most of the drest Flax from Dantzick."[15] Once woven, the cloth might also be sent back to Ireland for finishing. For example, one of the exports in the Campbeltown quarterly account, ending 5 January 1755, was a consignment of "Ninety three peices containing Two Thousand yards Scotch Linnen cloath sent from this Country to be Bleach't in Irland and Certificate from Larn."[16] As well as finished linen, Campbeltown merchants imported other manufactured goods like handkerchiefs, threads, cloths, candles, soap and tallow. Due to the short distance involved, some trade was done in open boats, such as the open boat from Cushendun, noted amongst the entries for the quarter ending 24 June 1750. Its cargo was three spinning wheels and "Two Dozen Timber dishes, valued on oath at 10s 8d," for which duty was paid of 3s 4¼d.[17] The general explosion in overseas trade to Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Norway and North America which Campbeltown exhibited from 1750 to 1775, is regarded as being based upon this well-established trade with Ireland.[18]

The Campbeltown Customs records testify to this increase in trade.[19] Customs figures for the first quarter of 1745, ending 25 March, were very low, as would be expected for the winter period. Indeed, 5s 4d subsidy was paid out, rather than any dues being taken in. However, it is unlikely that the ensuing Jacobite rebellion was in any way responsible for this low figure.[20] In the quarter ending 25 March 1750 sixteen outgoing cargoes were documented. Of these, all sixteen were for Belfast, fifteen with barrels of herring and one with three bushels of malt. In the same period, of the seven ships importing goods, five were from Ireland. Yet, by the quarter ending 5 April 1755, there had been an almost four-fold increase in the export trade for the same part of the year. Of the sixty boats documented for the quarter ending 5 April 1755, fifty-nine were bound for Ireland - four for Cork; nine for Newry; twenty-nine for Dublin, which clearly attracted the most trade; one for Glenarm; four for Drogheda; three for Waterford; two for Londonderry; two for Dundalk and five for Belfast. The final ship was for Jamaica. Conversely, the incoming cargoes did not increase, only six ships importing goods during the same period, of which five came from Ireland and one from Philadelphia. This increase in trade by 1755 is corroborated by an exceptional increase in customs dues for the third quarter of 1755. While the customs dues collected for the first quarter of the year amounted to £12 16s 1½d, those collected for the quarter ending 10 October 1755 amounted to £446 4s 2¾d.[21]

What is the most likely explanation for this tremendous increase in trade to Ireland at this time? Although the country was visited by intermittent famine from the early 1740s to the early 1750s, there was, nonetheless, an almost simultaneous growth in the economy in the late 1740s and early 1750s,

which followed decades of stagnation. There was also a rapid expansion of banking and credit facilities. For instance, although the years 1755 to 1757 were noted for depressed conditions, the country's revenue was still far above the highest figures for pre-1750, and the volume of imports well above that of the 1740s. This was also mirrored in the volume of contraband imports into the Isle of Man, which give an indication of subsequent shipments into Ireland. These doubled between the mid-1740s and mid-1750s, and had doubled again by 1761. Furthermore, interest rates over the whole decade were the lowest for the eighteenth century, and this, combined with the high level of economic activity, attracted capital into Ireland. A good deal of English money was invested in Irish land and in mortages.[22] It, thus, seems likely that the west coast of Scotland was able to meet some of the demands of the expansion of the Irish economy at this time.

By 1760, however, the west Highland export trade apparently recovered from its spurt of enthusiasm. For the quarter ending 5 April 1760, only two outgoing ships are documented, one bound for Bilboa with dried cod and the other, with unspecified cargo, also for Bilboa. This is very unusual for this quarter of the year, and it must be assumed, in the total absence of shipments of herring, that they failed in this year. Certainly this provides the most likely explanation of the apparent decimation of trade. Of the incoming shipments in the same period, there were three boats, but all were from Scotland. Neither did trade improve during the rest of the year.[23]

II. PATTERNS OF TRADE: ENTREPRENEURS, BURGHS, AND COMMERCIAL COMPANIES

Pursuing a career in commerce was one of the few means of advancement for the younger sons of landed families in the Highlands and Islands, and in Ireland. Younger sons tended either to go into the legal profession, or become merchants, with a few entering the ministry of the established church. 'Trade carried no social stigma and in those days of chronic shortage of ready money it was almost a necessity for a family to have a brother or a cousin who could act as financial adviser, broker or banker.' For instance, in the extended family of the Campbells of Inverawe, two grandsons of Archibald Campbell of Inverawe (d. after Inverlochy, 1645), that is, sons of Allan Campbell in Barnalian, became merchants. Captain Dugall made a sizeable fortune as a merchant in London, while his brother, Alexander, was a merchant in Edinburgh. Alexander, in particular, traded with Belfast and the Netherlands in a wide variety of goods, including cloth, wine, toys, jewellery, masks, spectacles, and beads.[24]

However, Highland entrepreneurs did not trade exclusively through English or Lowland ports to Ireland. As well as Campbeltown, Inveraray also had close trading links with Ireland during the eighteenth century, which, in the absence of customs records, can be deduced from a total of twenty-

one Irish burgesses created from 1707 to 1754. While this was often an honorary creation there are also a number of merchants included in this list, for whom admission as a burgess automatically granted the right to open a business in the town. The diversity of their places of origin, mainly in the north-east, from Londonderry to Dublin further south, indicates the range of the town's trading links.[25] Evidence can also be gleaned from court records of the period. For instance, one of the Inveraray processes, of 9 June 1739, details a petition from Prince Jones and Company, merchants in Belfast, in Ireland, in a suit against Daniel McNeill, uncle to Taynish, through the agency of Duncan Fisher, writer in Inveraray.[26] The petition lists the debts owed to the company by Daniel McNeill, that is, £9 7s sterling as the agreed price for 34 barrels of foreign great salt taken aboard his ship the 'Recovery of Taynish' in June 1735, as well as £61 18s 6½d of principal sum and annualrents contained in a bill, of 27 February 1735, drawn by Duncan Nicolson "alias McNeillage," commander of the 'Recovery of Taynish', upon the said Daniel McNeill, and payable to the company six months afterwards. The total sum outstanding to the company was £91 6s 9d sterling, with annualrents from 1 July 1737. This was as specified in a bill or bond of the Irish form, dated 2 March 1737, and subscribed by Daniel McNeill in favour of Henry Close, a member of the company, which was payable on 1 July 1737. Daniel McNeill had probably got himself into intractable debt, or at least had no intention of paying this sum, for the company had been informed that he had "disposed of all his effects Intending in a few days to remove himself and family to some of his Majesty's plantations in America and take up his residence there," by which they would be disappointed of their payment.[27]

Thus, some commercial entrepreneurs chose to involve themselves in the more lucrative colonial trade and the importation of fine luxury goods rather than concentrate on trading staples and raw materials between Ireland and Scotland. The Loch Etive Trading Company, which was founded in 1731 by three landowners, Henry Fogo, William Fogo and Colin Campbell of Inveresgan (in the Lochaber and Appin districts of Argyll) and also by a Glasgow merchant appears, from the records, to have been one such company which undertook very little trade with Ireland. This was probably because of the type of trade it engaged in because the company, whose headquarters were at Fort William, chartered ships from the Clyde to transport tobacco from the Plantations and to re-export it to the Low Countries.[28] Rotterdam thus features a good deal in its records. However, reference to the chartering of vessels, tends to indicate that a large part of the company's trading was undertaken through Glasgow as an entrepôt port.

Only a handful of Irish names are listed in the account books and ledgers of the Loch Etive Trading Company. Those first mentioned are in a list of outstanding debts to Mr Fogo's third share of the company, from 26 April 1733 to May 1736. The debts are in three classes - good, indifferent and bad - and two Irishmen appear in the latter section. A bad debt of 11s 10d is listed for "Captain Arthur Galbreath in Ireland." This is the Arthur Galbraith, Esquire, who was a partner in the Irish company, formed in 1720 and dissolved in 1731, for the export of wood and bark from the Highlands of Scotland

for use in the tanning trade.[29] A bad debt of 17s 8½d is also listed for "Charles Coyle in Ireland."[30] While, on 20 April, "Mr Paterson of Rathmerton in Ireland" is included in the 1739 accounts of debtors.. An entry marked 3 December 1742, also refers to the Irish trade - "Mr John Nicols ane merchant at Oban Debtor To 10 Irish kole ... Invoyce sent him amounting to £166." Although large quantities of coal were exported to Ireland, mainly from Ayrshire, coal obtainable locally, in Argyll, was considered inferior to both Ayrshire or Ulster coal.[31]

In the balances of the Oban company, which appears to have been run by Inveresgan, two more Irishmen are mentioned in 1743. "Thomas Foster Merchant in Ireland" was said to be £16 15s in credit, and "John Peterson in Rathmellon in Ireland," mentioned above in Fogo's ledgers, was £1 9s 4d in debt.[32] However given that there are approximately 300 names in this section alone, the two Irishmen do not represent a great proportion of the trade. Moreover, since the company did not trade directly with Ireland, the figure tends to indicate that they were contacts made through Glasgow or on the continent. One final Irish import is mentioned in the records under the account for Ardshiel, that is, "To 3 and a quarter yards Irish linnen 5s. 5d.," but this amount of cloth would probably have come from Glasgow, or through Campbeltown's linen connections.[33]

Nor was Campbell of Inveresgan the only Campbell involved in trade to the Americas. The Shawfield papers show that Daniel Campbell of Shawfield and two of his brothers, sons of the Captain of Skipness, also traded with the colonies from the late seventeenth century. At this time it was necessary for them to employ ruses to avoid contravention of the Navigation Acts prior to the Union of 1707. Their trading with the Americas is noteworthy in that they not only shipped Scottish, but also Irish, goods to the colonies, and thus had Irish contacts. More than this, they are a prime example of the way in which the Highland Gael used his network of kin ties to his economic advantage:

> ... they borrowed from Campbells and lent to Campbells. Most successful Scots merchants of that day did a good deal of what would now be thought banking work, and Daniel Campbell seems to have helped to finance many Campbell lairds, including the Duke of Argyll... There were Campbell captains of Campbell ships, Campbell apprentices, Campbell correspondents in many parts of the world.[34]

Daniel Campbell of Shawfield and his brothers were already trading to New England in 1692 and were still trading in the 1720s when Campbell bought the titles to Islay and Jura from the Campbells of Cawdor. Two unsigned letters seem to indicate that the brothers might have been, at least peripherally, if not extensively, involved in the slave trade prior to the Union. The letters, unsigned for obvious reasons, are both written from Glasgow and dated 5 January 1702. One, to Messrs. Thorntoun and Milligen details the landing "in your Island" of the 'Hopewell of Dublin' with a "Few negrose" who had been "brought alive" and sold for ready money.[35] The author is anxious that the said gentlemen ensure that the negroes' effects were to be shipped to "Mr William Walkinshaw Mr. Crosse and company for

our account" who were based in London, or if to Liverpool or Whitehaven, directly onto their account. The other is to Crosse, supercargo of the 'Hopewell,' to similar effect.[36]

A letter survives from shortly after the Union, dated 12 October 1708, from Daniel Campbell to James Maxwell, commissioning him as master and supercargo of the 'Loudon Galley,' lying at Port Glasgow. He was instructed that "with the first opportunity of winde and wather yow ar to make the best of your way to Belfast In Iyrland and ther appluy your self to Mr Robert Willsone Merchant ther."[37] He was to deliver to Wilson a consignment of coal and £250 sterling in money, and thereafter "to recive and take aboard of your ship from the said Mr Robert Willsone three hundered barrells of Beaff tuentie firkins of butter in light Cask, Tuentie barrells Grotts: and four hundered yards of course harns."[38] He was also to expect a delivery of herring before he left Scotland. He was then to sail straight for Barbados, where he was to sell the cargo and load with good sugars. Campbell also had connections in Dublin. In a letter of 31 August 1711, he wrote to Patrick Johnston, merchant in Dublin, with a view to arranging for the 'America Merchant,' under Robert Boyd, to take on provisions for her journey to Virginia - beef, bread and 'bear.'[39] There is also an account from December 1707 to September 1709, listing the expenses of the 'Neptune,' on a journey from Balesan [Ballyshannon?] to Livorno, which was taken by the French on her way home. The account indicates that it was not simply perishable goods which were taken aboard in Ireland, for it lists "1241 foot plank" with an "invoyce from Ireland," which sold at 6d per foot and was worth £7 15s 1½d.[40] The same ship had also sailed from the Clyde to Dublin and thence to 'Poport' [port for the Po, Italy or possibly Oporto, Portugal?] in 1707.[41]

North of Argyll, other ready markets presented themselves to vie with Irish ones, but many merchants also traded with Irishmen. Stornoway was aptly positioned for trade to the Orkneys and Shetlands, as well as with the north-east where fish could be exchanged for grain, but it also exported much of its fish to Ireland. It is also likely, although little is ever heard of it, that Lochmaddy attracted a similar sort of trade during this period, and perhaps acted as a port of call on the Scandinavian routes. Certainly the Old Statistical Account of the 1790s refers to "the well-known harbour of Lochmaddie, much frequented by ships trading from Ireland, and the W. of England and Scotland to the Baltic."[42]

III. GRAIN TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As a result of the arable development of parts of settled Ulster, the importation of Irish grain into Scotland remained illegal throughout the first three decades of the eighteenth century, in a bid to protect Scottish grain production. Imports were fairly high at the beginning of the century, as Scotland struggled to return to normal after the famines of the 1690s, but overall imports declined in the eighteenth century except for the 1710s, the early 1720s, and more especially in 1741. Scotland

endured its most serious grain shortage since the dearth of the 1690s in 1741, and the corn laws were consequently revised to allow for the import of Irish grain to mitigate the crisis. This was the only year, in the first half of the eighteenth century, when dearth is estimated to have approached famine proportions. The final crop failure in the period under review was in 1756.[43]

The shortages of the last decade of the seventeenth century appear to have rectified themselves in Kintyre by 18 May 1704, when the magistrates and council of Campbeltown convened "Anent the pairtie of souldiers brought to this burgh by Captain Ogilvie in order for takeing nottice of the Importatioun of Irish Victuall In respect they have lyen ther several weiks and thair pay not came up and the inhabitants grumbleing for want of money." Despite lack of funds for billeting, it was unanimously agreed that the soldiers should remain in their quarters until 22 May. Their presence seems to indicate that Argyll grain harvests were extensive enough for local grain producers to merit protection from Irish shipments, for Kintyre was one of the easiest gateways into the west Highlands from Ireland. Kintyre was a district of distinct arable potential, which would have had a certain agricultural resilience in times of dearth. Furthermore, the house of Argyll's patronage of the area probably ensured that the business community in Campbeltown was sufficiently well-connected to enable them to maintain profits. A clue that it was the burgess interest which felt threatened is possibly given by the voting of "Andrew McClure and Alexander McConochie merchands to be the quarter masters for one laying and quartering the saids souldiers or pairtie upon the inhabitants."[44] Nevertheless, trade was carried on illegally. A number of people were fined for importing Irish victual, in the sheriff court at Campeltown on 31 December 1711, the financial penalties for which amounted to £1,581 (Scots).[45] So too, Irish victual was imported further north, for bailie Steuart wrote on 11 February 1718 to Mr. William Simpson, merchant in Aberdeen, that:

> Since my Last I hade a Letter from the West Highlands, adviseing that the Tutor of Mackleod and Sir Donald MackDonald (of Sleat) hade bargoned with Irishmen for Meall from that Country to serve them. If this be true they'll want Litle from this Country; yet my Father in Law advises me to send a bark in March with 5 or 600 bolls, which he says the main land will want, tho the Isle of Sky take non of it.[46]

Nevertheless, Steuart was anxious "to try 800 or 900 bolls there, as soon as possible," in an obvious attempt to profit before the Irish grain arrived. However, Simpson was instructed to buy just 1500 bolls of meal, with a view to sending only 800 bolls to the Highlands "and the rest for this pleace, which I wish howsoon it Come here, for, if the storie of the Irish meall comeing to the Highlands hold true, it will be no great peniworth, and now it gives from 8 to 9 merks (Scots) per measur boll of 9 ston." Clearly, then, Irish grain could undercut a price of 8 merks per 9 stone boll. On the 28th of the following month, March, Steuart wrote to the same correspondent on the same subject. The grain had still not been shipped to Skye, neither had the Irish meal been yet imported, and Steuart was implementing further plans to take grain to Wester Ross. He urged Simpson that if he could not

engage skipper clerk to go to Skye, that he "must see to prevail with John Clyton to Goe there, tho should give him a guinea more fraight, for I am Duned [pestered for payment] from that Country, the people being in want, and much Irish meal, with Scots Clearnace, being expected."[47]

1718, then, was obviously a year of insufficiency in the Highland region. In North Uist it must have compounded a cattle crisis which occurred in 1717 which, according to the wadsetters and tacksmen, resulted in "extreme poverty."[48] Moreover, the shortage tallies with the general trend for the whole of Scotland, where imports of oats and oatmeal were up from 5,905 quarters (c. 11810 bolls) in 1717, to 11,032 quarters (c. 22064 bolls) in 1718. This was a figure well above average, which tended to be in single figure thousands.[49] These figures represent only the legal imports, yet the scarcity was obviously considered sufficient to merit "Clearnace" from the corn laws. Conditions were such that Simpson was finding difficulty in engaging a carrier, for Steuart's patience was running out - "for Gods sake, lett both be dispached as soon as possible."[50]

Only small consignments of grain were recorded as having gone directly to west Highland ports from Ireland, though much of the trade probably went unrecorded, that is, was conducted illegally, or was redistributed through the Clyde ports, to the north.[51] The Clyde ports had always acted as a regional entrepôt, but the growth of the urban areas in the west Lowlands during the eighteenth century also increased demand for grain in that area, from which the Highlands would also have benefited. Certainly the parish of Kilfinan, on the west shore of Loch Fyne, got some of the extra grain which it required from Ireland via Glasgow. This is evident from the minister's report for the parish in the 1790s, which stated that in remarkably good seasons very little supplementary grain was required, but that in bad ones a good deal was necessary. "This deficiency is supplied by Irish meal, imported first to Clyde and from thence by the packets to this parish, or by Dumfries meal carried coastwise to the same place, and by the conveyance above mentioned, hither."[52]

Although it was never on the scale of trade from Ireland to Scotland, there is also evidence of grain supply in the opposite direction. For instance, the burgesses of Campbeltown felt obliged to formulate an 'Act against the Exportation of Victual' on December 1709, which, it was suggested, was being exported to the mainland and other places. Here it must be remembered that Campbeltown was the closest Highland town to Ireland, and therefore the likely recipient of some of these exports. Acting on "a popular commission" the Duchess dowager of Argyll recommended that the council should:

> make such Acts and provisions within their bounds as will formally prevent An unreasonable Dearth and Scarcity of victual in Town and Country likely to be occasioned by the Tenants and others in Both Town and Country, Then Exporting of the said victual without the Country to place in the Main Land and else where, and selling of the same to Strangers who will carry off the said victuals.

The "others" referred to, besides the tenants, as having taken the initiative, were probably trades people, and perhaps agricultural labourers. However, it is significant that, through the intervention of the house of Argyll, the council succeeded in at least passing an act to prevent the farmers selling their grain at a profit elsewhere and leaving the burgh short. However, it must be questioned whether it was implemented, for if the corn laws could be evaded so could a burgh law. Nevertheless, the council enacted "that there be no victuals of whatsoever grain, nor the Meal of the grouth of Kintyre Exported by any person or persons on board any Boat or vessell, within any port of Bound of Loch Campbeltoun, Under the pain of Confiscation of the Victual, Meal or grain for the use of the Common good of the burgh and poor of the place." Contraveners were to be punished according to the law of the kingdom.[53] The majority of Scottish grain was imported into the ports of north-east of Ireland, that is, into Ulster and Down, where demand for oats was probably highest.[54]

The harvests of the late 1720s, in particular, were bad for Ireland. The harvests of 1726 and 1727 were poor, while that of 1728 was disastrous. A letter from Mr. Livingston, presbyterian minister of Templepatrick, in a prosperous part of County Antrim, to a friend in Scotland and dated 29 March 1729, amply expands upon the situation.

> Such a dearth and scarcity of victuals was never heard of in these parts. Almost the whole product of the last harvest is already spent. There is not seed enough to sow the ground, and little money to buy what is brought by sea from foreign parts: which, with the oppressive and exorbitant rents and tythes from the landlords and established clergy, is driving the inhabitants out of the country to America. This people [of Templepatrick] are now indebted to me in four years' full stipend; and I have not received above £12 [sterling] since January was a twelvemonth.[55]

There was famine in many parts of the country, particularly in the north. Some grain was imported from the south of Ireland, but Scotland's proximity to the area of greatest shortage offered Scottish merchants opportunities for profit. Harvests in Scotland were not abundant in these years, but they were not disastrous, and where local need had been satisfied, and perhaps even where it had not, a rare opportunity presented itself for some farmers to exploit the situation. Usually Scots had to sell grain to Ireland at a loss, but during 1728-29 the situation was reversed.[56] While it is unlikely that many of these surpluses came from the Highlands, the above evidence from Campbeltown, in 1709, indicates that some farmers were prepared to leave their localities in short supply in order to make a profit on the export market.

Steuart noted, in January 1729, in a letter to General Sibourgh in Fort William that "the demand from Ireland and the west coast was so great this year that meall was gott up over all to above 11 sh. pr. boll of 8 stone."[57] It appears that Steuart was one of the main suppliers of the garrison. Certainly, he actively sought to protect his Lochaber market from Irish imports at Inverlochy. On 27 March 1730,

taking obvious exception to the lack of protection afforded by the corn laws, Steuart suggested that his son place a discreet word in the appropriate ear:

> Mean time I think Sir John Shaw, or his managers, that are paid for keeping off of Irish meall, ought to be a prize to this [apprised of this], and if you should take your own prudent way to apprise the comissar of Costoms of the practice of porting Eirish meall to the West cost and Inverlochie, so as they may repremand the officers there for coniveing at such practices, since its plain, what ever fals shame clearances such meall may have, the same is certainly brought from Ireland, since no place in the west of Scotland can afford meall near so shape.[58]

It may even be that shortages in the Highlands were also met by meal from the south of Ireland, but in the absence of any record material, it is only possible to surmise. Nevertheless, situations of dearth and export for profit could co-exist where there were unscrupulous profiteers. It is also worthy of note that the burgh of Campbeltown found itself, on 18 October 1728, the year of the worst Irish harvest, "Considering the great Deceit opposition and oppression lately put upon the Inhabitants of (this) place by the frequent Importation therinto of pieces of falz(ie) Coyn both from Ireland Glasgow and elsewhere." The offending coins were said to be of the shape and figure of a half pence, and not legal tender of Britain or Ireland but cast in sand by tinkers, and "were like much to lend to the ruine of this place if not timeously prevented."[59] The two places identified, both Ireland and the port of Campbeltown, as well as the year, would seem to point to a connection between the influx of false coin and Irish payment for the grain staple. There were, indeed, larger areas of Argyll put over to arable farming than, for example, the north-west Highland belt from the Ardnamurchan peninsula to Sutherland, which subsisted largely on pastoral farming. (See fig. I.6, The south-west and eastern Highlands and the north and west Highlands.) This is not to imply that Argyll had such a surplus in grain that it found an annual market in Ireland. The arable extent of the shire can, perhaps, be put into perspective when the area actually tilled in the parish of Lochgoilhead was said, by the time of the Old Statistical Account in the 1790s, to be only one fiftieth of the whole.[60] However, the achievement of any perspective on the situation at this time, is further complicated by the need to consider the first phase of Clearance in the Scottish Highlands, which began prior to the '45 in Argyll and concluded, elsewhere in the Highlands, in the 1820s.[61]

By 1730, in spite of the famine in Ireland, the status quo seems to have been restored. Steuart recorded, on 27 March, that the west Highlands were drawing in large amounts of Irish oatmeal again, and lamented a deal that he had concluded with a Leith shipmaster for chartering grain to the area:

> ... for last night I was advised from several hands that the project I designt with the loadning of Meall to be put with that Barque will not doe, there being great quantities of Eirish meall sold on the West Coast, some of it at sixpence per peck; and Mr. Salmar, Generall Syburgs brother in law, has bought lately

> from on Mackun, a Kintire man, 250 bolls of Irish meall at 8sh. 6d. per boll which is less then the Gentlemen in Banfsheir demand for thair meall.

He indicates to his son that he would, therefore, much rather send the 600 bolls he has made a deal for in Banffshire to Leith or the Forth "so as I could avoid loss rather then rusque it to the west coast to a certain prospicable loss."[62]

Illegal importation of Irish grain was low in 1732, according to Steuart's evidence. Writing on 15 December 1733, to the Earl of Findlater, with whom he was trying to negotiate a low purchase price for his corn due to the predominance of the Irish supply, Steuart stated: "tho there was litle or no Irish meall imported last year, yet I made verie litle of about 2200 I shipped off from Banff shire for that Countrey last year, tho I purchast the same at £4 Scots, and £4 3s 4d the higest per boll, payable only at this Mertimass." However, Irish meal was pouring into the Highland region during 1733, when he wrote that "truly there is no prospect of any advantage by meall bought at such a rate on any part of the West Cost, where I dale that way, there being a plentifull cropt in Ireland, and so the people of that Country makes shift to be supplyed from thence, notwithstanding the legall prohibition." He made his case to Findlater that he could not give the £5 per boll which he demanded but could only offer £4 10s Scots. Steuart's trade obviously rested much on the comparative prices of Irish imports, and he was constantly soliciting information so that he could make decisions designed to bring him most profit. Thus, in a letter of the same date, 15 December 1733, to Roderick McLeod, merchant in Glasgow, he wrote: "Please advise in course of the prices of meall and bear with you, and what you hear of the price of meall in Ireland this year."[63]

It certainly appears, from all the evidence, that Irish grain imports were sufficient to seriously challenge the trade of north-east merchants in the west Highlands and Islands. However, that they did not meet this challenge was entirely their own fault. These merchants could easily have made large inroads into many areas of the Highlands and Isles when Irish grain was legally prohibited in the early part of the eighteenth century, however, the majority of them preferred to gain the bounty paid on exporting surpluses abroad.[64] Moreover, although prior to the Union, the Privy Council, and after it, the Customs Board, tried to stop the smuggling of Irish victual, they were largely ineffective because the lower price of Irish grain was marked by an equal demand for it from the west of Scotland, including the Highlands. However, as a result of the Scottish famine of 1740, when the urban populations faced severe hardship, the corn laws were again revised in 1741, allowing the Court of Session to ban imports only if the price of grain in Edinburgh rose above a certain level. To all intents and purposes, ports were now open to trade with Ireland, and there was even flagrant manipulation of grain prices to ensure that they stayed open. Although no customs records are available between 1731 and 1742, it is likely that a substantial amount of the 36,000 quarters of meal said to have been imported into Scotland in 1741 was from Ireland, even if some had come from the Baltic.[65] However,

when the customs records are available again from 1743, Irish imports are very low. It is likely, however, that Irish trade with the north-west Highlands and Islands continued unrecorded, even though the Lowland ports were regularly open for the importation of grain from the 1740s.[66] This is largely corroborated by the relatively small number of grain imports, indeed any imports, in the Campbeltown customs records in the 1740s, in comparison with the larger numbers of exports of fish, and the higher percentage of smuggling cases documented.[67] From the mid-1740s, small quantities of meal were once again passing in the other direction to address the harvest failures in Ireland in the middle of the decade, though this time they were largely from the north-east.[68]

The last severe grain shortage of the period was in 1756-57. While small quantities of grain and meal are reported to have been exchanged from both countries, neither could do much to help the other, for by 1757 the shortage had hit the whole of Europe. In Ireland, this shortage resulted in the introduction of the bounty system. Thus, the 'apparently simultaneous' export and import of grain between the two countries continued, because conditions and prices could fluctuate to such an extent, and Ulster was so close to the west coast, that it might have been more profitable for a Londonderry merchant to export grain to Campbeltown, in Scotland, than to send it to Dublin. For the Scots, exporting grain to Ireland seems to have been more an opportunist venture than a concerted attempt to gain an export market. It has even been argued for the west of Scotland as a whole, that cheap Irish meal supplies actually discouraged the development of arable farming.[69] This, doubtless, had significance for the Highlands.

Generally, the busses which caught the herring and transported it directly to their main consumer, Ireland, were filled with grain and other products for the return to Scotland. This trade 'not only increased the utilisation of the fishing vessels,' but enabled west Highland merchants, who were often local tacksmen, to import bulkly cargos like grain, salt and timber products such as barrel hoops for the fishing industry, on the return journey.[70]

IV. TIMBER AND CHARCOAL-IRON INDUSTRY

The trade in timber from Ireland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, mainly for the building of birlinns, continued into the eighteenth more for commercial and domestic purposes, supplementing supplies to Scotland from Norway and Sweden. "Hand-spaiks," or wooden crowbars, were imported to Campbeltown, as well as "deals" - pine or fir planks. This was, perhaps, mainly an entrepôt trade, Burrell noting in Belfast, in 1758, that "from Sweden, Pomerania, and Norway, all their Deals of Timber are imported."[71] There had probably also been a substantial trade in wood bark between the east coast of Ireland and the west of Scotland during these centuries, which was used as a dye in the Irish tanning and leather industry. Certainly, a tannery had been established in Toome, south Antrim, by the Waring family in the first years of the seventeenth century.[72] For a short period

during in the early eighteenth century, wood was traded in substantial quantities from the Highland mainland to Ireland, mainly but not exclusively, from Argyll.[73] Argyll was one of three districts in eighteenth century Scotland - the others being Strathspey and the eastern Grampians - where timber could still be cut and exported.[74]

The initiative appears largely to have been taken by one Roger Murphy, tanner and merchant in the city of Dublin, to form an Irish company to export wood and bark. A preliminary survey survives of the first woods for which industrial rights were given to Murphy by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell. Robert Walker, woodcutter, was employed to survey the woods of Ardmucknish and Kennacraig. The report, of 24 February 1720, sectioned three different areas of the Ardmucknish woods, giving their worth in merks.[75] The trees were said to be worth 1,000 merks, and given that "the Barks of the 3 spotts consists of 4260 Rolls," the cost of approximately four and a quarter trees was one merk. Some of it was considered very good timber, but the woods of Garbart were good only for "Girther" [i.e barrel girth]. Two hundred of 'hogshead girther' were said to be worth £3 Scots, and a 100 barrel hoops, 2s sterling.[76] Walker's comments on the woods of Kennacraig are further touched with humorous opportunism, for he declared that "the same is worth 1400 merks but to demand 1600!"

On 6 February 1722 tripartite articles of partnership were entered into between Roger Murphy, merchant of the city of Dublin, Arthur Galbraith Esquire, also of Dublin, and Charles Armstrong of Mountarmstrong in County Kildare. Clearly their connection was through Murphy's trading in the city of Dublin, Kildare being a county adjacent to Dublin. However, another document, dated 18 February 1723, labels Murphy "Tanner of Inshkillen in the County of Fermanoch in the Kingdome of Ireland." His tannery was possibly in Ulster, which might explain his looking to the Highlands for trees, but he undoubtedly sold his wares in the Dublin market. In yet another document, of 26 November 1725, he is designated a farmer. He was probably all three. The 1722 partnership agreement records Murphy's entry into articles for the purchase of several woods in the Highlands of Scotland from Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine, Colin Campbell of Inveresregan, James Fisher and Patrick Campbell of Inveraray, Daniel Cameron of Lochiel, John MacDonald of Invergarry, John MacDonald of Morar, Ewen Cameron, bailiff of Morvern, John MacLean of Ardgour, and John Campbell of Muckairn, as trustee for Lord Cawdor, and dated some time in the months of November, December and January 1721.[77] The negotiations were conducted in the months of May, August and September preceding. Murphy was contracting in a big way, and drew in partners to finance the undertakings. On 4 May 1721 he assigned by instrument to Arthur Galbraith "one full Moyetyer half part" of the woods, issues and profits, reserving part of the Lochiel woods which he granted to Walter Butler of Dublin, timber merchant.

By this document of February 1722 Murphy and Galbraith agreed to take Charles Armstrong into "joynt partnership equally along with them." For the benefits of a full third part of the company he had

already paid £120 and was to advance a further £480 before April. They were jointly to share all costs in relation to the woods "or the Working and Transporting the same, or the Selling and disposing thereof." There were also embryonic plans afoot to establish an Ironworks, which would be run on charcoal.[78] Moreover, Irishmen other than Walter Butler had interest in the Lochiel woods. The document states that John Fleming of Dublin, gentleman, Charles Armstrong, junior, son of the Charles Armstrong referred to here, and Roger Murphy, entered into articles with Daniel Cameron, dated on or around 15 November 1721, for purchase of part of the woods of Lochiel. However, Armstrong junior's share had now come to his father, who made agreement with Murphy that both his and Murphy's shares were now for "joynt benefit and advantage of all the said Partys."

Only one example of the contracts with the landholders survives between Murphy and Colin Campbell of Inveresregan, doubtless because all the woods referred to lie "within the parish of Ardchattan division of Lorn Sherrifdom of Argyle." The original contract was agreed at "Rowvulin" in Benderloch on 27 November 1721.[79] By it, Colin Campbell sold to Murphy "the haill Oaken Woods growing standing and Lying belonging to the said Coline Campbell on the lands of Kenacreig particularly the Oaken Woods within the park and Irish keten thereof and the half of the Alder growing on the Saids Bounds."[80] Further, there was to be free access for men, servants and horses on the most convenient roads for transporting the timber and bark. The detail of the contract is particularly interesting. It specifies that Campbell reserved to himself "the whole Brush and tops of trees of the saids woods that they dont necessarly make us of for dressing their Victuals or Burning and as much of the saids woods as will Inclose the Insketen as the said Colin and Rodger shall think convenient and that with Stake and rill." Campbell also reserved for himself "one hundred Oaken ribs and Carpols." After these were stripped and cut, Murphy and others in his name, were "to Enter to the Cutting Striping squairing drawing and Away carrying of the haill Barke" of the designated woods. The cutting and stripping was to begin in April 1722 and to continue until the first of August, while the removal of the timber and bark was to last until 1 April 1723, after which all Murphy's rights on the property were to lapse.

Furthermore, Murphy was empowered "to Build a Bark miln Kiln, Store-house and timber yard with Cabens for workmen either in the said wood or upon that spot of the Kendal of Kennacreig thats above the high way in the ophon of the said Colin Campbell." If built, he was to leave these intact at his departure.[81] The witnessing of the document attests that at least some of Murphy's staff came across with him from Ireland, for the witnesses include "Philom McAulay sawrer in Reidconlome Dublin." The remaining documents indicate that the company was constantly in financial difficulty. Moreover, Murphy became liable for previous debts in Ireland on the capital of his Highland interests. On 5 February 1725, Murphy took out a Deed of Conveyance to Edward Nixon, merchant of Coole Hill in County Cavan, and Robert Maine, tanner, of Dromore in Dublin. The indenture details that Murphy and a certain "John Hoyne of Dromgalgen in the County of Fermanagh Farmer," who obviously

provided Murphy with his hides, took out three bonds with Nixon and Maine in 1719 for the sum of £1,380 sterling. A considerable sum still remained unrepaid on the bonds, for which Murphy was prepared to convey and make over his fourth part of the iron forge, wood, coals, cord, wood and mines which had been erected, by this time, at Glenkinglass.[82]

On March 1725 William Kettlewell, merchant in Dublin, son of the partner at the ironworks of Glenkinglass, assumed liability for the satisfaction of all debts by bond, bill or decreet, due to Colin Campbell of Inveresregan from Arthur Galbraith, Roger Murphy and Charles Armstrong, providing that the sums did not exceed £22 sterling. Kettlewell senior, of Thomastown in Meath, was one of the partners of the ironworks. He appears in quadrapartite articles of agreement concluded on 3 May 1725.[83] This document details all the landowners who sold and disponed woods to Murphy in 1721 and 1722. It recaps on the ten contracts mentioned in the February 1722 agreement, but also adds some new ones entered into later in 1722. Further rights were sold to Murphy by John MacDonald of Glengarry, in April 1722, and by Allan MacDonald (rather than John mentioned earlier) of Morar, in May 1722. These two are particularly interesting because they sold rights to oak and fir timber, respectively, for the far longer period of 24 years, where most of the other contracts were for two years, except that of Breadalbane which was for four years. This tends to indicate financial difficulty in both cases, or poor quality timber, or possibly that both these woods were in what were considered inaccessible, unruly areas of the Highlands, and that, therefore, difficulty of access and uncertainty increased marketing overheads. Similarly, an agreement contracted with Donald Cameron of Lochiel, on 20 November 1722, was for 30 years.[84] A new contract also appears to have been taken out with Ewen Cameron of Ardtornish (although mentioned in an earlier document), in trust for Allan MacLean of Inverscaddle in July 1722. This makes a possible four new contracts, and a total of fourteen taken out by Murphy over all.

The 1725 document also stated that the three partners, Murphy, Galbraith and Armstrong, by this time mutually agreed "to take and accept of the said William Kettlewell as a partner," for which he paid the sum of £400 towards his share of the said woods.[85] Kettlewell was from Thomastown in Meath and appears to have been involved primarily in the ironworks. From the evidence, it would seem that the ironworks was a subsidiary venture, for the majority of the contracts deal with timber. However, one of the Glenkinglass founders (unspecified) visited the Invergarry ironworks in May 1727, and the Invergarry partners had subsequent dealings with Arthur Galbraith in October 1727, September 1729, and in March 1731.[86]

Murphy sometimes employed the Highland landowners, with whom he had contracted, as factors to move his merchandise. A back-bond of 1726 from James Fisher, late provost of Inveraray and Colin Campbell of Inveresregan, to Captain Galbraith points out "that though the Deed of Sale of Five hundred Tunn of Firr Timber and One Hundred Barrells of Oak Barks Milned of this date" and signed

by Galbraith, indicates that they had paid him an adequate price for them, "that the same is entirely for behoofe of the said Captain." Therefore, by this bond, Campbell was taking responsibility for all dealings with the said timber. Galbraith in his turn was first "to Allow to us Our necessary Expenses And Factorage Besides any sumes we shall happen to advance to him."

Perhaps the most interesting manuscript is one docketed "Memorandum and Queries for Donald and John Campbell Elder and younger of Lossit Baillies of Muckairne," which details the potential social implications of extensive tree-felling on a Highland estate. This is the same John Campbell mentioned in 1722 as acting for Lord Cawdor. The document is undated, but from internal evidence probably dates from late 1726 or even 1727. It states that in 1722 John Campbell of Cawdor had appointed three eminent advocates, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and a Writer to the Signet to manage his estate. In August 1725 they had seen fit to grant the lands of Muckairn and others in Lorn to the abovementioned Donald and John Campbell, for 19 years. However, since that time, Cawdor had sold the property and superiority of the land to Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, who came into possession of the estate at Martinmas (11 November) 1726. The local tacksmen were perturbed that he planned to sell the woods to the enfringement of their own rights, as he had done on his Lochnell estate, and drew up a series of questions, answers to which would inform them of their position.

The tacksmen pointed out that their tack obliged them to prevent the cutting or taking away of young or old trees by anybody whomsoever, yet that they had been informed that Sir Duncan Campbell "founds a priviledge of not ony cutting what woods he pleases in Muckairne... but of Incloseing the same and oblidgeing the Tacksmen thairafter to preserve them without any Consideration or Deduction of Rent." The selling and disposing of the woods of Muckairn, if done, would be a considerable loss to the tacksmen and their tenants, therefore they asked if their obligation to preserve the tack "Does not enable them to hinder Cawdor and now Sir Duncan to Cutt or Dispose of the woods dureing their tack." They asked whether he had the power to enclose it, since the majority of it was either wood or stool of wood.[87] If he enclosed it, should they not be compensated during the period of their tack?

The tacksmen carried on to consider Campbell's precise intentions:

> Its Informed that Sir Duncan Inclynes to Dispose of the Woods of Muckairne to a Company of Irishmen Who have erected ane Iron Work on its Neighbourhood which wood these Irishmen resolve to Reduce to Coall whereby they must have the priviledge of Digging pitts in the Earth Throw up earth and burn heaps of wood in these pitts Whereby not only the ground but the Grass will be Considerablie Dammfied.

They asked again whether Campbell of Lochnell was liable for damages to them and their tenants. The last point they wished to establish was whether, according to their rights of tree-felling for repair,

they still had the right to us as much wood or timber as was necessary for repair and upkeep of the tenants' houses and mills only.

Finally, a document dated 20 January 1731, is a mutual discharge between Galbraith and John Campbell in Stronmilachan, Campbell wishing to discharge his father's debts. The company appears to have been still trading in 1732, for Captain Arthur Galbraith of the city of Dublin, was made a burgess of the burgh of Inveraray in December 1731.[88] After this year, however, the company seems to have had a lower profile following the hanging for murder of its principal founder, Roger Murphy, in 1732. Mentioned in Murphy's testament were "Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell & Company partners of Glenkingless Furnace, Firr Woods of Glenorchy and others," Campbell of Lochnell having been involved from the date of the initial contract for the company in 1722. Indeed, it is questionable whether the company survived Murphy's death, at all, in its earlier form. In August 1733, Galbraith was in Edinburgh complaining vehemently about Daniel Campbell of Shawfield and his other partners. This is the first mention of Shawfield in the company, who perhaps became involved after he acquired proprietary rights to Islay in 1725, but who had been trading between Glasgow and Ireland since the end of the seventeenth century.[89] However, both Shawfield and Lochnell retained interests in the woods of Glenorchy in 1738, at which time Alexander Murray of Stanhope wrote that Shawfield and his company were smelting at an ironworks which Stanhope had persuaded an Irish gentleman, in all likelihood Galbraith, to build.[90]

The only other recorded instance of an Irish company in the Highlands with an interest in wood was more exclusively in relation to the iron industry. Just a little earlier, in April 1718, John Smith of Castlefinn, in Donegal, and John Irvine of Newtonwood, in Tyrone, bought rights to the cut oak in parts of the Montrose estate woods of Buchanan and Menteith, for the sum of £2,000 sterling. The contract permitted them to make charcoal and to prospect for iron ore, as well as to build an iron mill and other necessaries pertaining to that. Later, in 1718, Smith bought ten-year cutting rights to the predominantly birch woods of the nearby Loch Katrine for 4,000 merks, that is, about £222 sterling. However, it appears mainly to have been Glasgow merchants who controlled the partnership of the iron works, which was in existence by June 1722, though a certain John Smith, presumably the one who signed the original cutting agreement, continued to be involved in the shipment of materials and other work. Smith did not become a partner in the iron works.[91]

Although wood and bark was exported to Ireland by Murphy's Irish wood company in the 1720s and 30s, Irish labour came in the opposite direction, into the Highlands, through these ventures. At the Invergarry iron works which operated from 1727 to 1736, although skilled iron workers were brought in from northern England, and local men did much of the work in the woods, the first coalers came from Ireland.[92] Thus, when trade links were established through any particular commodity, the connection built up a chain which led to the exchange not only of other goods, but also of labour.

Another industry responsible for the largest percentage of the export market to Ireland from the Highlands and which also utilised Irish seasonal labour, was the fishing trade.

V. FISHING

It was the eighteenth century which saw the beginnings of the real commercialisation of the Scottish fishing industry, and the Highland area was involved in this expansion through the large fishing port of Campbeltown. The necessity for commercialisation had been brought about by a number of different factors, namely the need to pool capital because the herring shoals were notoriously fickle in their movements, the need to compensate for the loss of the French market following the realignment of political and economic allegiances after the Union in 1707, and the continued need to compete with the Dutch fishing industry. Government aid was evidenced through the establishment in 1727 of the Board of Trustees for the Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland, which aimed to stem some of the rising discontent with the Union in all coastal areas of the country, through the provision of successful economic measures. This was significant as far as the Highlands and Islands was concerned, because fishing was one of the few readily exploitable industries, and here 'governmental ambitions ... coalesced with those of many Highland landlords who saw the development of the fishing industry as a means of stemming increasing discontent among their tenants, as well as raising the profitability of their remote highland estates.'[93] In this regard, the tacksmen and chiefs largely fulfilled the role of providers of capital, for ships, nets and store-houses, even providing for the process of curing.

Indeed, the eighteenth century saw the increasing commercialisation of the Highlands, in general. It has been pointed out that during the seventeenth century, resident merchants played only a small part in the economy of the western Isles, and that although there were occasional itinerant traders, especially towards the end of the century, the majority of trade was carried out on the initiative of the landowners and chiefs themselves, who arranged for the import of goods both for themselves and their tenants.[94] The provisions of the eighth Article of the Act of Union, by which a high import tariff was payable on foreign 'bay' salt[95] unless used to cure meat and fish for export, wrought a havoc in the Highlands which could only be alleviated by bigger operators. The duty on imported bay salt, which was far superior for curing, was several times the cost of the salt itself, while even the use of Scottish salt involved the fishermen in time-consuming administration, because excise duties also had to be paid on this. Technically, drawbacks were allowed on salt used for curing, but the details of notification were complex and could lead to fish simply rotting for lack of salt. In the Highlands, where customs houses were very sparsely scattered, the small operator could never hold sufficient salt stores, while even those merchants there who dealt in salt involved themselves in considerable expense. 'The result was a virtual salt famine over many parts of the Highlands alleviated only by the

erratic operations of the bigger men.'[96] Inevitably, there was an increase in illegal salt imports from Ireland.[97]

The expansion of the buss fishery towards the middle of the century, was an attempt to deal with the migratory nature of the herring shoals, inasmuch as the large ships could carry all their curing and barrelling equipment with them.[98] A significant date, in this respect, was 1749 when the government decided to pay a bounty to buss-owners if they fished in certain areas, though the rigid specifications may have curtailed development of the industry. Nevertheless, herring exports from Scotland did increase from the mid-eighteenth century, which might be attributable to the bounty.[99] It may have been in response to this that the Arran Fishing Company was set up in 1752. It had a joint stock capital of £2,000.[100] On 24 April 1754, the company was recorded in the Glasgow Burgh Court Register of Deeds, when three Glasgow merchants, William Crawford, junior, James Simson and Robert McNair sold their several shares in the company to George Walker, who was then living at Lamlash in Arran. Their three shares were each sold at £25, and Walker was also "to secure them in a full relief of all debts already Contracted or thereafter to be Contracted by the Company," which indicates that the Company was in financial straits.[101] The west coast buss fleets operated by meeting at a certain point, generally Greenock or Campbeltown, and then heading en masse for the north-west fishing grounds, where they were allowed to fish only between certain restricted dates.[102] Campbeltown was the second major centre of the herring industry in Scotland, but as a Highland port, the herring industry assumed far greater importance for the local economy than it did in the south, because of the lack of diversity of other industries.

The herring trade was carried on at several levels from Campbeltown, directly, or indirectly through an entrepôt like Port Glasgow, in long-established fashion. Highlanders who traded with Glasgow in 1656 were documented as having dragged their boats over the isthmus of Tarbet into Lochfyne, presumably to round the sound of Bute and into the firth of Clyde, rather than sail round the Mull of Kintyre. Indeed, in a history of Glasgow written in 1736, Highland boats were clearly regarded as sufficiently important traders to Glasgow in the first part of the eighteenth century, to merit a separate mention. The Broomielaw fountain was said to furnish "all the boats, bargess and lighter's crew, that arrives at this harbour from Port-Glasgow, with water, and all other vessels which comes from the Highlands and far off isles of Scotland, besides other places."[103]

The two main aspects of the Scoto-Irish trade, export of fish and import of grain, cannot readily be separated. The same boats traded in both. It is probably significant that when the grain importation laws were relaxed in 1752, that a memorial survives in the same year, in the sheriff court books of Argyll, complaining of the need for protection of the herring fishing. The memorial was presented, on 20 October, by Angus Fisher of Inveraray "late tacksman of the assize fishing," who clearly had a sub-tack from the Duke of Argyll.[104] The basis of his complaint was one recognised by priests and

ministers at the same time - the sheer extent of the tack - which prevented its adequate protection. He complained that it is "utterly impossible to give the poor herring fishers the necessary attendance without a Boat or Vessell for that purpose." He proposed that the Duke of Argyll:

> use Interest to procure one of the Condemned Smugling Wherrys for the Tacksman, which will enable him not only to maintain order among the Herring fishing fleet, but also to suppress the practices of Smugling in Foreign Spirits and Irish unentered salt among the Fishers under whose protection such attempts are frequently made to the sensible prejudice of the Revenue and fair Trader.

So, although the fishing may have been fairly rigorously protected in law, it was a different matter in reality, especially in the Highlands and Islands and where access to Scotland from Ireland, and vice-versa, was so readily achieved. The Clyde merchants also complained that "the Irish not only kill Herrings on our coast, but carry them away fresh to Ireland Contrary to the Statutes of King James the Sixith" and asked that the Admiral of the assize fishing prevent such practices.[105]

Another process of 1736 is noteworthy in that it indicates how a fishing interest could be farmed out, with the use of the holder's capital, and also gives some indication of the price of fish sold to Ireland in that year. The action was taken by Patrick McTavish in Bardarroch against James Campbell of Oib. In July 1735 James Campbell had "sett to the said Patrick, Patrick Henderson in Tayvellich and Donald McKay in Kilchumaig ane coster boat belonging to him for following the herring fishing in the Isles." The latter three were to keep three fifths of the fishing catch, that is a fifth each, while the setter was to have two fifths, one as the boat's share and the other for the salaried men he had aboard. He was also to have four barrels of herring out of the whole head of the cargo, "and the said other person three barrells out of the whole cargoe before division." The fishing had subsequently been undertaken, with 83 barrels of herring being caught altogether. 61 barrels were sent to Ireland, where they were sold at 14s 6d a barrel. Campbell had provided salt worth £13 19s for the curing, and a further £5 6s for sending the catch to Ireland (a useful contemporary indicator of the price of such a venture), which Patrick McTavish acknowledged, but was still claiming for his and the other two fishermen's share of the money and the residue of the catch.[106]

The complex customs regulations made it worth Scots importing their salt, which was very necessary to cure and preserve the fish caught, from Ireland. Often, however, it was Portuguese rather than Irish salt which simply came to Campbeltown through Irish trading houses.[107] Ireland did produce its own salt, though, as is attested by Burrell in 1758, who wrote that, in Belfast:

> there are 2 Sugar Houses, 1 Salt Pan, and another building upon a new Principle, that the same Fire may boyl the Salt and burn a Kiln of Lime at the same Time, It is objected to this, that the salt is not so

> good, because the Lime requires a slow Fire, where as, Salt requires sometimes a quick Fire, at othertimes, none, or at most a Lukewarm Heat.

Burrell proceeds to document the method of salt extraction:

> get Rock Salt and dissolve it in Water, that Water is conveyed into the Pans, and made into Salt, when made, they fill it into Baskets and set it on Hurls to drain off the Liquor which is put again into the pan. They put from 4 to 6 Tons of Rock Salt into the Cister according to the Number of Pans that is going; when put into the Pan, it will boyl and make salt in 5 Hours Time. The Pan must be skimmed 6 Times.[108]

Given that the more coarse Scottish salt was in use, in the Highlands, at the end of the seventeenth century, it is likely that Highland curers would also have been willing to use this Irish salt, which was presumably of a similar quality.

The establishment of salt-pans in the Highlands is a factor which emphasises the importance of fishing in the economy, as well as mirroring the strength of links with Ireland. Prior to the development of refrigeration, ample supplies of salt were one of the prerequisites for the fishing trade, and it was probably in an attempt to address this need that salt-pans were set up by two Highlander landowners in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[109] Salt-pans were already well-established on the north-east coast of Ireland and in Antrim, some fuelled by Scottish as well as Irish coal, and it is likely that some of the Scottish initiatives in this line were attempting to emulate successful Irish counterparts. For instance, there had been salt-pans and coal mines in Bonamargy, north Antrim, since the early seventeenth century, which the first Earl of Antrim had leased to his agent, Archibald Stewart, and to Henry Maxwell, the son of the archdeacon of Down.[110] It cannot be insignificant that the two places where salt-pan developments were projected at this time - in Islay and Skye - were both areas where there was considerable contact with Antrim during this period.

Alexander Campbell of Cawdor had protracted negotiations with a merchant, James Scott, master of the salt-pan at Portnahaven, Rhinns of Islay, between 1692 and 1696, for the establishment of three salt-pans on his land at Ardlarach. It does not appear that these salt-pans ever materialised, due to financial problems. Just a few years into the eighteenth century, in 1703, Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat also set up a salt-pan on his estate, tendering nearly £1,400 to Magnus Prince for its construction.[111]

Salt was probably the most frequent import into Highland ports from Ireland other than grain, and as often smuggled as imported legally. Although the extent of smuggled merchandise between the two countries can never be fully appreciated, it is clear simply from those boats which were caught, that it

was extensive enough. However, in comparison with the intensively organised smuggling operations of the second half of the eighteenth century, which operated from Galloway and Ayrshire, operations were on a smaller scale in the Highlands. This must also be true for the first half of the century.[112] Nevertheless, even if smuggling in the eighteenth century was not a "business with which the highlanders were more concerned than other men," this is not to say that it was insignificant, rather that it was equally important to all coastal communities.[113] The evidence of those boats which were caught tends to build up a picture of quite an extensive trade. Yet, just as much could be transported in smaller boats, over a period of time, as in one large consignment. Smuggling was undoubtedly a significant factor in the Highland economy.

VI. SMUGGLING

There were a number of factors which encouraged smuggling in the North Channel. Firstly, the shortness of the distances involved between Ireland and the west coast of Scotland decidedly encouraged it. The distance between the two countries, at the shortest crossing between Kintyre and the tip of north-east Antrim, is only 12 miles.[114] Scottish boats also traded with ports in Down, as well as Dublin and Waterford, and ports around the northern coast of Ulster.[115] Moreover, there was a proliferation of small islands off the west coast that could happily serve as hide-outs. For such reasons, smuggling had continued apace from Ireland to Scotland for centuries. However, the eighteenth century, in particular, is associated with an increase in smuggling, mainly because of a change in attitude towards trade in Europe at the end of the seventeenth, which resulted in a plethora of prohibitive duties, taxes and nationalist controls on imports and exports. This mercantilist approach to protectionism not only made goods more expensive in the market, but was an added source of administration to the trader, both of which served to make smuggling more appealing. 'Awkward customs regulations further encourged illicit trade. Many merchants could not be bothered making a trip round the Mull to Campbeltown to land their goods legally in a designated customs port; Carskey waters or Dunaverty were more convenient, especially when the cargo might be cattle or horses.'[116] Tariffs were not only protectionist, but as the demands of state rose, were increasingly designed to bring in more fiscal income.[117] This led to an increase in smuggling generally, but more particularly of the more organised smuggling, operated by syndicates. In the main, however, it was largely smuggling of an opportunistic kind which was carried out between the north-east coast of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands and Islands.

A. Organised smuggling versus local opportunism

Smuggling, as an organised business, mainly operated out of entrepôt centres. The important one, in terms of Irish and west coast of Scotland destinations, was the Isle of Man. Entrepôts dealt with large

consignments of more lucrative, continental cargoes such as spirits, wines and tobacco. More prosaic Irish goods, such as candles, linen, and livestock did not require an entrepôt for shipment to Scotland, but could be directly shipped in small vessels. The organised smuggling trade in Scotland ran on two routes. One operated in the Irish sea, using the Isle of Man as an entrepôt and was assisted by Scottish Jacobites in France. For example, the Inverness merchant, bailie John Steuart[118] attempted to encourage his cousin, Colonel John Roy Steuart, who was in France in November 1743, to settle his bill of £17 14s with him by sending some brandy back to Scotland.[119] Smugglers also made use of the shipping of goods on debenture, which enabled them to take goods out of either Scotland or Ireland, under cover of shipping them to a continental destination when, in fact, they simply intended to land the goods across the Irish sea.[120] However, because of the serious risk of follow-through with large vessels, the shipments were as often actually shipped to the foreign ports, from where smuggling vessels would go to pick up smaller cargoes.[121] The other smuggling route operated across the North Sea, and was largely assisted by expatriate Scots in Scandinavia, using Norwegian ports, or after the middle of the century, the Danish North Faroe as an entrepôt.[122]

By the 1720s the Isle of Man was well established as a smuggling port. Although it housed an English customs officer, then as now, its special immunities rendered the customs virtually powerless. Irish smuggling syndicates kept houses there, such as the O'Connors of Dublin and the Blacks of Belfast. It has been pointed out that many of the merchants involved were non-establishment by religion, that is Catholic or presbyterian.[123] There were also Scottish houses on the island, though they seem to have been less involved in negotiations with smugglers and breaking up of cargoes, and more in the initial shipment of large cargoes from the continent. However, the evidence indicates that these were mainly Lowland enterprises, run by those with interests on the Ayrshire coast, or by Glasgow merchants such as Thomas Johnson and Thomas Hutchinson, who had some Belfast connections. Highlanders would more likely have operated, like the Irish, at the level of smuggling the cargoes once broken up. Certainly, the burgh record of Campbeltown for 5 December 1720 provides proof that Campbeltown boats visited the Isle of Man. It records that on 10 November past frequent accounts led them to believe that the Isle of Man was visited by the plague and that Douglas was closed to trade. "Dugall McNaghtane boatman in this place" stated that he was "then bound for Donachadee in Ireland" in a boat belonging to William Alexander and James Robison, coopers. This proved to be a pretence, for even though he swore to the provost that he would not go to the Isle of Man, he later owned that he had been to Douglas. Unfortunately for the coopers, because the people on board had no certificate or bill of health, it was ordered that the boat be burned.[124]

There was always the exception to the rule. Thus, the minister for Kilfinan in the parish of Dunoon, Argyll, in the 1790s recorded a degree of organised smuggling, in the recent past, that would seem to have extended beyond local opportunism. Few people in the parish lived to a very old age, which he blamed on the previous generation's predilection for liquor, "owing to their having carried on a ruinous

contraband trade with the Isle of Man, to an astonishing extent: the bad effects of which are discoverable in the parish to this day." He limited the area of smuggling to the southern districts of the parish, that is, the Kerry.[125]

In the main, however, smuggling in the west coast Highlands and Islands, was largely the illicit practice of trading in small boats which off-loaded into numerous coastal inlets and creeks under cover of darkness. Such activity operated according to local supply and demand, opportunity and weather conditions. Boats were small for a number of reasons. In the first place, any smuggler ran a high risk of seizure, which entailed not only loss of the cargo, but also of the vessel. For this reason, and because their landing ports tended to be shallower and ill-equipped, boats were generally small.[126] Indeed, on the North Channel run, open boats were often used. Evidence for the 1780s indicates that Redbay was a base for the Irish runs to the Highlands in small boats, because of its direct run to the mouths of the Sound of Jura and the Firth of Clyde.[127] Although, for obvious reasons, smuggling locations waxed and waned in popularity, smuggling activity from Red Bay was in evidence from 1560 and was undoubtedly still occurring during the first half of the eighteenth century as well. Recurring destinations in the Highlands and Islands tended to be in and around Kintyre, Mull and Skye.

B. Case studies in the smuggling of grain

West coast smuggling could be organised to the extent of using false documentation which, for instance, overrode the grain restrictions, and might be complied with by Treasury employees for an appropriate fee or percentage. It is evident from extant records that oats and oatmeal was the commodity most regularly smuggled across the North Channel from Ireland to Scotland because arable farming had developed sufficiently in Ulster, during the seventeenth century, that the Scottish market required protection from the often cheaper grain supplies.[128] In terms of administration of that protection there was, at the time, a separate legal jurisdiction of the High Court of Admiralty in Scotland which dealt with all civil and criminal maritime cases.[129] For a considerable part of these two centuries there was a separate court at Inveraray, whose district was described in a later period, in 1773, as "comprehending such of the maritime parts of the Shires of Inverness, Argyll and Dumbarton as lie on the west coast of Scotland and parts adjacent thereto from Bernera on the north to the Castle of Dumbarton on the south inclusive, and also of all the western Isles except Orkney, Zetland and the Shire of Bute."[130]

After the bad harvests of the late 1720s, especially of 1729, Irish grain began to flow into the west coast market again in 1730. There were always some local Justices of the Peace who were willing to involve themselves in the profits of illegal enterprise, and who were, perhaps, often related to smugglers. Traders such as bailie Steuart from Inverness[131] did everything they could to reveal fraud,

because they had their own interest to protect. He wrote to his son, on 27 March 1730: "Your endeavours to put a stop to such meall trade will be good service done to this country in Generall and to me in particular; and, as I design to go for Inverlochie nixt week, I am resolved to enquire into the clearances came with this meall lately landed ther."[132] Nevertheless, there were always law-abiding officials, such as "Neill mc Neil of Macrihanish, Rideing officer on the west coasts," who brought a process in 1732 against "Nathaniel and John" of Londonderry whose ship had been confiscated for the importation of Irish victual, and was now lying in the bay of Dunstaffnage.[133]

The laws anent importation of Irish victual were, indeed, enforced and relaxed so frequently (as is evident from the section on grain above), that a consignment could receive clearance from an Irish port only to find, when it arrived in Scotland, that notification of reinforcement of the laws prevented its debarkation. The Campbeltown Collectors reported such a situation on 8 April 1754, when 'The Briggantine Charlotte' of Campbeltown arrived with a cargo of meal from Waterford, which could not be admitted because the Board's letter reviving the laws against importation of Irish victual had just arrived the day before. It being unrealistic to return the cargo, the boat's owners quickly thought of an alternative scheme.

> Francis Farquharson and Archibald Campbell agreed to giv Bond with the Master for the Exportation of this Meall to Norway as they said the Vessell was going however for that place But after the Bond was extended The Vessell Saill'd without our Knowledge before it was Sign'd, and now they refuse to subscribe it. This gives Reason to suspect they intend to smuggle the Meall in some parts of the Highlands on their way to Norway.[134]

Similarly, there were occasions when the Board of Customs were prepared to turn a blind eye to an illegal shipment if it served the purposes of the administration, rather than press for prosecution. The Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts record, on 22 September 1752, a cargo of "Sixteen Quarter six Bushells Irish Bear or Barley and Thirty Quarters give Bushells Irish Oatmeall or ground Oats" in 'The Jolly Batchelor' of Killoch. The entry records that the cargo was "Imported by the said George Coulter and landed by him in the Isle of Skye out of the said vessel in the month of June last by stress of Weather and sold by him to the Inhabitants of the said Isle who were at that time in a starving condition." Even in adverse weather conditions there would have been ample opportunity of putting into port before the Isle of Skye. It is, therefore, likely that Coulter recognised the opportunity of making a quick profit on a smuggling venture to Skye. In view of the necessary service which he performed, when his cargo was entered in the books several months later, it was charged at "the Low Duty, by order of the Honourable Board of Customs."[135] Mull, with its small grain harvest, was also frequently in need of grain supplements.[136] Thus, the Collectors recorded, on 8 June 1752 the seizure on the 29th of the previous month of oatmeal among a variety of Irish imports by the tidewaiter at Port Glasgow in the custom's sloop. The boat, seized at Mull, was carrying an assorted cargo of three

hogsheads and one barrel of Irish hard soap, six hogsheads of Irish oatmeal and another partially full, eight hogsheads, three barrels and seven bags of Irish salt, five bars of iron and three hair skins. The impounded vessel, "a very old Boat with her Cog Boat Furniture and apparrelling" was brought to Campbeltown where its sails were placed in the King's warehouse "for smugling of Irish meall & Bear in the North Highlands."[137] Other smuggled goods, tended to be every day necessities such as candles, soap and salt, for which there was a high inland and import duty in Britain, as well as wood, though this was largely an entrepôt trade from Scandinavia.[138]

C. The role of the fishing fleet

Both in terms of entrepôt and directly smuggled cargoes, the involvement of fishing vessels and their crews cannot be underestimated. Indeed, 'the fishery served both as the basis of the establishment of the smuggling fleet and as a factor in the maintenance of the pool of capital and personnel.'[139] Not only was fish one of the main legitimate cargoes traded from Scotland to Ireland, but there was, on the other hand, a high percentage of Irishmen in the fishing trade who were involved in the shipping of contraband to Scotland. There was also considerable activity by Highlanders and Irish attempting to evade fiscal tariffs in the fishing industry and the related salt trade. In this respect, the middling range of fishing boats or wherries, vessels used in coastal fishing and ranging between 15 and 20 tons, were the main conveyors of smuggled goods on the east coast of Ireland.[140]

The Campbeltown Collector's letter book documents a case, in 1752, of a wherry which had been seized by the Crown in Scotland, but then repossessed by smugglers. In letters of 4 January and 9 March 1752 the Campbeltown Collector wrote to the Board of Customs that he had twice been over to Dublin since October 1751 in relation to the recovery of the wherry taken from the port of Campbeltown. Although those opposing him had used several quirks of law, the Collector had gained a jury verdict in his favour. The letter of 9 March made it very clear that the opposition were dealers in contraband. "The smuglers have indeed sent us subpenas & filled a long bill against us in the Court of Excheq the intention of which is to remove the cause from the King's bench as a Court at Common Law to the Exchequer as a Court of Equity to procure a Delay of Judgment against them and put us to all the trouble in there power."[141] A letter of 6 April 1652 revealed that the vessel had since been seized, on 26 March, by Captain Mercer, Surveyor General of the King's Barges in Ireland, who advised "that he had caught the above mentioned Wherry for having Run several Cargoes from the Isle of Man into that Kingdom these two or three months past for which she must be Condemned." It is, therefore, probable that this was a group of Irish smugglers who operated through the Isle of Man to both Scotland and Ireland. However, the Collector was informed that the boat's seizure in Ireland would not be detrimental to his claim because Sir Robert Ecclin, who stood bail for the Replevin would be answerable for whatever price the boat was sold for in Scotland before she was taken away.[142]

The Collector expressed his intention to buy the wherry, cheaply, at auction and bring her home for public service in Campbeltown. The only way to outstrip the speedy vessels of the smugglers was to equip the Crown with their like, and the Collector clearly intended to do this, as he had now visited Ireland four times for her recovery. "I can Confirm to your Honours That she is the most remarkable Sailing Boat in Ireland and the best Runner in it - and with some Repair would make an exceeding good Boat for the service of the Revenue."[143] A final letter, of 8 June 1652, records that the Campbeltown Customs action for recovery of the stolen wherry had been decided in favour of the Crown, but presumably the Customs house was not permitted to purchase the wherry, for no further mention is made of it.[144] Particular interest in a fast wherry might be related to the relaxing of the laws on grain importation in 1752. Since fishing boats tended to bring back grain to Scotland on their return journeys, relaxed laws entailed greater vigilance of the fishing fleet which attempted to boost its profit by running smuggled grain.

Moreover, because of the general mobility of the herring vessels, concomitant on the manner in which they migrated with the herring shoals, fishing vessels and crews were especially suspect during times of rebellion. Hence, at the time of the last Jacobite rebellion, an embargo was put on all shipping in Campbeltown harbour, on 7 August 1746, "in consequence of an order from the Lord Justice Clerk to the Honorable Commissioners of the Customs." The fishermen considered it so damaging to their livelihood that they petitioned the Lord Justice Clerk "to consider the situation of this place and to grant allowance to the fishing Boats belonging to this Burgh to proceed on their Business of Herring Fishing as usuall Due Care being taken that no Fishermen shall go on Board said Boats But such as are well affected to His Majestys person and Government."[145] Indeed, many of the personnel involved in trading between Ireland and Scotland, legally and illegally, interchanged easily between the two countries. Thus, it was reported, on 26 December 1706, of Ninian Kelburn, wanted on a discipline charge by the kirk session of Rothesay, that he,"upon his return from the Isles taried not any time at New-port Glasgow and where he is now one they cannot informe but heare that he is in Ireland and serves in a trafficking boat there."[146] By the same token, one of the tide waiters admitted into the Campbeltown officers of the Customs, on 9 April 1752, was William McAulay who was born in Ballymoney, Antrim, in Ireland.[147]

In particular, it was the Irish fishing port of Rush, County Dublin, with its large fleet of wherries, which became renowned for its running of contraband. This was not only because of the covering legitimacy of its fishing activities and the ready availability of boats, but also because of its proximity to both the Dublin market and the Isle of Man.[148] Moreover, the subsidies which the Rush fishermen received for the fishing seem, ironically, to have subsidised their contraband activities. The smuggling trade from this area was also encouraged by the larger boats (busses from the middle of the century),

which were necessary for the Dublin fishermen to go to the cod and ling fishing. In the middle of the eighteenth century this fishing was centred in the Shetlands.[149]

D. Evasion of fiscal tariffs

There was a more favourable aspect to the connection between the Irish fisheries and the smuggling business, as far as the Scottish Establishment were concerned, in that Irish expertise was unanimously recognised, especially in the cod and ling industry. Their training of Scotsmen, either directly in Irish boats, or when they were working as imported labourers in the Scottish fishing community, contributed a great deal to the development of that fishery in Scotland.[150] Scotsmen who encouraged Irish personnel with a view to extending the illegitimate side of their business would, undoubtedly, have a vested interest in pointing out their value, but the argument was a valid one. A case documented in the Campbeltown Customs Book amply expands upon the pros and cons of this connection. In a letter of 20 August 1752 the Campbeltown Customs House details a case which insinuates connivance between Campbeltown merchants and fishermen from Rush in Ireland to avoid payment by the Irishmen of the Bounty. The Campbeltown merchants were taking a percentage of the catch as payment.

The subterfuge came to light when a Mr. George Walker entered three wherries heading to the Shetland cod and ling fishing, nominally all from Campbeltown, at the Customs for clearance permits for their curing salt. "It was noticed that these wherrys came from Rush in Ireland and that the masters of them and all or most of the Crews were Irishmen from Rush." However, Walker was able to produce deeds of sale of the wherries in his favour and the permits were issued. When the wherries returned, Walker entered their catch of ling for export to Dublin in two of the aforementioned wherries which now, conveniently, had Scottish masters. However, the Customs recorded that:

> It was rumoud in town that there is a Collusion betwixt Mr Walker (and other merchants of this place, concerned with him) and the before mentioned Rushmen with regard to the venditions produced, That not withstanding the said venditions, the property of the Wherrys and great part of the fish still remains with the Irish men, and that the Entitling these people to a part of our Fishing or of any Bounty money is Contrary to the Intrest of the Fishers of this place and of the fair trader in generall.

While recognising the need for Irish fishermen to instruct the Scots, it was suggested that this be done by their serving in Scottish vessels and not coming in their own. Moreover, there was resentment that "as there is a Duty on fish Imported into Ireland, by British of which the Rush men have the art of getting free, therefore they can underseel us at all their markets which is a disadvantage to our Fishing Trade."[151]

Walker had a great deal to say in his own defence, namely, that he had bought the boats and employed the Irish crews solely with the intention of promoting the ling fishing in Shetland. This intention had been partly vindicated by the fact that they had recently found a fishing bank which had never been fished before where they caught a greater part of their fish before they set in nearer the coast. However, dissemblance shines through his claim "That these Rushmen have no Concern in the Bounty money nor in the salt made use of in cureing the fish," and that "as they were employed by him it was optional to him whither to pay them for there trouble in money or in fish or in other goods."[152] It is quite evident that the Rushmen were simply keeping their own fish and that Walker was in receipt of the Bounty both for those vessels which were legitimately his, and for the Irish vessels for which he held sham deeds of sale. The question of promoting the cod and ling fisheries also arises, where it becomes clear that Walker had, indeed, been legitimately cleared to employ Rushmen to encourage that industry. He stated that "he himself is at present engaged to the Trustees for Improving the Fisheries & manufactories in scotland to employ expert Fishermen from Rush in Ireland, the very place from which the aforementioned men & Wherry came on purpose for catching and cureing of Cod & Ling in the seas about Zetland and Lewies Islands." However, it soon becomes apparent that the fishermen referred to in this case are extraneous to his legally engaged crews. For he has to make the excuse that "though he has other vessells and Rush men employed in the said Fishing for implementing his bargain with the Trustees, yet this does not exclude him from having other men from Rush Employed in the same way." He, therefore, felt himself justly entitled to the Bounty money and able to take the oath of exportation.[153] Thus, it becomes clear that while they might be instructing the Scottish crews and vessels, the particular Irish crews in question were operating entirely for themselves.

E. Case studies in the smuggling of salt

Particularly associated with the fishing industry was a healthy business in salt smuggling from Ireland, both of continental and Irish salt, which was encouraged by the introduction of complex salt laws at the Union of 1707.[154] The predicament caused by the harsh salt laws was often referred to by commentators who saw it causing unnecessary hardship to the "country people." The situation had not improved by the last decade of the century, when the minister of Kilfinichen and Kilviceueun in Mull pointed out the restrictions on the tenant farmer who engaged in subsistence fishing: "...for it cannot be supposed, that a man will go 40 or 50 miles to a customhouse for a few baskets of salt, and return again to the same customhouse with the little fish he has cured, or perhaps with his litle salt, without any fish at all." Fishermen would not go to a distant customhouse for salt until the herring had actually appeared in the lochs, by which time any salt that they had might be embezzled. Sometimes the case for smuggled salt was little better. "The smugglers will at all times endeavour, by high prices, to indemnify themselves for the risk they run; and, in times of scarcity, their prices are very high." Even if smuggled salt was sold at a reasonable price, any fish cured with it could not be readily sold on the

open market.[155] Similarly, the minister of Craignish, Argyll, stated that because salt was so scarce it was foolish to land more fish than was immediately edible until a supply of salt came from Ireland.[156]

Several of the cases involving consignments of fish cured with salt of doubtful legality mention Stornoway. One case, documented on 17 February 1755, pleads the loss of a permit for foreign salt, dated September 1751, given at Leith to John Wilson and son. Donald McLennan, from Lochbroom, master of the 'Peggy' and 'Jean' of Stornoway turned up over three years later, on 9 January 1755, with 106 barrels of herring for export to Ireland, said to have been cured with part of the said salt. A certificate was produced from John Clark, minister of Stornoway, with a letter from Wilson and son addressed to Kenneth MacKenzie, merchant in Stornoway, and McLennan also took an affidavit which, together, were clearly meant to establish the transference of the salt. Likewise, on 31 January 1755, another cargo of 56 barrels of herring arrived at Campbeltown in 'The Stornoway' of Stornoway under William McIver, bound for Dublin, and claiming to have used the remainder of the salt. McIver also produced a certificate from the minister and took an affidavit. Although the fish were subsequently permitted to ship to Ireland, the merchants were told that no debentures would be given to entitle them to the Bounty without order from the Board of Customs.[157] There was clearly suspicion of smuggling.

Another case, documented on 3 February 1757, as well as dealing with further suspicion of smuggling salt, once again involves John Clark, minister. It would, therefore, appear that Clark was either directly implicated in salt smuggling or was excessively naive.[158] When the surveyor came on board 'The Thistle of Irvine' in Campbeltown harbour, nine barrels of cod and a cannon had already been transferred into another vessel in the road, without any application from the customhouse having been made. When the surveyor asked to see their clearance or 'Cocquet,' Watson produced "a kind of certificate" from Clark, minister of Stornoway, saying that the fish had been cured with small salt "without making any mention whether the salt was British or Irish." The cargo of 22 barrels of wet cod, 46 score of dried cod and 92 deals was, thus, seized.[159] Apart from the lack of a customs dispatch with the fish or a proper permit for the salt, the reasons given for its detention are revealing of a considerable trade in smuggled salt between the Highlands and Ireland. The Collectors specified "That considerable Quantities of Irish salt are smuggled into these parts." More pertinently, they revealed:

> That Watson the Merchant has been for some time past in the Practice of that sort of smuggling and particularly in Summer last carryed a cargo of Irish salt to the Highlands in a schooner that then belonged to him (for which she was seized and condemned in Harvest last after her return to Greenock) part of which salt he smuggled in these Countries and lodg'd a considerable Quantity of it there, with which it is presumeable the Fish now detained were Cured.

Evidence for the fishing industry, above, indicates that Irish salt was widely used at the end of the seventeenth century, so the trade in salt smuggling was a long-standing one. And although there was clearly a racket operating from Stornoway, salt smuggling was also prominent on the Argyll coast. Thus, a Campbeltown Collectors' report, of 5 February 1755, refers to the recent seizure of "a Boat Laden with Irish salt condemned and sold at Islay."[160]

On 14 February 1755 the Campbeltown Collectors informed an official of the Register of Seizures in Edinburgh of the taking of "Irish small salt and horses carrying the same and two Irish horses all which were condemned and sold here."[161] It seems clear, in this instance, that both the Scottish and Irish horses were highlighted simply as carriers, rather than as contraband cargo, for the hardy Highland horses were popular for the transportation of smuggled wares.[162] Moreover, it is likely that there had been trade in horses from the Highlands to Ulster for some years. The minister of Kilchoman in Islay wrote, in the 1790s, that "We are said to keep too many horses, which is against the system of black cattle: Yet these horses bring a good deal of money into the country, the Irish being very fond of them, as they are neat lively creatures, and fit for the saddle."[163]

Conclusion

The exchange of horses as carriers raises the whole aspect with regard to smaller-scale transactions, not only of the effective lack of delineation between legal and illicit trading, but also of the promotion of legitimate trading links as a by-product of smuggling connections, and vice-versa. Often the same people were involved in both. While the evasion of customs duties was undoubtedly a bonus in much small-scale trading, its main significance must be seen in terms of a kin-based commerce, undertaken over short distances between, or for, relatives on opposite sides of the North Channel. Besides sharing their expertise in the cod and ling fishing, Irishmen were also involved in the teaching of sea-dependent skills to Scottish Gaels. Many of them were responsible for the first exploitation of kelp on Highland shores. The minister of North Uist mentioned, in the Old Statistical Account, that the manufacturing of kelp was a principal industry in the parish, but that it "was totally unknown here, as well as in every other part of the Highlands, till about the year 1735, when it was but imperfectly introduced by one Rory Macdonald, whom a gentleman in this country (Hugh Macdonald, late tacksman of Ballishar) had invited over from Ireland, for the purpose of making experiments." At his first attempts, he only reduced the seaweed to ashes, for which he was known as "Rhuary-na-huahigh" or "Rory, maker of ashes."[164] In the early stages of the industry, the kelp shores appear to have been rented, at fixed rates, to independent entrepreneurs, not a few of whom were Irishmen. MacLeod of Bernera permitted Irishmen to make kelp on his lands in 1748, on payment of 2s per ton while, in 1762, Hector MacLean of Coll sold the right to an Irishman to make 48 tons of kelp for the rent of £10.[165]

When considering the overall impact of the Irish/Highland trade, it is clear, in spite of previous views on the subject which play down the extent of Irish trade with the Highlands or decline, in the absence of records, to make categoric statements about its extent, that the trade between the two areas was significant to both. Once links were forged, as in the timber trade, there was always further opportunity for diversification, for instance, into the provision of dye for the tanning trade or manufacture of charcoal for the iron industry. Howeve, the smaller-scale transactions such as the piecemeal trade in livestock between McNeills in Kintyre and east Ulster, are perhaps best seen in the light of a kin-based commerce, undertaken over short distances and between relatives on opposite sides of the North Channel. Many of the undertakers, thus, felt perfectly justified in trading outwith the customs' jurisdictions. Nevertheless, the variety of smuggled cargoes seized from Ireland at Campbeltown, within the eleven years from 1749 to 1760, is indicative of the scale of operations. When this is added to those cargoes shipped legitimately, and to the unknown quantity which was not seized, the trade must be recognised as substantial. Both Highlander and Irish Gael fished in each other's waters, and manned each other's boats. The overall picture is of a society linked by blood relationship, which fully exploited their kin ties to expand their nearest markets and to promote their own economic furtherance. Links between traders, both legitimate and illegal encouraged trade in general, the exchange of manufacturing expertise, and the formation of small companies.

NOTES

1. Laura E. Cochran, 'Scottish-Irish trade in the Eighteenth Century,' in T. M. Devine and David Dickson (editors), *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 155.
2. L. E. Cochran, *Scottish trade with Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 149.
3. Cochran, p. 94.
4. William Mackay (editor), *The Letter-Book of Bailie John Steuart of Inverness 1715-1752*, SHS, 2nd series, 9, (Edinburgh, 1915), p. 75. Steuart was married to Ann, the daughter of Norman Macleod of Drynoch, in Skye, and obviously had social as well as commercial contacts in the Highlands. (*Letter-Book*, footnote to p. 70.)
5. NLS Ms. 2911, Tour Description by Sir William Burrell of a tour made by him in 1758, chiefly in Scotland, fols. 8-9.
6. NLS Ms. 2911, fol. 9. Although the denomination of the currency is not specified, in Ireland it would have been sterling. See appendix 9 for comparative land and produce price list of various locations in the Highlands and Ulster visited by Burrell.
7. Susan MacDonald, 'Campbeltown's Overseas Trade, 1750-1775,' *The Glynns*, 7, (1979), pp. 10-11.
8. MacDonald, p. 10.
9. Such corruption might easily have taken place earlier, during the seventeenth century when, from 1664, England began prohibiting the import of Irish cattle between 1 July and 20 December of each year, as well as Scottish cattle from 24 August to 20 December. However, with the discrepancy in the Irish and Scottish date bans, the Irish may have shipped some of their cattle to Scotland, to be driven from there down to England. Moreover, although Irish cattle imports to Scotland were also forbidden, by similar Scottish legislation, from 1 March 1667, the evidence seems to indicate that the Scots had more trouble with illegal Irish imports than the English. Illegal imports of Irish cattle would have been likely to have occurred in the Argyll region, given both the shortness of the crossing, and probably to avoid detection in Galloway, to where the cattle would normally have been shipped. The ban lasted for 12 years, ending in the spring of 1679, and it has been suggested that it led to a development of the provisioning trades in Ireland. (Donald Woodward, 'A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century,' in L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout (editors), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900*, (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 151, 154.)
10. For instance, the first line of the document reads "Received from Captain McNeile of Coshendon [Cushendun] for the youse of Neall mcNeille of Oudindell Esquire £45 1s 5d." (SRO GD328/23, Scott, Moncrieff and Trail, W.S., collection, including papers relating to McNeill of Ugadale.) The McNeill pedigree - for which see fig. 11.6, Pedigree of the McNeills of Faughart, Cushendun & Gallochelly, descendants of the McNeills of Gigha & Taynish - indicates that this is Captain Archibald. Elsewhere in the document 'Oudindell' appears as 'Ougindell', but is obviously Ugadale.
11. SRO GD328/23.
12. SRO GD174/535, MacLaine of Lochbuie Papers.
13. SRO E504/8/1, Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts, September 1743 - September 1748.

14. See introduction, Burrell's account of 1758. It sold at 12s per stone in that year, from Belfast.
15. NLS Ms. 2911, fol. 8.
16. SRO E504/8/1.
17. SRO E504/8/2, Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts, September 1748 - 10 October 1757.
18. MacDonald, p. 13.
19. Figures in the text, have been compared at five year intervals from 1745 to 1760, in order to get a view of the overall change.
20. SRO E504/8/1. Figures for the first quarters of 1743 and 1746 were also comparably lower than for the second and third quarters of the year where, in both years, only £2 17s was taken in dues during the first, or Ladyday, quarter. Certainly, it was uncharacteristic that no customs dues were collected in the second quarter of 1746, ending 5 July, and it is likely that this can be attributed to the battle of Culloden. At the same time it must be noted that no customs dues were collected for the first and second quarters of 1747, even though trading had resumed in the final quarter of 1746, when £78 15s 9½d was collected, so that it is difficult to come to any definitive conclusions.
21. SRO E504/8/2. See appendix 10 for customs abstracts from the Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts. It should be noted that this is the largest figure given from when the abstracts begin in 1743, until the end of the period considered by this thesis in 1760.
22. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 159, 161, 190.
23. SRO E504/8/3, Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts, October 1757 - October 1766.
24. David Graham-Campbell, 'The Younger Generation in Argyll at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century,' *Scottish Studies*, 18, (1974), p. 83. These brothers were first cousins of Archibald of Inverawe (d. 1704-6), as well as of bailie Dugall Campbell of Nether Rudil and Shirvan (d. 1730), who was bailie on the Earl of Breadalbane's lands of Nether Lorn. (pp. 84-85.)
25. See appendix 11 for list of burgesses.
26. Daniel McNeill's nephew was Roger McNeill of Taynish.
27. SRO Ex SC54/2/53, Inveraray Processes, bundle 3.
28. SRO RH4/93/5/4, reel 2, Loch Etive Trading Company Records, Journals 1734-36, journal no. 5; Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1963), p. 218.
29. See further on in this Chapter, section IV. Timber and charcoal-iron industry, for Galbraith's company.
30. SRO RH4/93/5/4, fol. 128. It is interesting that there are lots of other debts classed as 'indifferent' involving sums of £1 to £2 of debt, and also some in the 'good' debt section for equal sums, which indicates that the Irish obviously had poor credit, or at least, that these particular Irishmen did!
31. SRO RH4/93/4/4, Loch Etive Trading Company Records, Ledgers, 1729-54, reel 1, fol. 1; SRO RH4/93/5/5, Journal 1742-43, fol. 7v. This is evident from information given by the minister of Southend, in Kintyre, in the 1790s, who wrote that coal was imported from Ireland to prepare the lime for fertiliser, in kilns of turf. "There are coals at a distance of 9 or 10 miles, but they are not so good as those to be had in Ballycastle in Ireland, from whence, or from Ayrshire, they would readily carry them, were it not for the tax imposed upon coals

carried coastways, which is a great hindrance to the improvement of this part of the country." (Donald J. Withrington (editor), Sir John Sinclair's *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799. Argyll (Mainland)*, 8, (Wakefield, 1983 facsimile reprint), p. 392.)

32. SRO RH4/93/17/1/4, Loch Etive Trading Company Additional Papers, Balances in Oban ledgers, 1743.
33. SRO RH4/93/5/5, fol. 61.
34. Article on Shawfield papers published in Glasgow Herald, Tuesday, 2 June 1959, viewed at the Mitchell Library, (Rare Books and Mss.), in the Shawfield papers. The Duke referred to here is probably the second, rather than the third, Duke. Captain Dugall of the family of Inverawe, the London merchant mentioned above, also became a 'man of business' to the second Duke. (Graham-Campbell, p. 88.)
35. According to Glasgow Herald article this island is St. Kitts.
36. MLRBMC 691709, Shawfield papers, 1/241r and v.
37. MLRBMC 691710, Shawfield Papers, 2/398.
38. Harn is coarse linen cloth.
39. MLRBMC 691710, Shawfield papers, 2/567.
40. MLRBMC 691710, Shawfield papers, 2/345.
41. MLRBMC 691710, Shawfield papers, 2/362.
42. Donald J. Withrington (editor), *OSA, The Western Isles*, 20, (Wakefield, 1983 facsimile reprint), p. 102.
43. Cochran, pp. 102, 105; T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, (London, 1973), p. 251.
44. Argyll and Bute District Archives, BC/1/1, Burgh Records of Campbeltown, 14 June 1700 - 19 June 1739, fol. 31.
45. D. C. Mactavish (editor), *Inveraray Papers*, (Oban, 1939), p. 24. The denomination of the money is not specified, but figures appear generally to be quoted in Scots.
46. *Letter-Book*, pp. 69-70.
47. *Letter-Book*, p. 76. When £s are quoted in the Letter-Book, the denomination, either Scots or sterling, is usually designated. This does not always occur with merks, however, though it is generally more likely that where the denomination is unspecified, the bailie is referring to Scots.
48. *Clan Donald*, III, Appendices, p. 664. The first "murain" in their cattle occurred in 1717, but was repeated by a second, which included other livestock, in 1721, "whereby a great many of our cattle have perished to the number of seven hundred and fourtie five cows, five hundred and seventy three horse, eight hundred and twentie sheep." William McLeod of Hemmir was said to have eased the feu ferm payable by the tenants by £70 10s sterling, "otherways the most of the lands should have been west, and many souls by all appearance faimes'd for want of subsistence." (p. 664.)
49. Cochran, p. 100 - table charting trade in oats and oatmeal between Scotland and Ireland; Ronald Edward Zupko, 'The weights and measures of Scotland before the Union,' *SHR*, 56, (1977), pp. 124-26. A quarter contained 8 bushels or about 2 bolls.
50. *Letter-Book*, p. 76. Others of Steuart's comments are indicative of his expectations of the integrity and safeness of the area. "And mind to send barrells, balks, and waights in each bark to weigh out the meal, for

that cannot be hade that is exact in those Cuntrys." He also thought it "not amiss yow order Insurance on the tow barks goes to the Highlands, in Holland, where youle get it Done, I supose, for 1½%, as I did Last year." (p. 76.)

51. Cochran, p. 102.

52. *OSA*, 8, footnote to p. 219.

53. Argyll and Bute District Archives, BC/1/1, fol. 70. Importation of Irish victual continued in the 1790s. The minister of Campbeltown wrote: "The quantity of corn raised in the parish is by no means sufficient for its inhabitants in town and country. It is computed, that for some time past about 2500 bolls of meal have been annually imported. Since the late corn law took place, oat-meal has not been above 1½d per pound in our market." For this protection, the minister was greatful, because "The Highlands are already so heavily taxed by their situation, soil, & climate, that they need every possible indulgence from government." (*OSA*, 8, p. 521.) So too, in Inveraray, the grain grown in the parish was not considered sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. "The town and parish are chiefly supplied with meal from the Clyde, Dumfries or Ireland; and there are annually imported, from 8000 to 10,000 bolls, part of which is carried to some of the neighbouring parishes." The minister also considere that meal sold at as high a price there as at anywhere else in Scotland, but he may have felt obliged to write this to mitigate reports about Argyll's accessibility to cheap grain imported from Ireland.

54. Cochran, p. 102.

55. James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, III, (London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast and Dublin, 1853), footnote to pp. 343-44, quoting Wodrow's manuscript letters.

56. Cochran, pp. 103-04.

57. *Letter-Book*, p. 306.

58. *Letter-Book*, p. 345. Sir John Shaw of Greenock was Commissioner to the Customs.

59. Argyll and Bute District Archives, BC/1/1, fol. 185. The state of the currency throughout the reign of Charles I was a serious economic problem, the root cause of which was an international shortage of bullion. Although the coins specified here appear to have been attempted counterfeits of British halfpennies, 1629 was also notorious for an influx of German dollars into Scotland, whose circulation encouraged further counterfeiting because of lack of familiarity with the coin. '... the excessive circulation of foreign dollars within Scotland was attributable primarily to the debasement and clipping of coin within the Holy Roman Empire. Dollars were imported mainly through the east coast ports either as a direct result of the sea-borne trade with the German states or indirectly through the Low Countries - notably from the acceptance of German dollars in lieu of bullion or "rix-dollars" by the coalowners and saltmasters on the Firth of Forth.' (A. I. Macinnes, 'The Origin & Organisation of the Covenanting Movement during the reign of Charles I, with a particular reference to the west coast of Scotland,' I, (PhD dissertation, University of the Glasgow, 1987), pp. 464, 469.)

60. Malcolm Gray, *The Highland Economy 1750-1850*, (Connecticut, 1976 reprint), p. 6.

61. Allan I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom: The First Phase of Clearance,' in T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (editors), *People and Society in Scotland, I, 1760-1830*, (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 71.

62. *Letter-Book,* p. 345.
63. *Letter-Book*, pp. 372-73.
64. Cochran, p. 109.
65. Cochran, p. 105, using information on imports into Scotland from A. Bald, *The Farmer and Corn Dealer's Assistant*, (Edinburgh, 1780.)
66. Cochran, footnote to p. 105.
67. See below, section VI, Smuggling.
68. Cochran, p. 105.
69. Cochran, p. 106, footnote to pp. 107, 109.
70. Cochran, p. 149.
71. NLS Ms. 2911, fol. 8.
72. Ernest Raymond Gillespie, 'East Ulster in the early seventeenth century: A colonial economy and society,' (PhD dissertation, Trinity College Dublin, 1982), p. 61. See the published R. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster,* (Cork, 1985.)
73. All documents for this section come from Ardchattan Priory Papers, NRA(S)/934, bundle 779. There are no item numbers in the bundles.
74. Gray, pp. 48-49.
75. The denomination of the merks is not given. It is likely that they are merks Scots, but this cannot be stated definitely, as Walker happily mixed both £s Scots and shillings sterling in his estimate of the worth of trees and barrel hoops below. However, given that the value of the trees was estimated on Scottish soil, and that the barrel hoops would probably be sold on the merchants' return to Ireland, the estimates were probably, respectively, quoted in their indigenous denominations.
76. A hogshead is a large cask of 52½ gallons imperial measure.
77. Note that the original of what has been rendered as John Campbell of Muckairn is "John Campbell of Macorne." 'Muckairn' was suggested to me by Alastair Campbell of Airds, as the most likely transcription, since Campbell of Muckairn was of the family of Cawdor.
78. The agreement therefore stated "That in case an Iron Work shall be erected on the said Woods or any part thereof for the Mutual Benefit of said Partys and that the said Roger Murphy his Executors or Administrators shall be deficient in Money to answer his or their part of erecting the same Then the said Arthur Galbraith and Charles Armstrong or one of them their or one of theirs Executors or Administrators and will advance the same unto the said Roger Murphy his Executors or Administrators assigns upon his or their assigning by way of Mortgage."
79. It was registered at Inveraray, 18 February 1723.
80. 'Ket' is a spongy peat composed of tough fibres of moss. (Alexander Warrack, M.A. (compiler), *Chambers Scots dictionary*, (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 303.)
81. A further proviso declares that in case of any public wars or insurrections which might occur in the said shire in 1722 and interrupt the work, then Murphy was to have the same access to the woods for an equal length of

time. He was to pay £90 sterling for these privileges by 1 September 1722. It is also noteworthy that conservation consciousness is not just a modern phenomenon, for "the said Rodger obliges him and his forsaids to Cutt and Sell the saids Woods as shall Conduce to the best advantage for ane after growth of the saids woods." So too, "the said Colin promises to preserve these haill Woods Unabused to the best of his power. "

82. In all likelihood, the ironworks had, therefore, been established earlier than the approximate date of 1725 given in John R. Hume, *The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland II. The Highlands and Islands*, (London, 1977), p. 146. The method of holding was that they were to receive £100 every year, by a payment of £50 sterling to each man, on 1 November. This was to continue until the outstanding sum and the interest on the three bonds was discharged. Three years later, on 9 March 1728, Colin Campbell, one of the landholders with whom Murphy had contracted, was granted a Receipt of Poind and Arrest against him, if he had not paid what seems the rather paltry debt of £6 15s sterling, by 15 May next.

83. The articles were registered in the books of Council and Session, on 20 November 1725, and notorially, on 26 November 1725. Note that the letter is docketed 1726, which is the date in the NRA(S) survey.

84. According to the date this should be a new contract, but rights were sold to Murphy and Charles Armstrong, junior, just as in the contract mentioned in February 1722, from which Armstrong's share was said to have reverted to his father. The woods particularly mentioned here are those of Locheil, Glen Loy [Glenley], and Loch Arkaig.

85. The NRA(S) survey notes a 1723 agreement between the same four partners to export wood from the Lochnell estate to Ireland. This document did not appear to be in the bundle, when viewed. However, William Kettlewell is stated to be a partner at the ironwork in March 1725, which seems to back up the existence of a 1723 document, or, at the very least, to indicate that he first became a partner in the ironworks, and then graduated to being a fully-fledged partner in all the dealings of the wood exporting company. Moreover, the 1725 agreement is concerned with more estates than Lochnell's, as also are the 1722 articles of agreement.

86. J. M. Lindsay, 'The Iron Industry in the Highlands,' *SHR*, 56, (1977), p. 56.

87. 'Wood' presumably means fallen timber. A 'stool' is the growth which springs up from site of a felled tree. (A. Warrack (editor), *Chamber's Scots Dictionary,* (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 574.

88. See appendix 11, list of Burgesses of Inveraray extracted from the Minute Books of the Burgh.

89. See above, section I, General Trade Links.

90. Lindsay, pp. 56-57.

91. Lindsay, p. 55. The partnership included John Gordon of Kirkconnel, collector of the excise in Glasgow, James Graham of Kilmannan, and various other Glasgow merchants.

92. Lindsay, p. 58.

93. Cochran, pp. 41-42.

94. Shaw, pp. 162-64.

95. See below, section VI. Smuggling.

96. Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scottish Salt Industry 1570-1850*, (Aberdeen, 1987), pp. 48-49; Gray, pp. 112-13.

97. See below in this section, and section VI. Smuggling.

98. Cochran, p. 43.

99. Cochran, pp. 42-43, 46.

100. This was divided into £50 transferrable shares.

101. Strathclyde Regional Archives (SRA), B10/12/1, Glasgow Burgh Court Register of Deeds, Old series: Probative Writs, 1 September 1721 - 22 April 1758, fol. 196, and background from Richard F. Dell (compiler and editor), Glasgow Copartneries, Joint Stock Companies and Ventures to 1775. A Register compiled from the Burgh Court Register of Deeds and Probative Writs, and from the Greenock and Port Glasgow Port Books, unpublished typescript, (Glasgow, 1971.)

102. Cochran, footnote to p. 43, p. 51.

103. John McUre, *The History of Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1830 edition, after the original published in Glasgow, 1736), p. 231, and footnote to p. 231. In the 1790s, the minister of the parishes of Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich, in Argyll, noted that all the fish caught in his area was sent to Glasgow and Greenock. He considered, however, that Loch Long and Loch Goil had advantage over Loch Fyne owing to their situation: "The herring that is killed in the two former lochs, may be brought to Greenock, or Glasgow, in a very short time, without any land carriage, whereas the herring that is killed any where near the head of Loch-fine, in order to be sold fresh, must be carried by horses in creels, from Loch-fine, to the head of Loch-goil, at the distance of eight or ten miles; thus not only an additional expence is incurred, but the fish is much damaged by frequent handling, especially in the warm season of the year." (*OSA, Argyll (Mainland)*, 8, pp. 339-40.)

104. Fisher must have had a sub-tack of a particular part of the western seas, for the tack in its totality was in the hands of the house of Argyll, as it had been for a large part of the seventeenth century. (See above, Chapter 12, section V. Fishing Industry.) On 13 August 1705, John, Duke of Argyll, as a special mark of favour from Queen Anne for services done to her, and because his predecessors had been lessees of the assize herring for many years, received a continuity of the lease for two nineteen years after the expiry of the lease granted to his father, Archibald, Duke of Argyll, which was to continue after his death. (For Her Majesty's Stationery Office, *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Mss. part 1. Report and Appendix*, (London, 1874), p. 482.) Since his father's lease was granted in June 1698, for nineteen years, and would therefore not expire until 1717, John, Duke of Argyll, thus had a lease until 1755.

105. Mactavish, pp. 88, 90.

106. Mactavish, p. 91.

107. MacDonald, p. 10.

108. NLS Ms. 2911, fol. 8.

109. Shaw, p. 160.

110. Gillespie, p. 123.

111. Shaw, pp. 160-61. Indeed, there had been evidence of Irish commercial interest in Islay as early as October 1681, when Sir Hugh Cawdor had drawn up a contract with an Irish group, represented by Squire Dobbs for the 'exploitation of deposits of lead ore in Islay.' Lead-mining was eventually established on the island in the

1690s but it is not known whether this was a different initiative or not. (Shaw, pp. 160-61.) However, given that references to the lead mines in the first decade of the eighteenth century refer to Irish tacksmen, it is more than likely that the two were connected. In the first few years of the eighteenth century the mines were still tacked to an Irishman, for this was brought out as incidental information in an adultery case tried by the Presbytery of Kintyre on 16 October 1704. The minister, Mr John Campbell senior, reported that "Mary McCalman Quadrilapse in uncleannes twice in fornicatioun and twice in adulterie formerly in Irland and now again with Robert Casie Esquire in the Countie of Cavan in that Kingdome tacksman of the mines of Ila." (SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, fol. 162. As for appearing to answer the adultery case, neither of the parties appeared!) A few years later the tack of the Islay Lead Mining Company was made over to another Irishman, by Lady Campbell, widow of Sir Alexander Campbell, late of Cawdor. The indenture, dated 9 January 1707, "Granted to John Pollok, of Dublin, in the Kingdom of Ireland, Gentleman, a Lease of all the Mines of Lead and other Minerals in the Island of Ila" for 21 years. This economic connection, through lead-mining, undoubtedly increased Islay's social interaction with Ireland, though it had always been fairly substantial. Subsequently, John Pollok, as principal tacksman, transferred his right and interest in it to several people in different proportions, and further, some of the sub-tacksmen conveyed some of their shares to others, so that by 1722 the lease was settled with three Glaswegians. (SRA, B10/15/3653, Glasgow Burgh Court Register of Deeds, Registered Deeds (The Court Record), 1661-to date, fol. 1. The indenture of 9 January 1707 was registered in the books of Council and Session on 28 August 1711.) Indeed, it had been in Glaswegian hands since 1716. (SRA, B10/15/3386.)

112. A. J. Youngson, *After the Forty-Five,* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 119. In the latter half of the century, ships sailed from the continent to North Faroe, under Danish sovereignty, from which entrepôt goods were shipped to the north-west mainland Highlands, Skye or the Long Island. Goods not landed there were carried to Kintyre. The small Highland horses were popular with smugglers to carry the goods to the centres of population, and were a source of income to those Highlanders who had finished their agricultural duties. (p. 119.)
113. Youngson, p. 118.
114. Andrew McKerral, *Kintyre in the seventeenth century*, (Edinburgh, 1948), p. 1.
115. SRO E504/8/1-3.
116. MacDonald, p. 11.
117. 'The Smuggling Trade in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,' pp. 149-50.
118. See above, section III, Grain trade in the eighteenth century.
119. *Letter-Book*, pp. xlvi-xlvii.
120. A debenture is a Custom-House certificate to an exporter detailing the amount due to him as draw-back or bounty.
121. L. M. Cullen, 'Smuggling in the North Channel in the eighteenth century,' *Scottish Economic and Social History,* 7, (1987), pp. 11-12.
122. Youngson, p. 167.

123. The O'Connors above, were Catholic, and the Blacks presbyterian. It is worthy of note that just after the end of the period under view, in 1765, the Isle of Man was effectively destroyed as a smuggling entrepôt with the purchase by the British, at the end of April, of the rights to the island from the Duke of Atholl. (L. M. Cullen, 'The Smuggling Trade in Ireland in the eighteenth century,' *Proclamations of the Royal Irish Academy,* 67, section C, no. 5, (1969), pp. 152-54.) The island had been acquired through marriage to the English Stanley family.
124. Argyll and Bute District Archives, BC/1/1, fol. 134.
125. *OSA,* 8, p. 210. As a consequence of their smuggling activities the inhabitants of the Kerry were generally wealthier than their neighbours in the northern division. However, the minister added that since that time, many of them had fallen into poverty owing to the bad habits which they had acquired through the trade.
126. 'The Smuggling Trade in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 151.
127. 'Smuggling in the North Channel in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 22. In the 1780s the Breckenridge family co-ordinated the smuggling from Red Bay, using both the Isles of Sanda and Rathlin as stop-overs on their route to the main Scottish smuggling centre, which was the Ayr coast. (L. M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade 1600-1800*, (Manchester, 1968), p. 153; MacDonald, p. 11.)
128. Cochran, p. 102.
129. The Court of Admiralty sat in Edinburgh. The creation of the office of High Admiral of Scotland, and of the Court, probably date from the early fifteenth century. Prior to this, maritime cases had been heard locally by the magistrates in the coastal burghs. (James S. McGrath, 'The Administration of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1574-1586,' 2 vols., (unpublished PhD, University of Glasgow, 1986), I, p. 156.) The Court of Admiralty exercised a criminal and civil jurisdiction, a prize jurisdiction and was also a court of record. Its activities were supervised by the Court of Session. Parliament twice intervened on behalf of the Court of Admiralty with Acts in 1609 and 1681 in its fight for independence against the two common law courts of Session and Justiciary. In 1681 the Court of Admiralty became an independent court. Outwith this period, in 1825, the prize jurisdiction was transferred to the English Court of Admiralty and in 1828 cumulative jurisdiction in criminal cases was given to the Justiciary Court with the Admiralty Court. In 1830 the Admiralty Court was abolished as a separate jurisdiction. Its civil jurisdiction was transferred to the Court of Session and the sheriffs, and maritime criminal jurisdiction was conferred on the Sheriff Court. (The Stair Society, *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History,* (Edinburgh, 1958), pp. 27, 55, 346-47, 398-99.)
130. Mactavish, p. 22.
131. See above, section III, Grain trade in the eighteenth century.
132. *Letter-Book*, pp. 345-46.
133. Mactavish, p. 24.
134. SRO CE82/1, Campbeltown Outport Records, Collector to Board, Letter Book, 1749-1762, fol. 42.
135. SRO E504/8/2.
136. See above, section III, Grain trade in the eighteenth century.
137. SRO CE82/1, fols. 24, 27.

138. *Anglo-Irish trade 1660-1800*, p. 146.

139. 'Smuggling in the North Channel in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 13.

140. 'The smuggling trade in Ireland in the eighteenth century,' pp. 151-52.

141. SRO CE82/1, fols. 10, 11, 12.

142. SRO CE82/1, fols. 16, 17. The Replevin is the party submitting to trial for recovery of distrained goods.

143. SRO CE82/1, fol. 17.

144. Note, however, the complaint by Angus Fisher of Inveraray in 1752, above, section III, Grain trade in the eighteenth century. Fisher's proposal that the Duke of Argyll procure a condemned smuggling wherry for the tacksmen of the herring seems to infer his knowledge of this action, and was perhaps designed to encourage the purchase.

145. Argyll and Bute District Archives, BC/1/2, fol. 31. There were also suspect government officers. In the text of an enquiry into the officers of the customs and excise employed by the Treasury following the '45, the unnamed enquirer begs leave "to acquaint your Majesty, that having lately received good information, that one Mckennon Tide Surveyor at Glasgow had carried over Flora Macdonald and other Rebels to the Highlands in the Custom house boat without acquainting his Superior Officer, that he had taken the Boat, or for what purpose I immediately ordered Mckennon to be dismissed the service, and have appointed an officer from one of the Ports in England to his Place." (British Library Add. Ms. 33,050, Papers relating to the Jacobites, 1745-1755, fol. 153. This section begins on fol. 130 and is marked in modern hand 'late 1752' and entitled 'Notes about disaffected persons in the customs in Scotland.')

146. Henry Paton, *The Session Book of Rothesay, 1658-1750*, (Edinburgh, 1931), p. 228.

147. SRO CE82/1, fol. 23.

148. 'The smuggling trade in Ireland in the eighteenth century,' p. 152. The Campbeltown Collector's Quarterly Accounts for 9 July 1753 chronicle an interesting cargo "In the Peggy Wherry of Campbelltown Ronald McDonald Master for Port Rush, in Ireland." It should be noted, however, that there is a Portrush near Dunluce on the north coast of Antrim, and it is more likely that it is this that is referred to here rather than the port of Rush, in Dublin. The domestic cargo documented is indication of an emigration to Port Rush: "One Chest containing four Dozens Linen Handkerchiffs, one piece quantity seven yards Sterling plaid and four pieces containing Eighty yards Chequerd Linen Also Ninteen Chests containing Body Cloaths, weavers and shoemakers Worklooms or Uttensills and Several Bibles and small Books all belonging to Passengers, British Manufacture Free." (SRO E504/8/2.)

149. 'Smuggling in the North Channel in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 13.

150. 'Smuggling in the North Channel in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 13.

151. SRO CE82/1, fol. 29.

152. SRO CE82/1, fol. 29.

153. SRO CE82/1, fols. 30-31.

154. See above, section V, Fishing.

155. *OSA*, 20, p. 292.

156. *OSA*, 8, p. 75. In his opinion, under the prevailing system of management, Highlanders could not be properly supplied with salt. This was largely because of the lack of store houses and because of the various bonds and provisos relating to it. Hence, "smuggling is encouraged, nay, made necessary; and thus the fishing in general is discouraged" and opportunities of expanding the economy lost."

157. SRO CE82/1, fol. 57.

158. However, when his implication is considered in conjunction with the statement of the minister of Kilfinichen and Kilviceueun in Mull, above, it may be that he felt morally justified in helping the 'country people.'

159. SRO CE82/1, fol. 79.

160. SRO CE82/1, fols. 80, 53. There are many other references to smuggled salt - viz. fols. 24, 56, 70, 84.

161. SRO CE82/1, fol. 56.

162. Youngson, p. 119. According to evidence in the Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts the duty payable on livestock seems to have been inordinately high. For example, when, on 25 January 1744 one horse and one mare were imported from Belfast in the Henry of Killibegs for Roger McNeill (probably of Taynish), the duty payable on just two horses was £12 17s. (SRO E504/8/1.)

163. *OSA*, 20, p. 389.

164. *OSA*, 20, p. 105.

165. Gray, p. 130.

CHAPTER 14
SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS: THE COMMONALTY 1560-1760 - 1 MIGRATION AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Introduction

There are two kinds of movement associated with the interaction of common Irishmen and Highlanders and Islanders during this period. One is a permanent migration and settlement and the second is occasional or irregular social interaction based on illicit needs such as the necessity of seeking refuge from pursuers, as well as on legitimate contact based on kin association and trade. Permanent migration to Ireland, particularly Ulster, occurred in the wake of mercenary movements in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and also as an ongoing consequence of the acquisition of the Biséd inheritance of the Glens by the MacDonalds at the end of the fourteenth century.[1] The mercenary season was between May and the harvest, at which time most mercenaries tended to return to Scotland to matters which took precedence over their military activity. However, the incidence of migration resulting in permanent settlement tended to increase at times when the Clan Donald South was under attack from the government and the Campbells. Although technically excluded from it, the plantation of Ulster, nevertheless, provided opportunities for some Highlanders to settle there, more particularly, perhaps, on the Antrim estates. Certainly many thousands are reported to have emigrated to Ulster from Inverness-shire during the first half of the seventeenth century.[2] As the strong military links between the two countries lessened after the civil war, there is less evidence for permanent Scottish Gaelic settlement in Ulster, though there was a period of renewed, mainly Protestant Scottish settlement between 1690 and 1715, especially after the battle of the Boyne in 1698, which probably included some Protestant Gaels.[3] However, occasional social interaction continued over the whole period, waxing and waning in periods of war and rebellion, and dearth and plenty.

Diverse evidence has been gathered for Scots' settlement in Ireland during the earlier part of this period, ranging from the limited evidence of coin hoards to church records, but drawing primarily on invaluable but problematic, evidence of family names and place names from various sources.[4] For the mercenary period, family name evidence can be derived from the large collection of official government papers. Moving into the first half of the seventeenth century, it becomes more difficult to trace Highland settlers in Antrim because of their official exclusion from settlement under the Ulster plantation. Moreover, since the majority of material relating to the plantation period also comes from official government papers, this situation is further exacerbated by the English government's apparent inability to distinguish between Irish and Scottish Gaels, who were all pooled together as 'mere Irish.' Yet, in the absence of extensive seventeenth century documentary evidence either for the Highlands or Gaelic Ireland, the study of surnames takes on a greater

relevance. In this regard a significant, if necessarily localised study, has been undertaken by Brian S. Turner, entitled 'Distributional Aspects of Family Name Study Illustrated in the Glens of Antrim,' which enables certain theories about Highland settlement to be proposed.

> Both the Irish system of land tenure and ownership and the method of nomenclature, tended to result in surnames having significant local connotations. Families bearing patronymics tended to be associated with the particular lands attaching to the clan. The longer a family is associated with a particular place, the greater one would expect its numbers to be and therefore the more obvious its association with that place.[5]

Though it is rare to identify a Highland settler from land charters and rent rolls, it is possible to isolate, or make an educated guess at, the origin of plantation settlers by identifying Highland forenames and patronymics. Turner's research has been based on 'A Census of Ireland, circa 1659,' a collection of manuscripts discovered among the papers of Sir William Petty, which are probably based on poll tax returns, and secondly, on the County Antrim Hearth Money Roll of 1669, which recorded those liable to pay the 2s tax on every hearth, firing place and stove.[6] It has been noted, for the 1659 Census, that racial distinctions are not strictly adhered to. 'Highland Scots are included in the lists of principal Irish names and so too are occasional lowland Scots or English names.' Moreover, difficulties of communication and native knowledge could have resulted in the enumerators overlooking the inhabitants of the remote glens.[7]

I. SETTLEMENT DURING THE MERCENARY PERIOD

The evidence which survives is heavily weighted in favour of Scottish migration to Ireland, rather than vice-versa, and this is perhaps not surprising, since mercenary movement was in that direction and since the MacDonalds held a sizeable portion of land there. However, there is some movement in the other direction which also occurred largely as a result of associations fostered through the mercenary trade.

Of fairly clear Irish mercenary origin was a certain "Moldonych McGoloiglache," who in 1581 appears as a witness to a charter which now forms part of the Poltalloch Writs. The Irish is very clearly 'Mac(an)Ghallóglaighe,' or 'son of the galloglas.'[8] A number of people of the name of O'Hanley (Ua h-Ainle) settled in South Uist in about 1600, having come there in the marriage train of Fionnsgoth Burke, of the Burkes of Connacht, when she married Raghnaill mac Ailein MacDonald, first of Benbecula.[9] Another family which is said to have come from Ireland at the same time, is the MacKiegans of North Uist. The implication would seem to be that they probably arrived in the same fashion as the O'Hanleys, but this connection has not been drawn in the

secondary literature. There is evidence of settlement for the MacKiegans before that date in the Isle of Coll, where "Hew M'Kegane" held certain lands for a tack of 19 years in 1567.[10] However, relationship with the MacLeans, at this time, once again points to a mercenary connection.

Some Highland settlers have been identified, in the middle and more southerly provinces of Ireland, from the Elizabethan Fiants of the latter half of the sixteenth century, who were clearly not members of the *gallóglaigh* families who had settled there since the thirteenth century:

> Two MacColls occur in Sligo in 1590; three MacColls with a MacAlistran, a MacAline and two MacKeys in O Flaherty country in Galway in the same year. MacAlistran is, of course, MacAllister of the Loup clan, and of this name there is a further occurrence in Galway in 1593 and two in Munster in 1601... M'Ilean and M'Glene, both occurring in Connacht in 1591... A MacGillicolum occurs in Limerick in 1590, two MacAndrews in Mayo in 1594, two MacNeils associated with MacDonald names in Munster in 1601, and a MacCoye, a gentleman, in Armagh, in 1602.

These names quite clearly belong to the mercenaries or New Scots. Their presence in Connacht can be readily explained because the mercenaries hired out their services extensively there in the 1570s. In other cases, the name dispersal can probably be traced to mercenary links with the *gallóglaigh.* Some further general information can be gleaned from the Fiants, that is, that during the period from 1560 to 1600 eleven men in Connacht have the word *Albanagh* appended to their names, with eight in Leinster and only two in Munster.[11]

Catherine MacLean's marriage to the Calvach O'Donnell and her hand-fast relationship to Seán O'Neill resulted in the settlement of MacLeans in Ulster from the 1560s. After Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone returned from London in 1590, having gone to answer for the execution of Hugh Gavelagh (one of Catherine's sons by Seán), he found that his earldom swarmed with his enemies, both the late Seán's adherents and Scottish kinsmen of Catherine MacLean. They are recorded in Ulster as "M'Ellanes" or "M'Illanes," and many families are said to have come from Mull to settle in the northern counties with Catherine.[12]

Besides the family name evidence, two coin hoards of this early period, which are probably almost contemporaneous, one from Antrim and the other from Islay, amply illustrate that the Scots mercenaries operated in Ireland and then returned to Scottish shores. The Islay hoard contains a mixed variety of Scottish, English and Irish coins, dating from some time before 1464 to some time before 1561. The date of the deposit can be fixed in the early part of Elizabeth I's reign, because the latest coins are Elizabethan, issued before 1561. The cist was probably chosen as a safe place because of the islanders' superstition in interfering with a place of ancient sepulture.[13] The money

could have been acquired by one of the MacKays serving in a mercenary capacity with James MacDonald of Islay and the Glens, or it could have been a MacDonald hoard.[14]

The Antrim collection was in the possession of Mrs. A. G. (O'Neill) Chichester of Galgorm Castle, Ballymena, County Antrim, having been given to her mother, Mary MacNaghten, prior to her marriage in 1893. If the coins had actually been passed down through the family, then connection with the Macnaghtens of Glenaray and Glenshira must be mooted. It should be noted that this particular MacNaghten family have owned an estate at Dundarave, Bushmills, at three miles distance from the Causeway, for some generations. The coins may have formed part of a larger collection, hidden under a similar deference for the supernatural, in the Giant's Causeway. Yet, it must be stressed, in spite of the frequent movements of Scots mercenaries to and from Ulster that Scottish coins from the mid-sixteenth century are very rare on Irish soil.[15] However, given the one-sided nature of the mercenary trade, which mainly consisted of Scots going to Ireland, rather than the reverse, this is not unexpected.

In view of the small number of Scottish coins in the first hoard, which indicates that the origin of the coins was in Ireland, it is likely that this small collection was brought across to Ireland by a Scot, for not many Scottish coins circulated in Ireland. Indeed, from the time of Robert III, in the fifteenth century and during the reign of subsequent kings, when the groat underwent a substantial reduction in weight, Scottish coins were not readily accepted in England and consequently played less of a role in the Irish economy too. Evincing an odd similarity with the Islay hoard, the latest of these Scottish testoons also dates from 1561.[16] Attention has been drawn to the high incidence of small coin hoards in Ulster which date from this general period. Twenty-two small groups of Irish coins have been identified in Ireland, comprising base metal groats dating from c. 1554 to 1561, sixteen of which come from the north of the country. The incursive raids of Seán O'Neill against the MacDonnells from 1563 have been advanced as a likely cause of the increased incidence of these coin caches.[17]

In terms of migratory and settlement patterns rather than numismatics, the aggression of Seán O'Neill may possibly have led to a reduction in numbers of Scottish settlers. With Seán's defeat of Somhairle Buidhe MacDonald near Coleraine in 1564, his invasion of the Glens during 1565 and his victory at Glenshesk in which Somhairle and his brother the chief, James MacDonald were taken. O'Neill then exterminated much of the Scottish colony except for about 20 of the clan *fine* whom he kept for ransom, allowing them to return to the Route which they immediately repeopled. Fortunately for the MacDonalds, on this occasion the English felt so threatened by O'Neill, that he was eventually driven back on the hospitality of the Scots, who unceremoniously dispatched him.[18]

While mercenary activity was undoubtedly the financial mainstay of Scottish Gaelic society, and the military ethos was as much to the fore in Irish society, there are also signs of other activity. Gaels were no less a society of small tenant farmers. A description of the Scottish Isles dating from c. 1577 to 1595 specifies that agricultural labourers were not allowed to join the mercenary expeditions, clearly in order to safeguard the community's food supplies during their absence. According to a government document, before Somhairle Buidhe landed in Antrim in November 1567, there were less than 1,000 Scots mercenaries in Ulster,[19] though there may been larger numbers of mercenaries a little earlier. Certainly, on 8 March 1560, Lord Justice Sir William Fitzwilliam had written to Lord Deputy Sussex that 'The Earl of Argyle's sister has lately come over to the Calough O'Donnell her husband, and brought with her 1,000 or 2,000 Scots. Shane O'Neill has engaged 1,000 or 1,500 Scots or other soldiers.' Some of the mercenaries settled. On 7 December 1582, the Lords Justices wrote to Walsingham that 'The Scots on their departure from Turlough Lynagh have drawn towards Claneboy purposing to settle there,' though the settlements referred to may not necessarily have been permanent, but rather camps. However, there had been some permanent settlement by Highlanders in the wooded Dufferin area of east Down from the mid-sixteenth century, doubtless connected with the supply of wood for the mercenary boats. The local heritors, the White family, were often away from the area, so that by the 1550s the Highlanders were using it as their base in Down. In January 1579, Lord Justice Dury noted that '700 Scots arrived to inhabit the Dufferin.' Scots were still there in the 1670s by which time they had expanded into the neighbouring baronies of Ards and Lecale.[20] (See fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.)

Scottish Highland settlement remained relatively insignificant, and being largely maintained by reinforcement from Kintyre, is perhaps best termed episodic migration. General mercenary activity must also have resulted in temporary influxes of skilled and unskilled workers in a support capacity to service the mercenary bands. It also resulted, as noted previously, in the maintenance of noble households in Ulster as well as in Kintyre. James MacDonald's base in Ulster was Red Bay Castle near Cushendall.[21] In April 1561, when Piers, the constable of Carrickfergus, had recently sent an agent to complain to James MacDonald about his brother Somhairle Buidhe, he noted that "James M'Donnell has many carpenters come out of Scotland, to build him a house in the Red Bay."[22] Unfortunately, this magnificent house, regarded as the finest in Ulster, was fired by Seán O'Neill in 1566.[23]

As Somhairle Buidhe's lust to stake out his own inheritance in the Route grew, it was perhaps accompanied by some increase in peasants, or seasonal migrants. Somhairle had relinquished a position in temporary command of the MacDonalds of Clan Donald South in Scotland for the chance of personal gain in the Route, in Ireland, (but not in the Glens, which remained an annexe to the possessions of the Lord of Islay.)[24] It is likely that any MacDonald forces who settled in

Fig. 14.1

THE COUNTIES AND BARONIES OF ULSTER.

Reproduced from
Ruth Dudley Edwards,
An Atlas of Irish History,
(London, 1973), p. 16.

Ulster at this time, did so in the Route, to consolidate and protect Somhairle's gains:

> Stragglers from these forces might well have settled in the Glens, but this in itself re-emphasises their position. The Glens were not a juicy contest for those whose living ultimately depended on agriculture, but a place of refuge separated from Kintyre by sea, from the rest of Ireland by mountain and bog, and protected from within by steep rocky slopes and dense woods.[25]

Thus, Somhairle Buidhe had his task set out to defend the lands entrusted to him against the depredations of the MacQuillans, O'Neill and not least the English. In spite of all, he succeeded. Ultimately, the English gave him title to the Glens and the Route in 1586, and his overlordship was also, of necessity, recognised among the MacDonalds.[26]

One of the most important considerations which arises in this period must be the question of the social back-up to mercenary activity. Did Scottish rather than Irish peasants work the lands of the Antrim MacDonalds? In the absence of evidence, it is practically impossible to do more than surmise in this area, but it seems likely that Gaels of both nations were involved. Land grants had been made on the Biséd inheritance in the Glens from the early fifteenth century, and wherever the MacDonalds conquered land they would have attempted to consolidate by granting to their own Scottish people. Captains Piers and Malbie, for example, wrote to the Lords Justices of Ireland in January 1568 stating that Somhairle Buidhe had gone back to Scotland with some of his men, but had left the rest with Turlough Luineach - 'the Clan Allesters, who manure the land of Monery and Cary [Antrim], and Alexander Oge M'Alester Charraie.'[27] By the same token, the Scots were also able to carve a niche for themselves further south in Down. Marshall Bagenal noted in his description of Ulster written in 1586 that in the Dufferin the White family who had once held control of the area were "too weak to defend and manure the same, therefore it is usurped and inhabited for the most parte, by a bastard sort of Scottes."[28] The fact that mercenaries did not travel in isolation, but with retainers who maintained and carried equipment and cooked food, should also be taken into account. So when it is surmised that stragglers from any military force stayed in Antrim, that probably included civil as well as military personnel. By the same token, it is practically unknown for foreign forces not to make use of native labour. When they were fighting for Irish Lords, Scottish mercenaries interacted with the native Irish through the *buannacht* system, and given that they spoke a similar language, it seems improbable that they did not also make use of the Irish workforce.

II. SETTLEMENT DURING THE PLANTATION PERIOD

In the seventeenth century, the evidence for Irish settlement in the Highlands and Islands is slimmer than for the reverse. A number of O'Dochertys are apparent in Islay from early in the century, under the leadership of Campbell of Cawdor. For example, a "Donald O Dochartie" is noted in Islay in 1629.[29] Although they are first recorded during Cawdor's time - he obtained the feu of Islay in 1614 - it is, perhaps, more likely that they were fugitives from Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's failed rebellion in Ulster in 1608.[30] When Andrew Stewart, third Lord Ochiltree went to the Isles in that year, acting as King's Lieutenant, he wrote to the Privy Council from Islay stating that he had secured Dunyveg castle. His second concern was to ascertain if any of the Irish rebels had arrived in the island. "And, for this effect, haveing sent searcheouris in all pairtis of the ile, I apprehendit twa of Odoharty his disperat company." More significantly, perhaps, he wrote that "heiring a brute [sound] that thair wes some ma come lykwayes to this ile, I not onlie sent certan of my awne sojouris, bot Alexander Oig, to mak inquisitioun for thame." He was further informed that "some of thame ar gone to Kintyr."[31] It therefore seems quite likely that this is the source of the seventeenth-century Island O'Dochertys. Another O'Docherty is mentioned in a contract of fosterage drawn up at 'Keill' [Keils] in Jura, Argyll, the next island to Islay, on 8 December 1665, between George Campbell of Airds, on the one hand, and Donald Dow McEwin and his wife "Roiss N'Odochardie," on the other. George Campbell was fostering his daughter Isobell with them for seven years.[32] The O'Dochertys remained into the eighteenth century, for a "James Odocherty" and a "William Odocherty" appear in Tormistell in Islay in 1733.[33]

The MacDonald lands in Ulster were officially re-granted from the Crown to Sir Randal MacDonnell in 1603. The Antrim estates, as thus granted, constituted 333,907 acres, comprising the baronies of Dunluce, Kilconway, Carey and Glenarm, and undoubtedly attracted the most Highland labour.[34] (See fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.) Given that the plantation of all the six counties contained 3,798,000 acres altogether, the scale of Antrim's extensive grant is put into perspective.[35] When the plantation of Ulster began, Sir Randal, later first Earl of Antrim, soon saw the financial advantages to be reaped from attracting settlers, capable both of outright purchase or settlement as tenants. For the instrumental planters, events in Ulster came at a time when there was great upheaval in the social and political status quo in Kintyre, not least of which was caused by the overthrow of the Clan Donald South. Many Highlanders came from Argyll when the area underwent a considerably smaller plantation of Lowlanders, designed to keep in check the older orders who had owed allegiance to the MacDonalds.[36] At least one Highland laird, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, received a legal grant of land in the plantation.[37]

Even before the plantation of Ulster got properly underway in about 1610, people from Argyll began to settle on the Earl of Antrim's lands following his re-grant of the Route and the Glens. '...as

a matter of course, many of his kinsmen kept coming and going across the channel, as their affairs required,' though this tended to be seen in the Irish State papers as the intercourse of conspiracy.[38] One clan who appear to have migrated to Ireland in sizeable proportions was the Clan Gregor, largely as a result of their proscription after the clan's victory over the Colquhouns, Argyll's enemy, at Glen Fruin in 1603. The government decided to outlaw them, and ironically, Argyll became the main executor of justice against the clan for which he was rewarded with the grant of Kintyre.[39] Their existence in Ireland is mentioned in a letter of 10 August 1753 from Balhaldie to the Jacobite King, James VIII and III. He wrote of the visit there of the government spy turned Jacobite, James Mòr MacGregor (or Drummond), after he had escaped from Edinburgh Castle in November 1752:

> James Drummond Macgregor, Rob Roy's son, came here some days agoe, and informed me that, having made his escape from Scotland by Ireland, he was addressed to some namesakes of his there, who acquainted him that the clan Macgregor were very numerous in that country, under different names, the greatest bodies of them living together in little towns and villages opposite to the Scottish coast.[40]

This seems to locate them in Antrim or Down. Moreover, they would appear to have involved themselves in the fishing industry for MacGregor of Balhaldie, chief of the MacGregors, estimated that they would only require twenty-four hours "to transport themselves in whirries of their own, even in face of the enemy's fleet, of which they are not affrayed."[41] Similarly, in 1607, when Sir James MacDonald, heir of Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, escaped from prison, another attempt was made to reclaim the MacDonalds' Kintyre territory, which appears to have resulted in dislocation, particularly of the clan élite and tenant classes. Chichester, the Irish Lord Deputy, wrote on 8 June 1607, that it had been:

> certified by several letters that Angus M'Connell, pretended Lord of Kentyre, has put himself into arms and done some annoyance to the Earl of Argyle's people seated in that promontory. Many of the poor people make means to fly into the Roote, to Sir Randal M'Donnell, and Angus threatens to put over into those parts with his galleys for the spoil of that country and the subjects adjoining.

Chichester ordered the patrolling of the sea channel by Captain St. John of the 'Lion's Whelp,' from the river of Strangford to Loughfoyle "both to secure these parts and so to amuse the rebels that perhaps they would lie still." In this same letter of 16 July 1607, more information was given about the potential Antrim settlers. "Many of the inhabitants likewise of that side have made suit to come over into the county of Antrim with their goods and cattle to inhabit there, and they offer to be guides back again if they [the State] should make any expeditions against the Islanders." The cattle which the settlers brought were specifically mentioned because they were regarded as being as valuable as the settlers themselves, particularly in view of the devastation caused in Ulster by a

decade of war at the end of the previous century. That they had cattle, also tends to identify that they were people of a certain social standing, but Chichester seems to imply that the fugitives held their own status too dear.

> All this proceeds from a conceit they have, that some soldiery would be sent against them from hence, and like to come upon them and spoil them unawares. They do not here certainly know in what disgrace or terms of disloyalty these islanders stand with his Majesty, but whensoever he shall be pleased to reduce them to obedience, it is to be done from their northern parts more effectually than from any other.[42]

It is unclear exactly who the "poor people" mentioned by Chichester were, other than that they owed allegiance to the Earl of Argyll. It has been argued that they were presbyterians from the shires of Renfrew, Dumbarton and Ayr who had begun settling in Kintyre from 1600, but this argument has since been disproved.[43] While settlers may have begun to settle in Kintyre prior to the issue of the decreet in favour of Argyll in 1609, which allowed him to eject Kintyre tenants, and to begin the erection of the Lowland burgh of Lochhead, 'such evidence as we possess points to the earliest incomers to Lochhead being from Bute and the Cumbraes. The Ayrshire and Renfrewshire contingent came later.' Even after the 1609 decreet, many of the old Highland names remained while some of the more senior families such as the MacDonalds of Sanda, received new charters.[44] If the "poor people" were, indeed, mainly Lowland settlers in Kintyre, it is surely significant that many of the inhabitants of Bute and the Cumbraes were bi-cultural, able to exist amongst Gaelic or English speakers. Moreover, the Stewarts of Ballintoy who had left Bute for Ulster in the second half of the sixteenth century had close connections with the Earl of Antrim and would perhaps have been able to vouch for some of these Kintyre settlers.[45] Of those who stayed, two charters were granted to John Boyll of Ballochmartin in the Greater Cumbrae in 1609, who was forbidden to lease or to feu to any person of the names MacConnell or MacDonald, MacLean, MacLeod, MacAllister or McNeill.[46] This readily identifies the clans which Argyll felt to be a threat.

There is even the possibility that some of the people fled to Ireland as a protest against the renewal of hostilities or to avoid being pressed into servitude, particularly militarily, by the MacDonalds. This migration might have occurred pre-1615, that is, in 1609, for those whom Argyll sought to evict included McNeills, MacAllisters, MacKays, Macoshenags, MacEachans and MacEachrans.[47] Many of the MacKays who fled to Island Magee to join settlers established there before the seventeenth century, were killed during the massacre on the island at the hands of other plantation settlers in 1642. Those identified by name evince definite Scottish forenames - Donald Gorum Mc ranichcholl; Donald Mc ean Vc Ky; Donald Mc gillespic og Vc Ky; Johne Mc ranich gormue McKy, tenant of Bellineill; and Hector Mc allester Og, tenant of Ballinachtane. Nevertheless, along with the other traditional occupiers of Kintyre, the Stent Book of Islay for the eighteenth

century, also indicates that some MacKays remained.[48] The final possibility is that implied above, that these were simply local Mull of Kintyre people who had swapped allegiance from the MacDonalds to the Campbells in the light of the former clan's fading power in that area. In view of the expanded land market in Antrim, and perhaps having relatives over there, they decided to cross to Ulster.[49]

Although a sizeable proportion of the traditional tenants remained following the decreet to Argyll in 1609, which sanctioned the ejection of 53 Kintyre tenants, and the start of the building of the burgh of Lochhead, undoubtedly just as many did not.[50] '...even where absolute dispossession did not occur, new charters were only negotiated on disadvantageous terms, and all these old families of gentry of the territory of the Isles would only survive in a state of greatly reduced wealth and importance.' For, though the old inhabitants of Kintyre were not totally cleared by the 1609 decreet, nor after the Islay rebellion of 1615, it is likely that any unrest would have incited some to uproot themselves, particularly sub-tenants who had less vested interest in the land, and members of the clan *fine* who had been in combat. It, therefore, seems likely that any migration from Kintyre at this time was of the downwardly mobile elements of the traditional tenantry of Kintyre. The MacKays of northern Kintyre would seem to be prime examples, because the plantation burgh of Lochhead was erected on what had been their land. Many of the MacKay tenants may have been threatened with loss of their leases and tacksman status, and decided to go to Ulster instead. 1618, just following on the Islay rebellion, is given as the most likely time that the MacKays fled to Ulster, in order to preserve what was left of their wealth and social status.[51]

The gross instability in the Kintyre region during the first half of the seventeenth century undoubtedly resulted in both Highlanders and Lowlanders crossing to Ireland. However, the establishment of the English system of landownership in Ulster after decades of struggle under Elizabeth, compounded by extensive plantation, fundamentally changed the situation, particularly for the MacDonalds and their associates. This reduced the incentive for movement to and from the Highlands, though it did not disappear. The trend away from Ireland continued in the 1630s and 1640s when the south-west Highlanders not only became Protestant but mainly presbyterian as well, and so began to be drawn into the orbit of Lowland Scotland.[52] However, while there is a basic truth in this, it must not be forgotten that many of these Highland presbyterians also found a ready welcome in Ulster under the Protestant ascendancy.[53] Their Protestantism probably rendered them more acceptable in Ulster, even though Highlanders had been excluded from the official plantation. Overall, in the plantation period, the tendency of settlement seems to have continued into the richer lands of the Route. Evidence from the Antrim leases also shows the Glens people moving westwards. This is supported by the occurrence, in the Route but not the Glens, of the names of Campbell-oriented groups, such as the McConaghys, a family who originally came from further north in Argyll but moved into Kintyre with the Campbells.[54] However the McConaghys,

or as the name appears in the Highlands, MacConachie (or MacDhonnchaidh), did not necessarily go to the Route from Argyll. Although there were MacConchies in Inverawe, who were an old sept of the Campbells, as well as the family of MacDhonnachie Mhòr or Campbell of Duntroon, and the family of MacDhonnachie or Campbell of Glenfeochan, there was also an old sept of Macconochies in Bute, where six people of that name held land in 1605.[55]

III. SETTLEMENT DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND CROMWELLIAN PERIOD

With the consolidation of Campbell power in Kintyre in the seventeenth century, it is interesting to find that many of the old names who, in the sixteenth century had operated as mercenaries under the MacDonalds, had simply switched allegiance to the Campbells. However, it appears that they may not have expressed the same enthusiasm for their presbyterian masters. For instance, when George Campbell of Airds wrote to his brother Colin, tutor to the fiar of Cawdor, on 4 July 1642 about the situation in Ireland, he mentioned the low quality of the troops recently sent from Islay. He cited five MacKays in a list of those who had been killed in Ireland by Sir Robert Stewart, on or about Island Magee, though it appears that some of these Scots had already settled in Ireland.[56] Clearly this was a case of pragmatism on the part of the MacKays, especially those who lived on the ostensibly Gaelic Island Magee, but who came out for the Marquess of Argyll's regiment in Ireland, because he was, or had been, their superior in Kintyre. General Leslie's suppression of MacDonald resistance in 1647 further subdued any threat from that area, at least until the Jacobite cause gave it renewed expression. When Leslie wrote from Dunyveg on Islay around 25 June 1647, he stated that Sir Alexander MacDonald had left for Ireland sixteen days earlier, taking all the leading men of Islay, and some of the best of the local inhabitants, leaving behind 100 Irishmen in the fort, and an equal number of local men under the command of his father and brother. He also reported that he had heard that 4,000 Irishmen were ready to return with MacColla, which though undoubtedly an exaggeration, shows that reinforcement from Antrim was anticipated.[57]

There is one noteworthy example of surreptitious clearance of MacDonalds to Ireland by the Campbells of Cawdor, which can probably be dated to 1639 or the early 1640s, and is mentioned in a manuscript history of the Campbells of Craignish. Elizabeth, only daughter of Archibald Campbell, the youngest son of Archibald Ronald Roy Campbell of Barrichbeyan (family of Craignish), married Duncan Campbell of Elister, the second son of Colin McIphryar of Ardchattan, of the family of Cawdor in Lorn. According to the manuscript "Colin McIphryar was the first settler of the name of Campbell in Isla under Cawdor, when the McDonalds were driven out of it, and he was the first Laird of Sunderland," and Elizabeth therefore lived in Islay with her husband. It should be remembered that Campbell of Cawdor received a charter of Islay in feu, on 21 November 1614.[58] The story told of the above-mentioned Duncan, or Donach McCallam

(McCailein), as he was known, therefore dates from a generation later. When young, Duncan of Ellister kept a large birlinn "which he traded with to the coast of Ireland and the north Isles, and kept a strong band of men aboard of her generally." A "wicked woman of the Family of Dunstaffnage," who has been identified as Janet, daughter of Campbell of Dunstaffnage and wife of George Campbell of Airds, tutor of Cawdor, whose husband thus held authority over Islay "was in practice of seizing in the night all the followers of the Family of McDonald who was and is still the chief of the inhabitants upon that Island." On her orders MacDonald retainers would be bound hand and foot, and carried away in birlinns at night, and would be left before daylight on deserted rocks and islands in the sea to perish. Duncan "would come and relieve them and land them on the coast of Ireland and Island of Rochray [Rathlin]." So too, there was apparently another "wicked woman at Dunstaffnage that had the same practice of persecuting the remains of Coll McDonalds and his son Alexander's men, wherefrom he carried two cargoes with the like success," which clearly dates the clearance and rescue to the 1640s.[59] Given that Colla Ciotach appears to have been lured from his followers into Campbell territory in mid-1639, where he was subsequently arrested, and that the Isle of Colonsay was easily taken by the Campbells in June 1639, in his absence, this episode would appear to date from just after the conclusion of the First Bishops' War on 18 June 1639.[60]

The real testing point came with the arrival of Alasdair MacColla on the Argyll coast in 1645, in a last bid to wrest back Islay and Kintyre for his kinsmen or, at the very least, to put all who had connived in its transfer to the Campbells to the sword. Among those who joined him were a number of north Kintyre MacKays and some of the MacAllisters of Loup, MacLeans, McNeills and also MacDonalds, that is, representatives from the traditional mercenary clans.[61] Once again, the taking up of arms under a MacDonald must have meant that those leaders who were left from the traditional community, more or less secured themselves an involuntary passage to Antrim. As for the Kintyre region, this was simply another addition to the already burgeoning list of upheavals and depredations. As if this were not sufficient, General Leslie, in command of part of the Covenanting Army, exacerbated the situation both by bringing pestilence to Kintyre and by effecting an almost wholesale massacre at Dunaverty in 1647, primarily of MacDougalls from Lorn. Indeed, the only rural areas which were severely hit by the plague of 1644-49 apart from the burghs, were parts of Argyll and southern Perthshire.[62] 'The contemporary figures of waste land confirm the impression that during these years the people of Kintyre and Islay died by war and disease, fled or were transported, or were deprived of their seed corn, plough horses, and other necessities for cultivation.' In the circumstances, then, it is conceivable that both Highlanders and newer settlers in Kintyre made the short journey across to Antrim, where there was land to be had.[63]

With more of the MacDonalds removed, the eighth Earl of Argyll seriously set to planting his Kintyre estates with covenanting Lowland lairds and barons, as well as with Campbells from other

areas of Argyll.[64] Indeed, it has been noted that Highland Argyll names other than those from Kintyre exist in the Route today, like McConaghy and McCollum, who came into the old MacDonald lands of Kintyre from the northerly parts of Kintyre, when the Campbells infiltrated them at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[65] It is probable that they subsequently moved out through lack of opportunity, at the Revolution in the late seventeenth century, and as a result of piecemeal tenurial reforms from the early eighteenth century.[66]

There were also many in the military during the civil war who lived in Ireland for a number of years, whose settlement cannot strictly be termed permanent, but who remained longer than for an occasional visit. Some even settled there after the war. Such service had particular consequences for the exercise of Kirk sanction, for it is clear that those who had been away in the wars in Ireland, particularly when on the Royalist side, were generally regarded as morally suspect or deficient. Those who had been soldiers and now sought to marry, invariably had to prove that they had not already married whilst away on military service. Thus, on 10 March 1652, "John Mckonnochie alias Lamount" appeared before Dunoon presbytery supplicating "the Presbitrie for ane testimoniall that he might have the benefit of mariage" because this had been refused him in Rothesay, since he had been a soldier for a long time in Ireland. Eventually, it was declared that after three proclamations and the sight of "Capitane Collein Campbell's testimoniall under whois collors he was souldier testifying that he was unmarried in irland, and free of all conditioune and promeis during his abode thair" he was to be allowed to marry or to have a testimonial to marry where the woman is.[67] Irish soldiers had also come to Scotland with MacColla, and "sum wnaturall and treacherous countrie men" had even joined "with a bloddy crew of Irrishes, who these years bygone haue cruellie murthered manie thousands of our dear brethren, and by robbing, spoyling, burning of houses, cornes, and other goods, and other acts of barbaritie and horrid insolencie, have wasted and destroyed this kingdome."[68]

The upheaval and uncertainty of war left many women without certain knowledge of the death of their spouses. War was, after all, a useful excuse to some for veiled disappearance, but the rejected spouse had to endure the protracted process of confirming her husband's likely extermination before she was permitted to remarry. Thus, on 15 August 1655, the presbytery of Kintyre:

> Admitts that Marie Ncneill sumtyme spous to Obrian Mcneill gave libertie to be maried, In regaird it is generallie reported and asserted that hir said umquhill husband was killed in Irland with Allastre Mcdonald fro a that these aught yeires bygane ther is no word hard of his being alywe, It being also notorlie knowne that at that battell few obtained quartere.[69]

Some women only achieved the right of subsequent remarriage by taking matters into their own hands. Thus the Synod of Argyll noted during their assembly which began on 9 October 1652 that

"Gorrie Mc Neill and (blank) Campbell went to Irland to get mariage, albeit the samen was refused to them by this kirk upon this grund, that the said Campbells husband went to Irland about fyve yeers since and no probabilitie gotten of his death." This refusal had held little weight with the said Mrs. McNeill, who clearly felt that it was ill-advised and proceeded with her next marriage in any case.[70]

At the same time as application was made for new marriages, it was also sometimes necessary to supplicate for the removal of the bans of excommunication, a process which many of the rebels had undergone *in absentia.* A particularly interesting example, inasmuch as it indicates that political and religious affiliations split families, is that of James Boyd, son of the late bishop of Lismore, who fought under MacColla. By the 1650s, Boyd considered it politic to try and absolve himself from the sentence of excommunication, though he did not consider it politic to stay away from Ireland. On 26 January 1653, the presbytery of Dunoon warned him about repairing to Ireland. "And admonitioune is to be given to him that hee be carefull anent the weall fair of his owne soull and be mindfull that he studie the way to be relaxit from the sentence of excommunicatune under which he is lying; and withall that he returne to Scotland to the provinciall to be halden at Rothsay about the end of May."[71] A minute of the Synod of Argyll, in May 1654, refers to his previous supplication in which "he declared his sorrow for his complying with Aleister mc Donald, rebell." He now wished to give public evidence of his repentance so that he could be relaxed from the sentence of excommunication, but unfortunately was at the time a prisoner at Carrickfergus, so that he could not appear before them. The Synod decided that his imprisonment should not hinder his right to Kirk privileges. They, therefore, recommended the said James to the ministry in Ireland, indicating that after manifest signs of his repentance, they would relax him from the sentence of excommunication.[72] It is evident from the Irish records that Boyd went to the Route.[73]

There is also ample evidence, during the Cromwellian period, of Argyll and other family names from the Highlands, in the surviving Irish presbytery records. However, the date of their transfer to Ireland cannot always be acertained and may, indeed, have occurred earlier during the plantation. For instance, on 2 May 1655, at Glenarm, the Antrim Meeting considered the desire of "Hew Gray" to be absolved from his adultery, "in respect he hath urgent occasions to Scotland whither he cannot goe till hee be freed." A Scottish name of northern derivation is apparent in the confession of Hector Monro to adultery with the Catholic Kathren Nicoll, at Belliclare on 13 February 1656, a crime which had continued in for the past six years.[74] The geographical origin of Hew Campbell, who stood under suspicion at Dunagor, on 1 October 1656, of adultery and incest with "Hellin Maxwell," might be either Ayrshire or Argyll or Inverness-shire. However, the said woman's further confession of fornication with one "Donell McAllister a papist" fairly clearly points to a name of west Highland origin. The report from Lern, made at the visitation of the kirk of Braid, on

5 November 1656, that Jonet McKerral had satisfied for her scolding and living in malice and was now absolved, provides further evidence of a Kintyre name in Antrim.[75]

IV. SETTLEMENT FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, following the civil war period, there is evidence of two further migrations of Protestant Scots. The first was during the Cromwellian occupation. In his *Political Survey of Ireland in 1672* Sir William Petty stated that of an estimated total population of 1,100,000, Ireland had 100,000 Scots. Moreover, he stated that a large emigration from Scotland had occurred after Cromwell settled Ireland in 1652. The second migration occurred after the Revolution when many Scots, especially presbyterians, came to Ireland between 1690 and 1698 to occupy farmland which had been wasted by the war and attracted by the new opportunities for trade. The widespread famine of the 1690s, which badly affected rural areas, contributed to the emigration of tens of thousands of Scots to Ulster during this period.[76] There is no direct evidence for Highland peasants in either, but there were large numbers of Protestants in both Argyll and the more northerly counties of Ross-shire, parts of Inverness-shire, and Caithness and Sutherland. The evidence in Chapter 11 also shows that the clan élite continued to move to Ireland in the later seventeenth century and would have taken retainers. Highland names continue to appear in the church records for this period though, as before, the settlement in Ireland may have occurred at an earlier time. For instance, one "Jonet Morison fornicatrix in Rameltan" mentioned on 28 November 1676, who was to go to the parish of Clogher in Tyrone, where she had committed the sin and clear the scandal, was clearly of Highland and Island derivation. However, it should be remembered that there were already Morrisons in Strabane in Tyrone early in the plantation period.[77] There were also Morrisons in Inishowen who, like the MacDonalds, held lands in the Hebrides. (For locations, see fig. 3.1, The Ulster plantation 1609-13.) These were members of the Ó Muirgheasáin family, who had emigrated from Donegal to the Hebrides, where some became bards to the MacLeods of Dunvegan.[78]

In the early eighteenth century, in 1709, there was a third migration of Scots to Ireland when severe famine was experienced again. 'Shortages sometimes amounting to famine were indeed inevitable with an economic system so inelastic as that of runrig, especially as practised in the Highlands.'[79] It therefore seems probable that Highlanders, were amongst those who migrated to Ireland from Scotland at this time. Certainly, a good many of the settlers were presbyterian. Bishop Hugh MacMahon of Clogher stated in 1714 that:

> Although all Ireland is suffering, this province is worse off than the others, because of the fact that from the neighbouring country of Scotland, Calvinists are coming over here daily in large groups of

families, occupying the town and villages, seizing the farms in the richer parts of the country and expelling the natives.[80]

Yet, though there was more compulsion to migrate in times of dearth, settlement also continued to occur as a result of marriage, and in this way, land was often retained by families who had crossed the North Channel. Furthermore, such marriage is indicative of the degree of connection between Ulster and the west Highlands and Islands at this time. Thus, the appearance of Margaret McArthur, wife of Patrick McCaw, weaver in Knock (Antrim) in Ireland, and her husband, for his interest, is recorded in the Rothesay Town Council records for 15 November 1733. She petitioned to be declared the only daughter and heir to her father, mother and grandfather, "to the end that she may be infeft in the wastadge and yeard lying within the territory of the Burgh of Rothesay which belonged to her said father and mother or grandfather who dyed last vest and seased in the wastadge and yeard." An inquest of 15 people was called for recognising and declaring her such, and infeftment was ordained to pass.[81]

Further, it might be expected with the introduction of Lowlanders into Kintyre during the Restoration period, for example, that there was some traditional tenant displacement.[82] Such tenants and peasants may have gone to Ulster. A number of Campbells also escaped to Ireland following Argyll's abortive rising for Monmouth in 1685. They did so with the assistance of Angus Campbell, a merchant from Harris, who traded between Argyll, the Clyde and Ireland. It was alleged that after the rising, he aided Campbell clansmen to flee and take refuge in Ireland.[83] Similarly, there was tenurial reform in parts of Argyll in the early eighteenth century, which resulted in emigration overseas or to the Lowlands, but which may also have caused movement to Ireland.[84] Unfortunately, it is less easy to trace through such movement in the Irish records, mainly because many of the Irish presbyterian records did not survive the troubles of the early twentieth century. The little documentary material which exists, notwithstanding evidence for migration from the Restoration to the Revolution is primarily dependent on that provided by family names.

V. FAMILY NAME EVIDENCE

The general conclusion which can be drawn from family name evidence is that, at least, the Glens area, the original area of MacDonald settlement in Ulster, was still overwhelmingly Gaelic-speaking in the second half of the seventeenth century. Although any underestimate is likely to have occurred in the numbers cited as Irish, the Census of Ireland of c. 1659 indicates that the Glens, that is, the eastern part of Carey and all but the south of Glenarm barony, was still largely populated by Gaelic-speaking inhabitants. This occurred in spite of the welcoming of many settlers by the Earls of Antrim (Marquises after 1644), into the baronies of Glenarm, Carey, Dunluce and

Kilconway. (See fig. 14.1, The Counties and Baronies of Ulster.) The total number of people counted in the survey area is given as 1256 of which 179 are returned as English or Scots and 1087 as Irish. This represents a ratio of 7:1 in favour of Gaelic-speakers. A significant perspective is given on this ratio with the knowledge that the total population of County Antrim from the Census was 16,039 and that the ratio for the county as a whole of Irish to English-speakers was 6:5. The Hearth Money Roll of 1669 contained about 10,564 names, excluding certain exemptions such as those in receipt of alms, unable to support themselves from their own labour, and widows in houses worth less than 8s a year. With this too, any underestimation in the number of households would most likely have been among the Gaelic group. Moreover, the Gaelic nature of the Glens may have been consolidated, to a certain extent, during the plantation period with the incoming of large numbers of presbyterian Scots to the north-west of County Antrim, especially around Coleraine, which 'gradually forced the native Irish to seek safer habitations towards the centre of the county, or in districts where Catholics were numerically stronger,' or alternatively converted them. It is thus possible that there was native Irish movement into the Glens at this time. Even though 'native Irish' is not necessarily synonymous with 'Catholic,' it is clear from the religious evidence presented in Chapter 7, that cultural considerations, and a feeling of being at ease in a society with which one was familiar, were just as important.[85]

The evidence of family names can be confused, on occasion, by the use of aliases. An instance is cited below[86] of a certain John McNabe from Rothesay in 1718, taking the assumed name of John Hamilton when he fled to Ireland after fathering a child in adultery. It seems likely that at the time of the plantation of Ulster, in the early seventeenth century, some Highlanders might have taken Lowland names as aliases in order to acquire a minor stake in the planted lands from which Highland Scots were excluded. Those who took aliases were not necessarily judicial or disciplinary fugitives, but the assumption of a Lowland name would ensure a greater political acceptability for the Gael, and might enhance their prospects of employment.

MacKay, McNeill and MacAllister have previously been mentioned as those Kintyre clans which appear to have come with the MacDonalds in greatest numbers during the mercenary period. It should, however, be stated that according to analysis of seventeenth-century name evidence, they are all numerically fewer than the Stewarts, who came to Ulster in the later sixteenth century from Bute.[87] The 1659 Census gives 'Stuart and McStuart' as the most common names in Dunluce, Carey and Kilconway, but the name is not mentioned as numerous in the barony of Glenarm. Similarly, by the time of the 1669 Hearth Roll, Stewart is the most numerous name in the Glens, even more so than the old established names of MacCormick, MacAuley and McGill, as well as being well represented over the remainder of north Antrim.[88] Yet, the first consideration, as the place of origin for many of the Highland names, should perhaps be Kintyre.

Although Turner has stressed, throughout his thesis, the danger when studying the Glens of looking for, or assuming, Highland Scots origin in too many cases, he suggests that this tendency is reversed in the case of the McCaughans, whose Gaelic form is 'MacEachain.' By the same token, it should be noted that it is too easy to assume, because of the geographical closeness, that most names of proven Highland Scots origin in Ulster, are always more likely to have come from Kintyre, or Argyll. This is especially the case if the name occurs in more than one pocket in the Highlands and Islands since there was also a good deal of movement from other areas of the *Gaidhealtachd.* The name McCaughan is particularly associated by the Glensmen with Glenshesk, and is also in evidence across the Route to the Derry border. Probable swallowing of the internal 'gh' has led to its misassociation with the Irish O'Cahan of Derry which had a branch in the Route, particularly since in both Ireland and Scotland at this period, 'O' was sometimes exchanged for 'Mac.'[89] For similar reasons McCaughan has also been associated with the western Antrim name of McKane, which is a variant of MacIain. It might also be possible that some of the north Antrim McKanes or McKeans are derived from the MacIains of Ardnamurchan, especially with their denunciation as rebels in 1624 after which the clan ceased to exist and took to a piratical existence. Yet, the evidence of McKane personal names in the Hearth Money Roll - Conner, Patrick, Tedy, Toole - would appear to indicate an Irish rather than a Scottish origin. Those spelling their name McCaughan, on the other hand, have such forenames as Allex, Don and Allister. The family of MacEachan of Tangy in Kintyre, is postulated as a likely origin for the Antrim McCaughans, particularly since the Gaelic form of the name is the same, but the name also appears in other areas of the west Highlands and Outer Hebrides, in Islay for example, where they were associates of the Clan Donald South. The modern Kintyre rendition is McKechnie. Turner concludes, however, that: 'From their occurrence in the Hearth Money Rolls the McCaughans do not seem to have been as widely or as early established as other Kintyre families.' A similar sounding name which also suffers the same confusion, but of a different semantic root is the name MacEachern, which is gaelicised as 'Mac Each-thighearna' or 'son of the horse Lord,' and is found in north Antrim. The modern rendition in the Route is McCaughran.[90]

In the 1659 Census, the second most common name amongst the Irish, in Dunluce, Carey and Kilconway, is 'Millan and Mullan.' Part of this numerical strength can perhaps be attributed to a confusion with the Derry O'Mullans, gaelicised 'Ó Maolain,' but 'it may be taken that the majority were the ancestors of the many present day MacMullans of north Antrim and that these people were members of the Scottish clan MacMillan.' Once again, the name appears in the 1505 and 1541 Kintyre rentals, which makes it plausible that some MacMillans came to Antrim with the MacDonalds in the mercenary period. This general movement was probably reinforced during the seventeenth century when many Kintyre peoples moved across to settle on the Earl of Antrim's lands.[91] Certainly the Old Statistical Account of the parish of South Knapdale informs that: 'The Macneils and Macmillans, after having established themselves along the eastern coast of

Caolisport, were gradually supplanted by the Campbells.'[92] They may have been resettled in Kintyre by the Campbells (some definitely ended up there), and as Argyll became more secure in his position, they may have been squeezed out and crossed to Ireland which, along with Lochaber, seems to have been the main land repository for social misfits, renegades and displaced people during the period.[93] However, by association with Lochaber, it has been noted that the Camerons of Strone are known in Gaelic as Clann Mhic Mhaol-onfhaidh, 'Clan Mac Millony,' taking their name from a common ancestor whose forename was 'Mael-anfaidh.'[94] There is, therefore, always the possibility that some of the MacMillans in Ulster came from Lochaber, as well as from Kintyre, or indeed, Islay. The name McKinley which occurs in Antrim among the descendants of the plantation settlers, can be fairly accurately identified with MacKinlay, Gaelic 'MacFhionnlaigh,' or 'son of Finlay,' of Glenlyon and Balquhidder, two Highland parishes of Perthshire.[95]

A far less common name, McCambridge, which is gaelicised 'MacAmbrois,' 'son of Ambrose,' is recognised by the Glens people themselves as coming from Scotland. 'MacCamrois' is noted in the south of Kintyre in the early seventeenth century, in connection with MacDonald of Macharioch, but has vanished by the early nineteenth century. 'The fact that only four of the name are registered in the 1669 Antrim Roll implies, but does not prove, the arrival of a family group at a later date than the more numerous names of Kintyre origin.' Certainly a gravestone in Layd churchyard, (see fig. 11.3, The civil parishes of the Glens of Antrim), dated 1832, records the progenitor of the family as "Malcolm McCambridge who came from Cantire in Scotland A.D. 1625, located in Carnasheerin and died there," but as Turner has shown, such late evidence cannot always be relied upon. Settlement at this time is likely to have occurred as a result of the strife between the Kintyre MacDonalds and Campbells, perhaps through eviction of some, though not all, of the old MacDonald tenants.[96] Certainly there is a 'Donald McCambrois' in the May 1686 rental of Islay.[97]

Similarly, the Blacks recorded in the Census and Hearth Money Roll, on the mainland and in Rathlin, are generally of Scots Gaelic origin. While the name of English-speaking Blacks is derived from the Old English 'blaec' or 'blac,' 'Black' representing Gaelic speakers is generally the shortening of the longer 'MacGilleDhuibh' or 'son of the black lad,' which is sometimes rendered as Huie, MacIlghuie or MacGillewie, in Argyll.[98] The name occurs in the western and southern Highlands - Argyll and Perthshire - and has been claimed by the clan themselves to be an alias of Lamont.[99] Certainly, there are interesting aspects of social displacement which relate to the Lamonts. For instance, the Cowal area, which was Lamont territory, was so devastated during the 1640s, with 136 clansmen, mainly Lamonts being massacred by a group of Covenanting irregulars in June 1646, that Sir James Lamont of Inveryne in Cowal, drew in settlers from the Lowlands.[100] So, although there were Blacks in Ulster before the civil war period, it may be that more fled there in the 1640s.

It is thought that the Rathlin Blacks are almost certainly descended from the family MacGhilleDhuibh, who evince some unestablished relationship with the Lamonts. However, a certain qualification must be added to the origin of the Rathlin Blacks by a statement from Fr. McKenny, parish priest of Rathlin, writing in 1845: "There are in this island three races of people called Black, one came from the west of Ireland, it is nearly extinct ...; another race came from Scotland and became Protestants here; and a third race is descended from a young man named John Black who came here from the county of down on some sea-faring business." Moreover, it is interesting to note that while those Blacks who originally settled in Rathlin in mercenary times, must undoubtedly have been Catholic, as Argyll was reformed, these Blacks too must have taken on the religion of their relations in Scotland, or of relations on the mainland coast of Antrim. Certainly, there were three massacres on the island in 1557, 1575 and 1642 which almost cleared the entire population each time, and there may have been some denominational realignment with new settlement. Blacks in the seventeenth-century rolls are recorded as 'Blacks' not 'MacGhilleDhuibh,' and it is probably largely because of the 1642 massacre that only two are recorded in Rathlin in 1669, whereas the greatest concentration is in the southern Glens in Tickmacrevan, which records five. Their Christian names concur with a Scots Gaelic origin.[101]

Some of the north-east Antrim Darraghs may also be members of the south-west Argyll family of Darrochs of Islay and Jura, who are regarded as associates of the Clan Donald and the MacLeans. Those in Jura, particularly, recognise their derivation from the patronymic 'Mac 'Ille riabhach' or 'son of the brindled lad.' By this token, the bond of the Clann Domhnuill Riabhaich, signed by various "McMulcallums" and "McConill reiche's" to Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat, on 30 August 1632, acknowledging him as their superior, would seem to indicate a family of Darrochs on Skye.[102] However, the above-stated patronymic is generally considered an unlikely derivation for all the Darrochs. The name is amply scattered in west coast presbytery records, for instance there is a Malcolm Darroch in Islay in 1656. There is also the John Darroch, minister of Kilcalmonell and Kilberry, who took a charge in Glenarm and Cushendall in 1688.[103] Some Darrochs also derive their origin from the placename in Stirlingshire, though they are probably less likely to have settled in the Glens. Others, in Antrim, are thought to derive from the Irish family MacDubhdara, mentioned in 1585 in County Galway. A 'Dunkan Darrogh' is recorded in Ballyreagh, in the parish of Culfeightrin in 1669, (see fig. 11.3, The civil parishes of theGlens of Antrim), and the Christian name clearly evinces Scottish, probably Argyll, origin.[104]

There are some Antrim names which may occasionally derive from Scottish sources, but do not in general represent Scottish Gaelic settlement. Such a name is Murphy. For instance in 1669, six of the eight Murphys in the Glens have a 'Mac' prefix, being identified in the seventeenth century as 'McMurkys.' Now while this may indicate a natural assimilating tendency in an area of renowned Scottish Gaelic settlement, that is using 'Mac' to indicate 'son of,' it may also be that some of these

derive from the Mac Murchies, gaelicised 'Mac Mhurchaidh' of Kintyre. A Marie NcMurchy is mentioned in Kintyre in June 1690.[105] Similarly, 'the single 'Mc Murrough' noted just south of Garron Point, the only one in the Hearth Money Roll for Antrim, may now be represented by Murphy. It's likely Gaelic form is 'Mac Mhuirich' known also in Scotland as 'MacVurich,' who were originally bards and *seanchaidhean* to the Clan Donald South.[106] The 'Neill Mcmorachie' mentioned in Kintyre in March 1660 as going to Ireland, may represent a variant of this.[107] Similarly, the two people called 'Mc a Shanog' in Ardclinis in 1669 are probably descendants of the Mac O Shenogs of Lephenstrath, harpers to the Clan Donald South.[108] Certainly, a 'Katrine nc o Shenog' is recorded as going to Ireland in 1692.[109] However, they could also derive from the Irish family 'Mac a' tSionnach,' 'son of the fox.'[110]

By the same token, some overtly Irish names have been transported across to Kintyre, and assimilated, though the Irish-sounding O'Brolochan, Omey and O'Drain, often found in Kintyre documents, had entered Kintyre before the period in question.[111] The O'Brolochans first came to the west coast of Scotland in a religious capacity, Domhnall Ua Brolchain, prior of Derry, becoming the first abbot of Iona (died 1203), though he came from a famous Irish family of masons. The Omeys or O'Meys (Irish Ó Miadhaigh), were also first connected with the church, and became the lairds of Keil in Kintyre. A Duncan May was presented to the rectory of Kilchoman in Islay in 1642, but there was often interchange among the professional classes, as can be seen, for instance, with the appointment in 1536 of Mr. Duncane Omay as "principall churgiane to the king." The family tradition, however, is that they came to Kilbrandon to practise and teach weaving.[112] The O'Drains seem to have originated in County Roscommon, but underwent enforced migration to Ulster. In Kintyre the name has been anglicised as Hawthorn, because of the apparent sonic similarity between 'droigheann' meaning 'hawthorn' and 'Drein.' The name Kelly found in Kintyre, is undoubtedly from the Irish Ó Ceallaigh. The form 'O Kaldie' found in about 1630 in 'Kilchevan, Maichrihanis and Knockcantimoir' in the Survey of the Lordship of Kintyre may represent O'Kelly. 'In c. 1653 the evidence is unquestionable: Donald O Kellie in Gartluscan [Southend parish], Donald O Kellie in Knockhantiebeg, and Donald O Kellie in Beachmoir.' The 'O' is sometimes still current, but has largely disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century.[113]

There are also other names in Antrim, now anglicised, which could conceivably be of Scots Gaelic origin, but for which the evidence is not conclusive. For instance, the west Argyll name MacIntyre, gaelicised 'Mac an tSaoir' and anglicised as 'Wright' may be the derivation of the Wrights in the southern Glens. The Antrim Sharpes may derive from the MacElherons, gaelicised 'MacGhilleChiarain' of Bute, arising as a result of a sonic resemblance between 'heron' and 'gearan,' the diminutive of 'gear,' sharp. Some of the Connollys in the Glens may also originate from the Kintyre family of MacIlchonnelie in Kintyre, whose modern rendition is Conley. Similarly, the Cusacks from the Armoy area are probably descendants of a Kintyre family of MacIsaac or

MacKissack. The Andersons of Rathlin are also generally held to be of the family MacIllandrais or 'MacGhilleAndreis' of Islay and Kintyre.[114] However, the same name is also anglicised MacGillanders, which in the north of Scotland is thought to have been changed to Ross, for the northern Rosses were known as the Clann Anrias or Andrew.[115] An Islay and Kintyre origin is proposed for the McQuilkens or Wilkinsons of that island.[116] A 'Duncane McWilkin' is mentioned in 1657 in Kintyre.[117] Similarly 'MacIlgorm' of the Glens is probably derived from the Argyll 'MacGhilleGhuirm' or 'son of the blue lad.' The 'McVarnag' mentioned in 1669 has no modern approximations in the present day Glens. Its probable derivation is 'MacGilleMhearnog,' whose modern rendition is Warnock. It has been suggested that a group of Grahams in the Glenariff area, 'the most gaelic dominated area of the Glens' may be descended from the Argyll family of McGilleMharnaig, because when the name was anglicised it sounded like 'Gille bhearnaig' or 'servant of the bite' and the link was made with 'greim' (bite), from whence 'Graham.'[118] However, it must be stressed that this link is very tenuous. It has also been argued that the family of MacGillebhearnaig assumed the name Graham because they were out with Montrose during the civil war, and that it was handier and more convenient to select his family name.[119] Nonetheless, the Gaelic version appeared in Kintyre, on 6 March 1660, with an adulterer given as 'Mcillivernog,' though it was the woman with whom he committed adultery who went to Ireland.[120] Many more Grahams in Ireland, however, were probably related to the tribe of 124 Grahams who were forcibly evicted from the Anglo-Scottish borders area to Roscommon in Connacht, in autumn 1606. No land was allotted to them and they settled on the land of Sir Ralph Sidley, a Captain who had been discharged in 1604. 'Many of them soon died there, and the remainder were at last permitted to disperse themselves as they could. Many came northwards into Ulster, with the purpose of returning to their native borders, but few are supposed to have succeeded in doing so.'[121]

It has also been contended that some of the pre-plantation settlers came not just from Kintyre but from Arran. Here, McCurdy, which with Black is recognised as one of the oldest Rathlin island names, evinces significant settlement along the coast of north Antrim in the seventeenth century. 'In various forms McCurdy has been known in Arran and Bute for as long as records are available.' Its Gaelic form was 'Mac Muircheartaigh' and the modern rendition is Currie, which is also a rendition of MacMhuirich. The name was tenth most common in the Glens in 1669.[122] Owing to the Bute connection, it may be that some of them went out as retainers of the Stewarts, but given their obvious connection with Rathlin, it is more likely that they went as mercenaries with the MacDonalds. Curries are certainly frequently recognised as an associate of the MacDonalds.[123] The suggested origin of the MacBrides, Gaelic form 'Mac Giolla Brighde,' another common name in seventeenth-century north Antrim, and a name which appears in the 1541 Rental of the Isles, is also Arran. Another family which may possibly be of Arran origin is that of McKillop, gaelicised as 'MacFhilib' or 'son of Philip.' In the Glens, by the mid-seventeenth century 'they show a distribution pattern similar to that of the other Scottish families of Mackay, McNeill and Mcallister,

although their seventeenth-century numbers and location may indicate later arrival.' Inasmuch as the name MacAllister is found in Bute as well as the name Currie, the overall pattern in Scotland also shows a high degree of mobility between Arran, Bute and Kintyre. Unlike MacKay, McNeill and MacAllister, however, McKillop is not commonly found in other parts of north Antrim. The lack of dispersal would therefore seem to indicate that they did not come as mercenaries, but at the time of the plantation, and were not fortunate enough or did not wish to claim a stake in the Route. MacKillops also occur more numerously in more northerly areas of the Highlands, where they are associated with the MacDonalds of Glencoe and Keppoch and as standard bearers to Campbell of Dunstaffnage.[124] By the same token McKillops and McColls were also associates of the Stewarts of Appin, as well as the MacDonalds of Glencoe and Keppoch, and could have been displaced from these areas at any time of general threat to these areas during the period.[125] It is therefore possible that some of these MacKillops are also represented in the Glens, having come either at the plantation, when it is known that settlers from as far north as Inverness crossed to Antrim, or as refugees from any of the number of skirmishes and military interactions which occurred during seventeenth century.

Conclusion

The overall picture of the interaction between ordinary native Ulstermen and Scots Highlanders and Islanders generally reveals two types of social movement, one of which is based on the occupational contact of the mercenary trade, leading in some cases to settlement of Highlanders in Ulster, and the second of which is based largely on social and sexual encounters, which might be termed occasional and seasonal contact. Evidence for permanent social settlement is in numerical terms very one-sided, being mainly a movement of Scots Highlanders to Ulster. Contact during the sixteenth century consists of the visiting and occasional settlement of Highland military personnel. This movement becomes less significant following the dispossession of the Clan Donald South and the flight of the Ulster Earls at the beginning of the next century. The major reason for Highlanders going to Ulster on an occasional basis remains consistent throughout the period under review, that is, to seek refuge from ecclesiastical or judicial sanction. The plantation period marks the beginning of more extensive settlement probably by small tenant farmers and unendowed labourers, on the escheated lands in Ulster, more particularly in Antrim. Permanent settlement during the seventeenth century is far more significant numerically than in the sixteenth century. 'It seems likely that many of the Glens Highlanders, as well as those of the Route, derive from this time [the early seventeenth century].'[126] There were further emigrations of Scots, which probably included Highlanders, during the Cromwellian occupation of Ireland in the middle of the seventeenth century, and more particularly with the establishment of the Protestant ascendancy in the last decade of the century. Coupled with this new settlement there was more occasional social

contact sustained on the basis of continued family ties on both sides of the Irish sea which was strengthened, to a greater or lesser degree, through trade, religion, culture and the need to seek refuge.

NOTES

1. See general introduction to thesis.
2. See Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster, reference by Sir William Brereton.
3. See Chapter 11, section I C. xv. Malcolms of Poltalloch.
4. See. below. Such evidence is undoubtedly patchy and can only give a vague indication of the underlying trends in settlement. However, if used in this way, without claims of giving the definitive picture, it provides a valuable insight into aspects of the settlement pattern.
5. Brian Samuel Turner, 'Distributional aspects of family name study illustrated in the Glens of Antrim,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1974), p. 81.
6. Petty was a Cromwellian New English settler and ancestor of the Landsdowne family. He was a man of varied talents, turning his hand to map-making and litigation, as well as being a land-holder and industrialist. (*A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. xlv, 445.)
7. Turner, p. 66. If there were, further, refugees who specifically shunned contact, this could substantially have altered the overall picture.
8. Turner, p. 504. Though it should be remembered that the *gallóglaigh* were simply naturalised mercenaries of Highland and Island origin who first fought as organised bands in Ireland in the latter half of the thirteenth century, spreading from the north of Ireland, into the west and south and to Leinster. By the sixteenth century mercenary service was hereditary as in the Gaelic professions. (*Scots mercenary forces in Ireland*, pp. 5-6.)
9. George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, (New York, 1946), p. 636. The name means 'descendant of Ainle' from 'áinle,' 'beauty' or also 'hero or warrior.' Here, perhaps, the latter seems more appropriate. Descendants of the O'Hanleys survive in South Uist and North Uist.
10. Black, p. 528.
11. *Scots mercenary forces in Ireland*, p. 68. A fiant is a warrant to the Irish Chancery for a grant under the Great Seal.
12. George Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 1608-1620*, (Belfast, 1877), p. 35; *Scots mercenary forces in Ireland*, p. 201.
13. Lieut.-Col. Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, *The Mackays of the Rhinns of Islay*, (Inveraray, 1979), pp. 19-20. Dr. Bryce, an archaeologist excavating Stone Age cists in the Rhinns of Islay in 1901 came across the rouleaux of coins, 74 in all, close to the bottom of the western cist, which had been disturbed. The 26 Irish groats of Henry VIII, mostly of the second issue, dating from before 1541, is the largest number of any denomination. The next two highest denominations are the 15 groats of Edward IV, mostly dating from before 1464 and the 12 English groats of Henry VIII dating from 1526 to 1543. The remainder are all English, except for two Scottish groats, one of James IV and one of Robert II.
14. Gayre, pp. 19-20. Attention is drawn to an interesting tradition (many of which are grounded in partial fact), that on the Ballinachtan holding in the Rhinns of Islay, there is a ridge known as Druim Mòr in which was said to be hidden the Rent of Islay. It has been suggested that the man who hid the hoard may subsequently have lost his

life in Ireland and the money lost to posterity, though people had knowledge of his hiding it, 'hence giving rise to the tradition of buried treasure, which some accounts say amounted to ten years' rent of the whole of Islay!'

15. W. A. Seaby, 'A Small Hoard of Mary Queen of Scots Coins from Co. Antrim,' *UJA*, 35, (1972), pp. 45-46. The collection, in fact, hardly merits the name 'hoard,' being a mere six coins which came to public attention in 1972. As noted above, see Chapter 11, section I C. xiv. MacNaghtens of Glenaray and Glenshira, the MacNaghtens definitely came to Ireland as mercenaries, and their first Irish progenitor, John Dubh, was closely related to both Somhairle Buidhe and Randal MacDonnell, first Earl of Antrim. However, Mrs. Chichester claimed that the coins had been discovered, either by her mother or someone else, in the vicinity of the Giant's Causeway.
16. Moreover, 'the fine condition of the 1561 portrait testoon, with little recognisable wear on face or rim, presupposes that the coins must have been hidden within two or three years of that striking.' (Seaby, p. 46.)
17. Seaby, p. 46.
18. Seaby, p. 46.
19. *Scots mercenary forces,* pp. 14, 97.
20. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 159; *CSPI,* 1574-1585, pp. 155, 416. Ernest Raymond Gillespie, 'East Ulster in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Colonial Economy and Society' (PhD dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin), p. 46. See the published, R. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, (Cork, 1985.) See Chapter 1, section II. Background to mercenary activity: pre-1560 MacDonald settlement in Antrim.
21. *Cois abhann Daille* - 'the foot of the river Dall.' Cushendall was the 'capital' of the Glens area. (Turner, p. 19.)
22. *CSPI*, 1509-1573, p. 170.
23. Lord Ernest Hamilton, *Elizabethan Ulster*, (London, N.D.), p. 29.
24. *Scots mercenary forces*, p. 96. Neither, indeed, did Alexander Og give up his hopes of an inheritance in Ireland, for this was the greatest chance for these youngest sons of the late Alexander Carragh of Dunyveg and the Glens (died 1540) to build themselves substantial land inheritances.
25. Turner, p. 138.
26. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 181.
27. *CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 363.
28. Timothy Paul Joseph McCall, 'The Gaelic background to the settlement of Antrim and Down 1580-1641,' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1983), p. 14, quoting H. F. Hore, 'Marshall Bagenal's description of Ulster, Anno 1586,' *UJA,* 1st series, 2, (1854), pp. 154-55. The Scots first came to the Dufferin because it had wood suitable for building mercenary galleys, for which see Chapter 12, section II. Mercenary contraband.
29. Black, pp. 634-35.
30. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 38. For O'Dogherty's rebellion, see above, Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.
31. G. Gregory Smith (editor), *The Book of Islay: documents illustrating the history of the Island*, (Edinburgh, 1895), pp. 130-32.
32. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 54.

33. Black, p. 635.
34. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 196.
35. *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster*, p. 445.
36. See Andrew McKerral, *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1948), p. 23, for further details.
37. *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster*, pp. 511-12. For a more detailed discussion of Colquhoun of Luss's proportion in the plantation of Ulster, see Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.
38. *An Historical Account of the Plantation of Ulster*, footnote to p. 73.
39. W. R. Kermack, *The Scottish Highlands: A short history (c. 300-1746)*, (Edinburgh and London, 1967), pp. 77-78.
40. Andrew Lang, *Pickle the Spy*, (London, 1897), pp. 232-33.
41. Lang, p. 233.
42. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 206. Another aspect which Chichester's statement raises, is the necessity of distinguishing between tenants and peasants, since this greatly affects interpretation of the source material. Here, one of the difficulties of using official papers as a source is that those identified as tenants are the tacksmen in the Gaelic hierarchy, that is, major land-holders, while it is the sub-tenants who are the peasants. The above evidence would appear to refer to the latter.
43. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 207.
44. McKerral, pp. 26-27. McKerral also correctly refutes Hill's assertion that Kintyre was 'swept clean of it native inhabitants' in 1599.
45. See Chapter 11, section I C. ix. Stewarts of Ballintoy.
46. McKerral, p. 25.
47. McKerral, p. 27.
48. Gayre, p. 29. It should also be noted, however, that many of the MacKays in Donegal in Ulster came from the Lowlands of Scotland. Sir Patrick MacKee of Larg, in the parish of Minigaff, Kirkcudbrightshire, was given a grant of 1,000 acres in the precint of Boylagh in Donegal, on 24 July 1610. 'Other localities were also occupied by branches of this once numerous and influential sept, among which may be mentioned Mertoun-McKie, now Mertoun Hall, in the parish of Penninghame; and Whitehills, in the parish of Sorbie, Wigtonshire. Many settlers of this surname appear to have come to Ulster from that district, and they are numerously represented throughout several of our northern counties at the present day.' (*An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster*, p. 297.)
49. As peasants who had defected from the Clan Donald they could, thus, interpreting the second half of Chichester's statement, expect "some soldiery" to be sent against them by Angus MacDonald, who would be displeased both at their leaving Kintyre and that they had fled to the Antrim MacDonnells. There was enmity between these two branches of the MacDonalds because Randal's brother, Sir James MacDonnell of Dunluce, had instigated a feud between the two families in 1596 by claiming that Angus was illegitimate, in order to further transference of MacDonald lands in Kintyre and Islay to himself. (*Alasdair MacColla*, p. 24.)

50. McKerral, p. 27.
51. Gayre, pp. 27, 29. Also see Chapter 11, section I C. xiii. MacKays of Argyll, for 1408 charter. 'That this is so is confirmed by the history of the 1408 charter, taken overseas to Ireland for safety by Mackays of Islay.'
52. Turner, pp. 64-65.
53. See Chapter 7.
54. Turner, p. 142. Turner does not date the movement of the McConaghys into Kintyre with the Campbells, but this is presumably in the first decade of the seventeenth century, when the MacDonalds were dispossessed.
55. Black, p. 474.
56. Gayre, p. 19. For the names of those cited, see the previous section of this chapter.
57. McKerral, p. 70.
58. *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 40.
59. *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, IV*, SHS, 3rd series, 9, (Edinburgh, 1926), pp. 246-49. According to the twentieth century editor of the manuscript, Herbert Campbell, it was probably written between March 1717 and November 1722. Although the manuscript was publicly attacked as untrustworthy three times in the nineteenth century, Campbell has provided evidence for its basic soundness by attempting to prove the genealogical detail mentioned in the manuscript. The Barons of Barichibean, as they were known, were the offspring of Donald, second son of John Gorm mac Duil Chreagnish, in the late sixteenth century. The stock of the family of Creagnish goes down to 1546 and then becomes the race of Barichibean, or succession of the above-mentioned Donald. (pp. 177-84, 237-40.)
60. *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 70.
61. Gayre, p. 28. See A. F. Mitchell and J. Christie (editors), *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-47*, SHS, 1st series, 11, (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 55, for the names of those excommunicated with Alasdair MacColla, on 27 August 1646.
62. *Alasdair MacColla*, p. 236; T. C. Smout, 'Famine and Famine-relief in Scotland,' in L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout (editors), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900,* (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 24.
63. Turner, pp. 118-19.
64. See McKerral, pp. 79-86.
65. Turner, p. 119. See above, Chapter 11, section I C. xv., for the Malcolms (or McCollums) of Poltalloch.
66. See Eric Cregeen, 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish Highlands,' in N. T. Phillipson and R. Mitchison (editors), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 11.
67. SRO CH2/111/2, Presbytery of Dunoon, fol. 82.
68. *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-47*, p. 19.
69. SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, fol. 2.
70. Duncan C. Mactavish (editor), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1652-1661*, SHS, 3rd series, 38, (Edinburgh, 1944), p. 18. Certainly, from the evidence it appears that she had a reasonable case (or so the presbytery were obliged to make it appear in retrospect), for it was made known to the assembly "that Nc Neill, being maried in

Kintyr, and she and her husband going to Irland, her said husband was killed there, as is probable by the sayings and despositions of witnesses affirming that to their best knowledg he was killed in battell, at which battell they themselves wer." Mrs. McNeill had also gone to the extent of going to Ireland herself "and making all the search and enquir shee could for him and heering no other thing of him but that he was killed in the said battell." Clearly five years was not generally felt to be a long enough period to ascertain the death of a spouse. Mr Dougald Darroch, minister, was to check the documentation of the recent marriage and even if it was valid, nevertheless to encourage the new couple to repent. However, in view of the weight of evidence tending towards her first husband's death, she was to receive the benefit of marriage, which could indeed hardly be refused her in the face of such a fait-accompli!

There is also evidence of similar action being taken in Ireland. The case of Mary Calvin of Brodiland, who sought marriage in much the same circumstances was first brought before the Antrim meeting in February 1654. Since it is difficult to ascertain whether Mary Calvin was a Gael, Irish or otherwise, this entry has been confined to a footnote. She appeared again before them, on 4 April 1655, when she "declared her husband went from her 12 yeares past, a sojor in Lars Regiment, and was slaine as she is enformed at Kilsyth: further shewing that mariage to another Man is refussed her upon scruple that her husband is yet alive: She desyred the benefite of mariage." Nonetheless, the meeting attempted to prove the matter, appointing her "to bring a Certificat to the next meeting from Captaine Agnew or any other officer of that Regiment of the certainty of the death of her husband, asuring her therupon of a satisfactory ansuer." Yet, like Gorrie McNeill in the example above, Mary Calvin once again took the matter into her own hands, such that the meeting of 4 June 1655 recorded that there was "Report made from Brodiland that Mary Calvin there while she should have made it appearent that her husband wes dead as she aledged meantyme hath maryed another husband without proclamation and is fled these bounds." (PRONI D1759/1A/1, Minutes of the Antrim meeting 1654-1658, fols. 9, 14, 28.)

With sufficient evidence of such cases, it is equally to be wondered how often remarriage occurred while the spouse was still alive. No cases have been found in those Highland Kirk records consulted (see below, next section), but one occurs in the Irish records. This example has also been confined to the footnotes since it is not directly relevant to Irish and Scottish interchange, unless the soldier's wife was a Scot, but this is not stated. On 2 December 1657, at the Antrim meeting, there was "a case proponded by Mr Dobbin, Elder, of Conyar, what shall be done with one Patrick O Hauney who being a sojer in the tyme of The Troubles in this land, had occasion to be from his wyfe in garison at Newry, And on report came to him there, that his wyfe was dead, he maryed another, But when he knew that his first wyfe was alive, he put away the latter, and a[d]hered to none of them. At last, the first wyfe (after she had fallen with another man) dyed." The said Patrick was now desirous to know if he was to be censured for the unlawful marriage, whether he may now adhere to the last woman, or whether indeed, "may he mary another!" Rather more humbly than the aforementioned two cases, he claimed himself "fully resolved to doe what ever shall be appoynted him by the meeting." Although the case was referred to the presbytery for decision, it is not clear what action it recommended, simply that on 7 April 1658 "O Haney"

was cited to the next Antrim meeting "to be proceeded with according to the Presbyteryes ansuer to this meetings Query." (PRONI D1759/1A/1, fols. 211, 217.)

71. SRO CH2/111/2, fol. 101.

72. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, pp. 46-47.

73. PRONI D1759/1A/1, fol. 46. The Irish records provide an interesting postscript to this case. It appears that Boyd did not ultimately redeem himself. For the Antrim meeting of 8 August 1655 notes that "This day Mr Alexander Gordoun, Minister of Invara gave notice to this meeting of the excommunicatioun of James Boyd, son to Andrew Boyd, sometyme Bishop of Argyll, which was done by the Synod of Argyll for his joyneing under armes with James Grahame and Alister McDonell, observed heer for notice to the Presbitery." His place of residence was also given: "The man being supposed to dwell in the Rout in Irland." (fol. 46.)

74. PRONI D1759/1A/1, fols. 21, 91.

75. PRONI D1759/1A/1, fol. 160. Also see Angus Martin, *Kintyre: the hidden past,* (Edinburgh, 1984), p. 212, for sceptical comments on the possible derivation of this name from the Irish 'MacKiergan.'

76. Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish, I,* (New York and London, 1902), pp. 580, 617, footnote to p. 608; Cullen and Smout, p. 24. Petty also stated that the Scots could raise 40,000 fighting men at any time.

77. PRONI D1759/1E/1, Minutes of the Lagan meeting, 1672-1695, fol. 239. See above, Chapter 12, section II. General Trade with Ulster from the plantation to the Revolution. It should be noted, however, that when the Irish Jacobites stood outside the gates of Derry in December 1688, when the gates were closed against them by the 'Prentice Boys,' that they are said to have remained there until a certain James Morrison shouted 'Bring a great gun here,' at which point they retreated across the river. (Hanna, p. 583.) Clearly this Morrison was a Protestant.

78. Lucy Duggan, 'The Irish Brigade with Montrose,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* 5th series, 89, (1958), p. 173; Black, pp. 612, 638. For the Ó Muirgheasáins, see Chapter 16, section I. Extent of Scottish bardic links with Ireland, and Chapter 18, section I. Survival of the classical tradition and the social assimilation of the Scottish bardic families.

79. Redcliffe N. Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato*, (Cambridge, 1949), p. 357.

80. Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster,* (Belfast, 1992), p. 171.

81. Mary Bruce Johnston (transcriber), *Rothesay Town Council Records 1653-1766*, (Edinburgh, 1935), pp. 751-52.

82. Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 41.

83. Alick Morrison, 'Early Harris Estate Papers, 1679-1703,' *TGSI*, 51, (1981), p. 95.

84. Cregeen, p. 14.

85. Turner, pp. 68-69, 71-72, 164. More specifically, the areas around Garron Point, up Glenariff and Glenaan are identified as totally Gaelic-speaking, and that Glendun and Glencorp seem also to have been predominantly so. There were small English-speaking settlements at Red Bay, Cushendall and near Cushendun. The coastal area from Cushendun, as well as up the Glenshesk and Armoy glen was also overwhelmingly Irish. Rathlin held a population of 75, of whom 7 were English-speakers. However, it should be said that the whole region was fairly scantily populated altogether. For evidence of mission work amongst the native Irish towards the end of the

seventeenth century, see above Chapter 9, section V B. Highland presbyterian missionary work among the native Irish.

86. See Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.
87. For further details of the origin of the family in Ulster, see Chapter 10, section I C. ix. Stewarts of Ballintoy.
88. Turner, pp. 142-46.
89. See example below, Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.
90. Turner, pp. 194-99; Donald Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625*, (Edinburgh, London and Dublin, 1836), pp. 410-11; Black, pp. 510, 522.
91. Turner, p. 169.
92. Withrington and Grant (editors), *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, 8, Argyll (Mainland), p. 312.
93. See above, Chapter 9, section IV. Social interaction among ministerial families - the MacCalmans: A case study in opportunism.
94. W. Matheson, *The Blind Harper*, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 12, (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 119.
95. Black, p. 530.
96. Turner, pp. 205-07.
97. G. Gregory Smith, *The Book of Islay: documents illustrating the history of the Island*, (Edinburgh, 1895), p. 497.
98. See below, "Margaret Ncclowie" Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence. This looks like a variant.
99. Black, p. 78.
100. A. I. Macinnes, 'The Impact of the Civil Wars and Interregnum: Political Disruption and Social Change within Scottish Gaeldom,' in Mitchison and Roebuck (editors), *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939*, (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 59.
101. Turner, pp. 171-74. For 1642 massacre on Rathlin island by the Campbells, see Chapter 3, section III. Covenanting period.
102. *Clan Donald*, II, p. 780.
103. See above, for John Darroch, Chapter 7, section III C. ii. Mr. John Darroch minister of Glenarm and Cushendall: Case study, and below, Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence, for a "Dougald Darroch."
104. Turner, p. 199. Several MacDarraghs appear in Glenarm barony in the 1659 Census, reappearing further to the north and West in the Hearth Money Roll. Turner proposes, based on a substitution of 'MacGiolla' for 'O Maol,' that they are descendants of the family of O'Mulderg, gaelicised as 'Ó Maoildeirg,' even though it is unusual for a hard terminal 'g' to be softened. Moreover 'there is a tradition that the Stewarts dispossessed a family of that name in the course of their settlement at Ballintoy.' The forms 'McIlderg' and 'McIldoragh' appear in 1669 in the baronies of Toome and Antrim. (Turner, p. 200.)
105. See below, Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.
106. Turner, pp. 203-04. See below, for further information on the MacMhuirichs in Chapters 16 and 18. The name also became Currie in more modern times.
107. See below, Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.

108. Moreover, it is easily recognised that, although they were by this time naturalised Scots, the O'Shenogs had originally come from Ireland during the ascendancy of the MacDonalds. See below, Chapter 17, section II. From Gaelic exclusivity: Music.
109. See below, Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.
110. Turner, p. 217.
111. Martin, p. 208. O'Brolochan, an Irish family of ecclesiasts and stone-masons, appear in the west Highlands in the fourteenth century.
112. Black, pp. 634, 638. Note that Duncane Omay is the earliest cited example of the name in Scotland, which tends to indicate that the Omeys came to the west coast later than the O'Brolochans.
113. Martin, pp. 210-11, also quoting Edward MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1980), pp. 19, 78, and giving evidence from the Survey of the Lordship of Kintyre, c. 1653, Argyll Papers, bundle 746.
114. Turner, pp. 214-45, 217, quoting Black, p. 512 and McKerral, p. 163. 'MacIsaac' has modern representatives in the Moidart region.
115. Black, pp. 498, 302.
116. Turner, p. 215.
117. See below, Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.
118. Turner, p. 216, quoting Black, p. 515.
119. James E. Scott, 'Notes on Kintyre Surnames and Families,' *TGSI*, 45, (1967-68), pp. 311-12.
120. See below, Chapter 15, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.
121. *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster*, p. 228; Black, p. 323. Those who did succeed in returning to the borders, are thought to have been assisted by their kinsman Sir George Graham, a Scottish servitor in Ireland who hailed from the borders, and in 1609 was in possession of a 31 year lease of Naas in County Kildare, as a result of his services. Moreover, his sons, Sir George and Sir Richard Graham, who appear from their knighthoods to have similarly distinguished themselves, received 2,000 acres in the precint of Tullaghah, County Cavan, in the plantation of Ulster. (p. 337, footnote to p. 337.)
122. Turner, p. 191; Black, p. 194. Consider the following variant forms of MacCurdy or MacKirdie - in 1506 Macwerich and Makweriche, and M'Verrachie in 1600. There are obvious comparisons with variants of MacVurich, such as Makvirriche and McWirriche. (Black, pp. 532, 569.)
123. See any book on tartan classification.
124. Turner, pp. 174-76, 192, quoting Black, p. 529.
125. Black, pp. 529, 473.
126. Turner, p. 115.

CHAPTER 15
SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS: THE COMMONALTY 1560-1760 - 2 SEASONAL AND OCCASIONAL SOCIAL INTERACTION

Introduction

Apart from migration which resulted in permanent occupation or settlement, there was also social contact on an occasional basis. Ireland was a convenient place of refuge for those who had undergone ecclesiastical or judicial censure, and indeed, a convenient location for those who intended to commit sins of the flesh. With regard to landless labourers, there were frequent complaints that east Ulster landlords offered shelter to criminals from Scotland because of a paucity of settlers. John Bramhall, bishop of Derry, suggested in 1634 that landlords sheltered dangerous presbyterians because they "merely wanted to plant their lands and cared for nothing else."[1] Indeed, the minutes of the Scottish presbyterian kirk sessions, presbyteries and Synods of the west coast regions which border Ireland are the most prolific source for irregular social contact during the period. They jointly comprise one of the major remaining sources capable of revealing movement of this sort. Equally, there is judicial evidence of a similar censorious nature, which gives further indication of those who used Ireland as a refuge from judicial proceedings. The one drawback of both of these types of information is that they only provide evidence for delinquents. Unfortunately, in this respect the record must necessarily distort the overall nature of the social interaction because there would undoubtedly have been as much contact of a legitimate nature, such as visiting relatives or going to the Ballycastle horse fair.[2] Although a small amount of this kind of evidence has survived for the clan *fine* through preservation of a limited number of family papers on both sides of the Irish sea, with respect to lesser social orders the majority of it was simply not recorded in the first place, or appears incidentally in relation to civil or ecclesiastical censure, trade or general military and political activity.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL EVIDENCE

Methods of removal from unsatisfactory marriages, or the 'legitimisation' of adulterous relationships were constantly being sought.[3] This was doubtless the case all over Scotland, but because of the poor supply of ministers to the Highlands, especially to the Isles, and the closeness of Ireland and its plentiful priesthood, there existed in Argyll and the southern islands particularly, a viable alternative. In terms of Catholic doctrine, as indeed of Calvinist, a marriage performed by a ministry other than their own was regarded as unratified and therefore more conveniently dissolved. For those who lived unhappily under the auspices of a minister this had a certain

attraction. Obtaining the services of a priest across the Irish sea had the advantage that he would probably not know the parties in question, who could therefore concoct stories about their relationship at their pleasure. The provincial assembly of Argyll raised just this point on 27 May 1643:

> The assembly, finding that contrair to the acts and the practice of the kirk of Scotland, parties passe over the Ireland and procure mareages with the same persons with whome they were guiltie of adultery, either before the decease or divorcement from their yock [yoke] fellow, and therafter return home to the great offence and scandall of good Christians to dwell amongst them.[4]

Steps to counter this type of activity appear to have been intensified at this time, probably due to the political and military implications of such passage for the civil war in Ireland. An entry in the Synod of Argyll minutes for 7 October 1641 refers to the marriage of Catrine Campbell with John McFarlane from Islay and the unlawful divorce of her previous husband. The minute also points out that "the mareage was made in Yrland contrarie to the Act of Parliament which sayes that all that goes to seek mareage out of the kingdome are lyable to be processed." This refers to the Act of 1641 'dischairging unlawfull mariages.'[5] Equally, in August 1646, the province of Moray asked "What sall be done with Papists maried by preests, whither ther mariage sall be esteemed lawfull or not?" So, almost ninety years after the Reformation, this whole question was not completely clear, or at least open to some interpretation in the minds of Kirk ministers. For the record, the General Assembly ordered that "Persones so maried sould be censured and sattisfie, because ther mariage hes not been solemnized according to the order of this Kirk."[6] The problem, with its implicit undertones of political disaffection, was still being dealt with by the Synod of Argyll in October 1652, which was undoubtedly trying to use Kirk pressure in the area to maintain a united, and politically hygienic, presbyterian front. "Wheras sevrall parties in Ila and Kyntyr, not being in a capacity of getting mariag in this kingdome, and others who for eshewing the censurs of the kirk repaire to Irland for mariages and baptisms and therefter come home and dwell," they appointed a letter to be written to McNaughtan in Kintyre and to the tutor of Cawdor in Islay, so that all such people could be banished, and that no lands were to be set to them or to an excommunicate, until they gave satisfaction to the Kirk.[7]

Yet, in spite of the weight of social and legal opinion against marriages in Ireland, it is clear that, although frowned upon, they were not invalid. This is shown in a minute of the Synod of Argyll of 15 October 1651 when the assembly are said to have been "finding some difficulty to be in the determination of the process depending against Archibald Mc Alester for his cohabitation with Elizabeth Cunningham, because that he produced a testimonial that he was married by a priest in Ireland, till they be resolved by the general assembly what in their judgement shall be anent marriages of that kind." The Synod, therefore, referred it as a query to the next General Assembly.

In the meantime, McAllister was to be publicly admonished.[8] A similar example is recorded on 8 July 1657, for Kintyre, an area in which it would be extremely unlikely that the participants would be other than Protestant at this time. "Duncane Mᶜwilkin and Crist. Nᶜbrúnan contemptuouslie gone to Irland, and being now returned declared themselves to have beine mairied ther by ane preist, and so lived together as maried persones." The presbytery's advise was asked, and McWilkin was called in to give his declaration. After the presbytery's consideration of the short period that he had been there, that he could not give the priest's name, his age, nor indeed whether he was young or old and that he had neither a certificate nor witness of his marriage, the presbytery pronounced him to be trilapse in fornication. He was to satisfy according to the acts of the General Assembly, and he and NcBrúnan were no longer to cohabit.[9] Kintyre and Islay people were still being married by priests at the end of the century. At the meeting of the presbytery of Kintyre, on 13 September 1693:

> Compeared Donald mc Lachlan in Kildaltan in Ila, who being guiltie of fornicatioun with Marie nc dugald there did (before he declared his repentance for the said fornicatioun) repaire to Ireland with another woman of the same name, & procured mareage with her from a popish priest, as he declares himselfe, having brought with him a testificat thereof, subscribed by two privat persons, who declare themselves to have been witnesses of his marriage.

His punishment was to make public repentance for four consecutive sabbaths, and the Laird of Cawdor was to be recommended to set the civil law in execution against him.[10]

Occasionally, the records mention by name those who were performing these marriages. The annual meeting of the Synod of Argyll, in May 1657, took note of the marriage of Archibald McEuen and Marie NcInleastaire in Ireland, and "for preventing of such mariages, appoints a letter to be written to the presbyterie in Ireland anent Mr John Paton's marieing of such unlawfull persons."[11] From the name evidence and the obvious appeal to the jurisdiction of the presbytery, it appears that this particular person was probably a Protestant, which probably indicates that the whole tenor of discipline in Ireland at the time was more lax. So too, on 6 March 1660, the presbytery of Kintyre cited the case of Neill Mᶜmorachie "for having gone to Irland with gormlie Nᶜcaliden, with whom he is relapse in fornicatioun (he being now trilapse) and being returned, cohabited with her as his maried wyfe. The said Neill compered declairing that he was maried in Irland by Mr donald Mᶜneill" who also, by virtue of the designation 'Mr.,' was probably a minister.[12]

Ireland was, however, convenient not only for the ready procuring of marriage, but also for other pertinents of illicit relationship. The Synod of Argyll of 9 October 1652, noted at its third session that "Whereas severall persons in Kyntyr who has gotten children in fornicatione and adultrie, for

eschewing the censurs of the kirk, repaired to Ireland for getting baptism to their children." It therefore appointed Mr Dougald Darroch to summon them to give satisfaction, and if they disobeyed he was to process them with excommunication. In order to redress the problem in the future, a letter was to be written to McNaughtan, that is, probably McNaughtan of Dundarave, an associate of the Campbells, as well as the minister and the session, in order to restrain such enormity.[13] Ireland was equally the destination of some who tired of their first spouses and found it easier to exist there as bigamists. Fortunately, the Kirk does not seem to have taken an unsympathetic stance to the plight of the abandoned spouse, as long as the absence had stood the test of time. Thus, with the case of Katherine NcKonachie who, on 23 June 1654, gave in "a suplicatione shewing that Neill mc Clartie some yeers agoe comitted adultrie with ane other woman and went with her to Ireland and wer married there by a priest and now cohabits there with her, desirs therefor a recomendatione to [the] civill magistrat for devorcement from her said husband." She was appointed to bring witnesses to prove her allegations on the following day.[14] At the same time, there were those not satisfied with a single partner who fled to Ireland, presumably, to live in greater anonymity. Thus, on 8 July 1657, "Jonet Allane, Margaret Ncclowie, and Jonet falconer adultress with gilbert Mcilbuij, Ar declarred to be all fled from Arrane, to Irland... bot not knoune certainlie Whether."[15]

As might be expected, Ireland was equally popular as a place for following through the last stages of an illicit pregnancy. Depending on the particular circumstances, the mother would sometimes remain there with the child, either by herself or with the father, sometimes return with the child, or sometimes put the child up for adoption before returning to her native parish. On 6 March 1660 the case of "Jeane Nicilliguyne," adulterer with "Mcillivernog" in Killean parish, was brought before the presbytery of Kintyre, for having gone to Ireland. It is suggested "that her going thither was because of her being with chyld in adulterie of now to the said Johne; Wherfor being now returned from Irland schoe compeired denying that schoe went to Irland with chyld; or that sinned with him since her being judiciallie convict of her last wickednes with him," which was first mentioned on 8 December 1658. However this being disputed, Jean was required to "to bring a testimoniall from Irland quhair schee resided, that schoe broght forth no chyld ther," as well as to satisfy in public for her first sin, which she had not yet done.[16] Moreover, the difficulties of the seventeenth-century Kirk in supplying vacant parishes, especially Gaelic-speaking ones, doubtless did little to improve the existing situation. The Argyll Synod of May 1657 recommended, on examination of the presbytery book of Kintyre, that "they take mor nerow inspection of the south ends vacant paroach in Kintyr, whence sevrall scandalous persons go over to Irland for mariag and baptism."[17] Southend which was the parish nearest to Ulster, was almost exclusively Gaelic-speaking.

Owing to the suspect nature of many marriages sought in Ireland, any Irish themselves coming over to Scotland were equally subject to general inquiry of the parish before being given clearance for

marriage. On 7 June 1656 the following note was entered in the book of the presbytery of Kintyre: "Teg Ocaan having come out of Irland four yeires agoe, and now seiking mariage heir, Being also referred by the Synod to the presbitrie Appoynted that he be maried, wpoun this provision that thrie of the persones quho came out of Irland with him doe first depone on oath he was not maried ther, nor scandalous."[18] In this case, however, the situation was clearly compounded by its closeness to the civil war.

The extent of popular connection between the north of Ireland and Argyll, can be amply illustrated by the following extract of 7 June 1656:

> Compeired, Malcolme darroch (having beine cited) quho tuyce fell in fornication in Irland without being judiciallie convict, and once since in yla, quhich he confesseth. In regard it is declared ther ar no ministers in the place quhair he fell in Irland, Appoyntes therfor that he (after that in privat he is maid sensible of his sinn by mairteine Mclachlane) evidence his repentance in yla, and that the samen be declared to the people in Irland by the said mairteine, and offer satisfactionn that he goe on to mariage according to his desire.[19]

It is particularly illustrative of the strength of connection, because the record states that there were no ministers where he lived in Ireland, and yet the information still filtered back to the ministers of the presbytery of Kintyre!

From the surviving record, the highest incidence of travel to Ireland for marriage, or indeed for any reason at all, is during the 1650s, though the fact that the presbytery of Kintyre book only begins in 1655 has some bearing on this. The evidence accords with continued ties between families who went across during the Ulster plantation and particularly with the settlement which occurred during the Protectorate. By the end of the seventeenth century, though, there is a marked falling off in the number of references mentioned.[20] This, however, is partly due to the move from presbyterianism to episcopal government from 1661 to 1689, which effectively interrupted many presbytery books, and inevitably distorted the overall impression of social interaction. There is, for instance, a gap in the presbytery record of Kintyre from 5 June 1660 to 9 November 1687. Yet, Highlanders clearly still continued to go to Ireland, for once the presbytery record for Kintyre was re-established, a case was referred to which occurred during the latter part of the episcopal government. The case, cited on 3 June 1690, stated that "John mcIlbride in the irish congregatioun of Campbelltoun did fall in adulterie with Marie ncMurchy when Mr James Campbell was Episcopal incumbent in Campbelltoune, And againe after his wifes death went to Ireland to marie the adulteresse which he alledges he did by a preist." They were to produce a certificate of their former adultery and subsequent marriage.[21]

One presbytery where the record remains uninterrupted is that of Dunoon, though a note in the volume makes it clear that meetings were "ne in a capacitye of a presbiterje."[22] Here, at the very beginning of the episcopal period, on 8 May 1661, the case was recorded of "Johne Merschell being of intention to goe for Irland & desireing a testimoniall from Mr John Camerone his present minister." The presbytery appointed Mr Cameron to give him a testimonial, making mention of his fall in adultery in the parish of Kilmodan.[23] Similarly, towards the end of the period, on 2 April 1683 there was the case of "John Ochiltrie Adulterer with Margrat McIntyllor" who, being cited, did not appear "and Mr Robert Stewart declares he is fugitive to Ireland, quhairfor he is ordained to begine processe of excommunicatioune against him, and in the meantime to use diligence to have him advertised therof." The woman was in the process of satisfying the presbytery, and by the meeting of 4 October 1683 "The Minister of Kilfinane declares that she did write to that pairt in Irelande wher he hard John Ochiltree adulterer did reside, but gott no Returne neither hath he any reasone to believe that the said John hath any designe of Returneing to satisfie the Church."[24]

Other general occurrences of the period which may have affected the movement of Highlanders into Ulster are the Earl of Argyll's rising in 1685 and the first Jacobite rebellion of 1689. As far as the first is concerned, the Marquess of Atholl's order to destroy Argyll's castles, entailed some general ravagement of Kintyre, and families may have temporarily fled to Ulster until the military action subsided.[25] For the period of the first Jacobite rebellion social, as opposed to specifically military, interaction is also noted though some Protestant ministers evinced political solidarity with the Williamites by crossing to Ireland.[26]

Such traffic as there was begins to be reported again in the 1690s with the re-establishment of presbyterianism at the Revolution. Thus, in Campbeltown, on 12 October 1692, a certain Patrick MacNaghten in "Gartavathigh," Southend, used the alibi of having been in Ireland in order to render himself incapable of having fathered a child on Katrine NicO'Shenog, his servant. He implored them, in a letter, to take Katrine's oath that John McNicoll was the father of the child, "in quhich letter he labors to exculpat himselfe by telling he was in Ireland from the 18th day of februarie to the 14th day of march," which did not tally with the conception of the child. O'Senog, however, further alleged that "he cam not from Ireland till twentie three dayes after the time he writs under his own hand (which would be about the sixth of Aprile) quhich was a great daviatioun [deviation] from his lettir, which she offered herselfe readie to sweare also." The case shows that extended visits to Ireland were not unusual at the time. Indeed, on 26 April 1693, the minister of Campbeltown informed that Katrine had by this time admitted that Patrick MacNaghten was the father of her child and "that the said patrick mcNachtan, cam to him in privat Confesseing that he received the sumonad, & declareing that he was on wing to transport himselfe & his family to Ireland."[27] On 11 April 1695, it was confirmed that O'Shenog, too, had gone to Ireland long ago. At the presbytery meeting of 4 January 1699, having been in Ireland for the past three years, the

members were informed that O'Shenog had returned to Southend, where she was summoned to the presbytery but failed to turn up.[28] As might also be expected, the occasional child was allegedly fathered on members of the clan *fine*. Thus it was reported on 1 August 1694, that "(blank) nc Gown in the parish of Kildaltan in Ila who fathered her childe on Archibald Campbell of Danna, is fugitive to Ireland." Danna, of course, denied this, and the minister, Mr David Simpson, was asked to find more information, but it would have been relatively easy for someone in his position to pay for the woman's transfer and upkeep in Ireland.[29]

One case at the end of the seventeenth century, on 6 March 1695, is particularly worthy of note because, unusually for a fugitive case, it specifies the destination in Ireland. The presbytery of Kintyre, being informed:

> That More mc dugald suspected adulteresse with John mc donald in Gorten na mfál, is fugitive to Ireland, And that shee resids with donald mc Kaj Inn-keeper at Bailemackskavlan [Ballymascanlon?] Do recommend to The Laird of Lergie And to the bailzie of Kintyre To write to the gentlemen concerned in that place To use there most effectual endeavores to Cause the said woman compeare before the presbiterie of Kintyre.[30]

Similarly, with a case cited in the presbytery of Kintyre, on 23 October 1697, Colin Campbell in Kilvorow confessed to committing adultery in July 1696, in a place in Ireland called "Culmore (the name both of toun and parish) but knowes not the woman's Name or Sirname with quhom he Committed it. Neither did he ever see hir before or after but swars that she brought forth a Child and Names him as the father thairof which he seemed to Confesse with some measure of remorse." His minister, Mr. David Simpson in Islay, was to write to Mr. Craighead in Ireland to find out what he could about the affair and the woman's name.[31] It appears that Campbell at least remembered the woman's surname by 29 August 1698, because he "renewed his Confession of the sin of Adultery with (blank) o dachartie in Irland," even though Mr Simpson reported that he had received, as yet, no reply from Mr Craighead in Derry regarding the affair. Campbell's absolution was thus to be delayed until Mr. Craighead's reply had been received. By 9 June 1699, there had still been no reply from Ireland, so Mr. Simpson having been "informed by severals that the scandal Is not flagrant there," and since Campbell had been professing his repentance for the past twelve months, Simpson was appointed to absolve him at his convenience.[32]

On certain occasions, as on 26 January 1653, the complaint was of being slandered with adultery, rather than adultery having been committed. John Campbell in Kilmun accused John McArthur, elder, of slandering him "in laying to his charge that he had begotten ane childe in adulterie in irland and caused the same to be put away by a purganne." Evidence was given against John McArthur by Donald Mckerres of Glenchillies, (who is listed in the sederunt on 26 May 1653, and

must therefore be a kirk elder) affirming that he had spoken those things. John McArthur compeared also and admitted saying so, but that "he had said it in a distemper of sicknes, and that he never thocht the same of him."[33] He was required to make his repentance in a public place. In Kingarth in Bute, the language of slander proved infinitely more colourful. On 25 April 1664 Margaret Fleming appeared before the session and complained that Allan M'Connochie had "called hir a runagate whoore and that the crops of hir toes was cutte of in Irland for hir whooredome, and that he knew not quhat dogge was hir father and quhat bitche hir mother, and offered to prove the same."[34] McConnochie denied the charge, and no further procedure appears in the record. Similarly, just into the eighteenth century, Neill McNeill, son of John McNeill in Laelt complained to the session of Southend, on 17 September 1700, "against Donald McIlrevie seaman in Machremore bearing that the said donald McIlrevie had scandalized him with the scandal of Adultery with More NcMillan spouse to (the now defunct) Neill McLuges in Monewe and did devulge the said scandall both in Irland and Scotland." McNeill's minister was to check the allegations, but on 1 July 1701, the presbytery having looked into the affair appointed the said Donald McIlrevie to be rebuked presbyterially for spreading such a groundless report.[35]

Once into the eighteenth century, although some people continued to go to Ireland to escape kirk sanction, there are fewer examples recorded of this in the Argyll presbytery and Synod records. Moreover, the Toleration Act of 1712 divorced civil sanction from ecclesiastical censure, and "expresly prohibited and discharged" civil magistrates "to force or compel any person or persons" to answer ecclesiastical summonses or censure. Thereafter the Church lost its monopoly over popular discipline and people were no longer obliged to come before the kirk session.[36] This is probably one of the main reasons why there is less recorded evidence of flight from Kirk censure. Although some permanent settlement is known to have occurred after the Revolution and into the first decade of the eighteenth century, such a decline is perfectly in keeping with a gradual loss of ties with Scotland by families who settled there earlier in the seventeenth century, at the time of plantation. The majority of disciplinary cases, as would be expected in keeping with geographical proximity, have been noted in the presbytery records of Kintyre, and even though there is ample testimony of social interaction down to the 1740s, there is only one example in the 1750s. In the early eighteenth century, the presbytery of Kintyre notes a number of instances of Irish contact in the first decade, but it is evident that contact also continued in other areas. On 30 January 1704, for example, "Kathren Ncnickole" was summoned to Kilmory kirk session in Arran, for being with child which she acknowledged was to Mathew Stuart in the parish of Kilbride, Arran. Being asked the details of the conception, she "Replyed to the time, that it was in Irland the child was begott." The next meeting, on 3 March 1704, established the time of her being in Ireland, stating that NcNicol was also formerly a parishioner in Kilbride "albeit she was sometime in this paroch since she came from Ireland, which was only about Hallowmess last."[37]

The case of Neil Beaton from the presbytery of Skye, illustrates the disciplinary network which operated between presbyteries in Scotland. On 24 March 1707 the presbytery of Kintyre received a letter from Mr. Dugald McPherson, moderator of the Skye presbytery, about Mr. Neil Beaton who had fallen in fornication with two people, and which also alleged that he was living now in the bounds of the presbytery of Kintyre. It was requested that he be sent back to Skye to give satisfaction there for his conduct. However, it seems that Beaton was either stopping off in Kintyre before crossing the Irish sea, or on hearing that his behaviour had caught up with him, decided to take flight. Thus, "The presbyterie being informed that he is not in their bounds but hear that he is in Ireland do therefore appoint Mr James McVurrie to write to some Ministers in Ireland anent the said Mr Beaton that they might prevail with him to return to the said Presbyterie of Sky."[38]

Social interaction with Ireland occurred right up until the end of the period under view. At least in terms of those cases recorded in the Kirk records, the majority continued to be adultery cases, as with "Katrine in Connachie (lately fugitive to Ireland)," alleged adulterer with Alexander McMillan on 3 November 1713.[39] Similarly, there was the alleged adultery case, on 23 April 1714, of Mary Smith in "Tigh an tromah" in the parish of Kildalton "spous to Duncan mcEuin (who fled away to Irland with another woman four years ago)."[40] On 12 July 1716, there was the case of Mary Petie from Clachan in Arran, wife of John McMillan who "is come from Ireland, being under bad report when she went away," of being "with Child when she went to Ireland."[41]

A case reported in the session book of Rothesay, on 3 October 1718, provides an interesting confession of assumed identity. John McNabe appeared before the session on a charge of adultery, and gave the following information, "that he left this countrey and went to Ireland about the beginning of August 1717 and returned not untill about 20 days ago, that he brought home no testificate of his deportment, life or conversation during his absence from us" and that Mary Ocheltry, with whom it was stated he went away, crossed the ferry of Cloch with him. According to McNabe's evidence, however, they parted before going to Ireland.[42] The evidence supplied in this case is particularly interesting because of the detail given of the places in which McNabe and Ocheltry allegedly stayed in Ireland. McNabe stated that "during his residence in Ireland he lived in the parish of Anhault in the county of Down under the name of John Hamilton and taught a school for a considerable time there, and during the rest of the time he was there he served Mr. Joseph Hannah, Conformist minister of the said parish." Service to a minister, of course, supplied a degree of credibility to his statement. As for Mary, according to McNabe, she stayed in one place during the whole time she was in Ireland, living at "Cloghar in the county of Antrim, quher 3 or 4 days before Patrickmass last (or after it) she brought forth a girl, which he acknowledged to be his, and to have been begotten by him upon her at Bailnakeilly before they left this countrey," that is, in the parish of Rothesay.[43]

According to McNabe's statement he neither saw nor corresponded with Mary until the child was baptised by his master, Joseph Hannah, at Clogher, who was on his way from Derry to his house in Anhault. There was, however, contact between McNabe and Mary's two brothers who lived in Belfast, where McNabe went frequently. Mary by this time lived with her uncle, Alexander McGillies, in Kilfinan parish. McNabe admitted his adultery and was referred to the presbytery, the session not being competent to proceed to sentence.[44] By the time Mary Ocheltry appeared before the same session to give her statement, on 7 January 1719, she had moved from Kilfinan to the parish of Inverchaolain ["Innercheilan."] Her evidence provides the additional information that she was a servant in John McNabe senior's house, and that McNabe junior was married. Her statement differs in that she stated that McNabe left her at Old Kirk on the pretext of finding some convenient place for her to stay. However, he had not returned in two days and she decided to go to Ireland herself. She therefore travelled along the coast to Saltcoats from where she crossed to Belfast.[45]

Ocheltry's statement is relevant in providing information of those places with which west coast Highlanders were generally familiar. In Belfast she knew two women "one Mary N'Augash, spouse to (blank), and (blank) N'Lauchlan, spouse to (blank), and being told by these women that a woman in her circumstances could not expect to live without trouble in Belfast she resolved to serve in the countrey." During this time she neither heard anything of McNabe, nor received any support from him.

> ... after tarrying a fourthnight only there she was hired by one (blank) Huntar, servant to (blank) N'Neil, a widow woman in Mr. Archibald M'Neil's parish in the county of Antrim 20 miles distant from Belfast, but knew not the name of the town or the name of the parish or of any of the neighbours where she tarried or yet the name of the next neighbouring mercat town, but to the best of her knowledge Lismagarvy might be the name, and was not but about 6 or 7 miles distant from them.

However, the idea that she had stayed for many months at a place in Antrim without acquiring knowledge of any of the local placenames, especially where she stayed, is, unless she were a simpleton, laughable. Her selective amnesia suggests either fabrication or protection.[46] Moreover, there was a gross discrepancy in their stories. Mary stated, for instance, that she did not know how McNabe found her when he came to have the child baptised because she did not have any brothers at all, much less two at Belfast, "nor did she understand that John M'Nabe assumed any other name while he was in Ireland but the same he was known with by us." Eventually, last harvest, she decided to come back to Scotland and went to Belfast where she found a Kerry boat skippered by Duncan McMun, which carried her to Scotland. She was also referred to the presbytery.[47]

A sizeable gap then appears in the register of Kintyre between the last minute containing an Irish reference, (which occurs on 6 March 1723, and is a reference to the long ongoing adultery case between Alexander Jamison and Christine Campbell), and the next one in 1737. The former requested that the process against him be brought to an end, since Campbell had thrice been cited to attend the presbytery but had defaulted, nor was there any reason to expect that she would, "but that on the contrary they are credibly informed she designs to go off to Irland if she be not gone thither already."[48] In part, this lack of information can be explained by a five year gap in the record from 5 August 1727 to 2 February 1732, but not entirely so, for the next reference to Ireland is on 11 July 1737, which takes note of a minister being in Ireland.[49] Yet, lack of Irish references in the four years prior to the gap in the record and five years after it, would seem to point to a lessening of social traffic between the two communities. It probably also indicates a weakening of kirk discipline following the Toleration Act of 1712, when meticulous clerkship was no longer such a necessity. Further lack of information until 1744, in the Kintyre record, can more justifiably be put down to another five year gap in the record from 11 July 1737 to 17 February 1742, but comparison with the few years at the beginning of the record and the lack of information in the years from 1742 to 1744, indicates a definite lessening of contact compared with the seventeenth century.[50] This is surely significant in a record which has consistently shown the highest incidence of social interaction between the Highlands and Ulster. Even in 1744 the example cited is of a man who can only (if fairly accurately) be assumed to have been Irish. On 13 June 1744, the minister of the Highland congregation of Campbeltown, Mr. Charles Stewart reported "that one Catharine McEwan a married woman brought forth a Child to Patrick O Kelly a single man as she Confessed in the Session."[51] He could, however, conceivably have been a second generation settler.

The last specific reference to Irish contact in the Kintyre record is on 24 April 1754, from the parish of Southend, notifying "that one Janet Macalester hath left the Country with Child & gone to Ireland."[52] However, social interaction with Ireland did not simply occur from the easy access of Kintyre. The proceedings of the session of Kilmore are cited in the presbytery records of Lorn, on 27 March 1759, giving details of the elopement of Christian McChruim from her husband Donald Levingston. The couple had been married in 1740, and three months later the husband had enlisted as a soldier with Captain Alexander Campbell of Ardkinglass, with whom he had served abroad for three years and nine months. However, "some considerabl time after his return home the said Christian McChruim drew up with one Hugh McDugal a married man in Luing and went off with him to Ireland That after staying there two years she returned to the Country with a young child on her breast." She told several people, particularly her brother Donald McChruim, one of the deponents in the case, that Hugh McDugal was the father. Following this, "after a stay of some days in the Country she returned back again into Ireland and none of the Deponents could know what was become of her since." An extract of the proceedings was to be given to her abandoned

spouse if he requested it![53] However, no less significant than fugitives from ecclesiastical sanction were fugitives escaping judicial sanction.

II. JUDICIAL SANCTION

For those who had committed political, treasonable crimes against a major territorial lord or the Crown, or had committed socially hideous crimes, a totally impenetrable hide-out, or as near as could be achieved, was sought. The serious nature of the following case is evident from its having been brought to the attention of the Synod, rather than being left to the presbytery. The provincial assembly of Argyll noted, in May 1657, the case of Alexander Ross and Isobell Campbell "one mothers bairnes" who were guilty of the horrible crime of incest in Islay and had produced a child which was being fostered in Lochaber,"and they themselves fled away to Irland where they dwell in a toune neare the Derrie called the Insck." It was appointed that "a letter be writtin to the breithren in Irland to send the said incestuous persons to the presbyterie of Kintyre."[54] There is, however, no further notice of them in the record.

One virtually impenetrable place of refuge which frequently features in the records, for the inhabitants of Kintyre and its adjacent environs, was the Glens of Antrim. Such was its general isolation that when Chichester, the Lord Deputy, and the Commissioners of the Ulster plantation had passed through the Glens in the autumn of 1608 "the wild inhabitants wondered as much to see the King's deputy, as the ghosts in Virgil wondered to see Aeneas alive in hell!"[55] Indeed, it appears to have acted as the Irish alternative to the indigenous Lochaber, which often functioned as a Highland mainland refuge from ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. 'The wooded glens [of Antrim] were the hiding places for the refugees of many centuries.'[56] They were, in the period under consideration, 'densely wooded' and thus an ideal hiding place for Highland fugitives, particularly because of their sea access. 'The principal glens open on the sea at irregular intervals, along the line of coast between the little towns of Glenarm and Ballycastle, and extend inland among the hills in winding courses of several miles.' Indeed, Ulster in its entirety could be regarded as somewhat of an impenetrable hideout, especially in the latter half of the sixteenth century before proper extension of English jurisdiction to the province. Even in the seventeenth century there were sufficient wooded enclaves and inaccessible glens that were exclusively peopled by native Irish. Besides this, the passage from one glen to another was fraught with difficult features such as bogs and swamps and must have made detection almost impossible, unless to one familiar with the terrain.[57] Moreover, simply to escape to Ireland at all lessened the chances of persecution. Although follow-up procedures with Irish presbyteries were often initiated in Scotland, the incidence of suspensions in processes of excommunication, amply illustrates their failure to bring them to discipline. Even legal cases seem rarely to have been pursued in Ireland

unless they were of some economic significance, entailing the recovery of a ship or a ship's cargo.[58] Other than this, offenders were often only brought to trial if they happened to return to the area of the crime.

In addition to the many fugitives from kirk discipline, there were also some fugitives from criminal justice. Those crimes traditionally tried of the Crown, such as murder and rape, have particularly been recorded. Although this traffic in fugitives was two-way, from Scotland to Ireland and vice-versa, it must be said that it was marginally easier to remain a fugitive in Ireland than it was in Scotland, certainly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A case pursued on 26 August 1680 in the Justiciary Court of Argyll and the Isles at Campbeltown, amply illustrates that though the hand of the law might be lazy, its memory was long. For on that day, Andrew Gardner in Drummore entered on panel accused at the instance of Patrick Murray, fiscal of the said Justice Court, for the interest of the Crown, of murdering Duncan M'Leland, "sometyme in Ireland, about sexteen or sevinteen years agoe by striking him with a great staff breaking thereby his harn pan by which stroke he fell upon the ground and within a few dayes thereafter died." For this murder, he or others in his name were instructed to pay 400 merks Scots in assythment or kinboot.[59] On this occasion, however, the accused proved fortunate. Information against him was referred to an Assize, which declared Andrew Gardner to be acquitted of the crime of murder contained in his indictment, in respect it was not proved against him."[60]

There were various criminal cases in which flight to Ireland was an integral part of the crime, and there were still a good many fugitives to Ireland in the eighteenth century. On 15 March 1737 an abduction case was heard before the Justiciary Court of Argyll and the Isles at Inveraray. The defendant was "Donald McLachlan, son to Angus McLachlan late baillie of Inveraray, now prisoner within the tolbooth of Inveraray indicted and accused at the instance of Angus Campbell, procurator fiscal of the justiciary court of Argyll for his Majesty's interest, for the crime of rape or ravishing."[61] The specifics of the accusation were that McLachlan and several accomplices, some of whom were armed with swords, staves and other weapons, had, around the night of 30 April 1736 or the next May, come to the house of William Thomson, who ran a boarding school at which Christian McArthur, daughter of Duncan McArthur of Innishtrynich, was being educated. After all the inmates of the house had gone to sleep, they had forced entry into the house and seized Christian McArthur who was then violently ravished and taken away from the house. McLachan took her to the shore of Inveraray where, in a boat belonging to William Mcgibbon, indweller in Inveraray, "he transported the said Christian to Ireland albeit when she was so seized and carryd away she was heard frequently call for help and assistance at leist making a mournful and distressed noise." A protracted legal argument ensued with regard to what constitutes rape, the conclusion of which was that "since there is a child brought furth betwixt the pannell and Christian

McArthur it must unquestionably be presumed that she was carryd away 'libidinis causa,' which consequently constituted the crime of rape."[62]

However, it appears from the lengthy evidence that the abduction was probably an extended ruse by a hot-blooded, and not unromantic McLachlan, to accomplish a quicker marriage. The social significance of the case is the recognition of an Irish destination as the eighteenth century Highland equivalent of Gretna Green. It is, thus, a well recorded example of an irregular form of social intercourse between Scotland and Ireland, which has been amply documented from the first half of the seventeenth century. Christian McArthur appeared, according to many testimonies, to have been well aware of McLachlan's intended voyage to Ireland.[63] However, it seems that Christian had stated herself unwilling to marry him at that juncture because she did not wish to give up her education, though her father acknowledged having given his consent to the match if his daughter was willing. The details of the evidence are interesting in recording the route that was taken, which cannot have been an uncommon example of similar social expeditions of the period. On the journey to Ireland the boat put in at the Isle of Sanda where Christian purchased a cloak, cape and head suit and also "at the small isles in Cowall," which presumably refers to the Cumbraes, where she went ashore, though here the testimony of the accomplices, regarding the degree of compulsion exercised on her to re-board, varies.[64] This might be attributed to Christian's petulance at the manner of her removal, for Fisher, son of the provost of Inveraray, stated that they went on to Donaghadee in Ireland, "where the pannell and the said Christian were marryd in presence of the deponent and that she did not show any unwillingness the time of the marriage."[65] Most conclusive, however, is McArthur's own declaration, produced before the court on 18 March 1737 by her husband's procurator, in which she declared: "I was then (notwithstanding of any noise or resistance made by me against my being carryd away by the said Donald) willing to be so carryd away by him in order to marriage and that upon the third day of May foresaid I was accordingly marryd to the said Donald McLachlan of my own free will and consent at Donnachadee in Ireland." She also stated that their elopement was premeditated.[66]

On the weight of Christian's own testimony the Justiciary Court had already declared that Donald McLachlan's being guilty of the facts libelled or part of them "only relevant to infer an arbitrary punishment," but the case had still been pursued in order to either alleviate or prove the grave circumstances of the libel. The Assize which considered the case found that all the facts of the abduction as produced in the libel were true, but was likewise convinced that McArthur had been forewarned that McLachlan intended to carry her off "whereof she did not seem to be concerned about it." The final outcome of the case, on 28 March 1737, probably as much for wasting court time as retribution for the immature adventure, was a fairly stiff fine for that time, of £20 sterling. The price of an illicit elopement to Ireland could be high![67]

III. LEGITIMATE SOCIAL CONTACT

Not all journeys to Ireland by Highland Scots were undertaken for ulterior or illicit motives. There was undoubtedly genuine, occasional movement by people visiting relatives, or through trade, which resulted in high degrees of mobility, though crimes might be committed incidentally to the activity engaged in. There was a regular ferry service to Ireland from Kintyre in the early part of the eighteenth century and there had, doubtless, been one during the seventeenth century. Certainly Edward Lhuyd, the Celtic scholar, crossed to Southend in Kintyre from Ballycastle in Antrim, in December 1699, returning by the same ferry to Ballycastle at the end of January 1700.[68] On 13 June 1710 a petition was submitted by John McIlreavie, ferrier at Machrimore and tacksman of the ferry between Kintyre and Ireland, for protection of his ferry rights against encroachment. The record reveals that Elizabeth, dowager Duchess of Argyll, had set the ferry in tack to the said John on behalf of her son, John, Duke of Argyll "with the haill priviledges and emoluments thereof which tack doth contain a clause prohibiting any other the said priviledge for which ferrie your petitioner payes (40s. sterling) yearly." The tack of the ferry was dated at Campbeltown, on 5 May 1709. Nevertheless, "Notwithstanding of the said tack a great many persons make incroachments upon the said ferrie by transporting of passengers in boats and barks betwixt the two ports abovewritten... to his manifest hurt detriment and leasing whereby he may be rendred uncapable to pay his tack duty."[69]

The Lord Justice General depute discharged against all those who did not have an established right, as he was bound to do but with the following caution, which provides some insight into why people used other services, that he "serve the leidges faithfully and readily and to exact but the ordinary dues for ferrying and that he shall transport no persons from this kingdome to Ireland without the bailies of Kintyre or other judges competent their pass nor from Ireland to this kingdome without a pass from the justices of the peace in Ireland."[70] This incident, then, clearly indicates that the volume of traffic was sufficient to merit competition, especially for illicit or delinquent purposes.

Interesting social information is also provided in relation to Charles Stewart's parish, the Highland congregation of Campbeltown, at the presbytery meeting of 28 July 1750 which elucidates some of the background of the Campbeltown Highland congregation and may indirectly have a bearing on general contacts with Ireland.[71] The information arises as a result of a memorial submitted by Charles Stewart complaining of over-work, in regard that the late minister of the neighbouring parish did not speak Gaelic.[72] With the appointment of a new Gaelic-speaking minister, Stewart requested a more equitable distribution of their respective charges, supporting his memorial with the following information, which makes pertinent social distinctions. Firstly, it states that it was well known "that by far the most part of the servants employed by the people of the Lowland Congregation in Town & Country by Sea & land are highlanders" which made his charge

intolerable, especially as he grew older. Some of these servants might also have been Irish speakers from Ulster, though the Irish/Scottish distinction might not have been observed. This was made all the more likely by his second reason, which specifically referred to sea trade, observing:

> That there is now much more reason, for the Presbyteries appointing as is proposed, than formerly, insomuch as the Trade of Campbelton has been very much upon the thriving hand for sometime bygone, and that there is now an evident prospect of its much farther thriving, both by the Factories set up & by sea Trade, which bring multitudes of Highlanders, not only from all parts of the Country but also from other places of the Highlands as is evident from what has already fallen out & daily falls out.

A healthy two-way traffic existed between the port of Campbeltown and Ireland, not simply in commercial cargoes, but undoubtedly also in general social interaction at markets and horse fairs. There was already a great deal of Irish/Highland contact in the fishing industry, and it is likely that Irish fishing boats dropped off young brothers and sisters to labour in households, on small-holdings, or at harvest times as seasonal labour, and then picked them up on another call to Campbeltown, as Kintyre fishing boats probably did in Ulster. Thirdly, Stewart observed what might be regarded as Scottish parallels with the settler/native situation in Ulster, that "The Lowlanders have considerably a far greater part of the Lands of the Country than the highlanders have, which of necessity must add to the number of their Servants & Consequently to my burden."[73]

In their turn, trading contacts between Ireland and the west coast Highlands easily led to further social or even sexual interaction, both in the country visited and through the opportunity of absence at home. Thus, on 26 January 1749, the protest of Edward Orr, bailie of the burgh of Campbeltown, was recorded, in reference to the scandal of adultery against him with Elizabeth Smith, spouse of William Gilchrist, sailor, by the kirk session of the Lowland congregation.[74] His defence was that "I am in Condition to prove by several witnesses, that I was in Ireland at the time the said Elizabeth Smith says the Child was begotten, and that I was absent about Eleven or twelve days before the time she mentions & fourteen or fifteen days thereafter...." Bailie Orr deponed the next day that "he left Scotland for Ireland, upon the 11th February & did not return till the 17th March." The "guilt" was charged upon him on the 23 February or between that time and the end of the month, 1748. This particular case is also of obvious significance as an example of a trading pattern. Archibald Gilchrist senior, aged 48, one of the Bailie's witnesses, gave Orr's itinerary as follows, that he set sail for Ireland on 6 February last on board 'The William and Archibald,' but was forced back by contrary winds on the Sunday. He remained at home until the next Wednesday, which was the 11th of the month, on which day "He & the Deponent set sail together & put into Carlingford upon the Fridays night & that he the Deponent was in Company with Bailie Orr for the

space of fifteen days after they set sail from Campbelton untill they parted a mile above Newry; Bailie Orr being so far on his way to Dublin;" but that he was unaware of how long Bailie Orr spent in Ireland after this. Another witness, John McEachern, aged 35, confirmed the day of leaving and deponed "that he left him [Orr] in Dundalk the sabbath thereafter." He further stated "that he was in Bailie Orrs house upon Thursday the 17th March the day on which Bailie Orr returned home from Ireland."[75]

IV. PAUPER CONTACT

Not only the affluent and traders crossed the North Channel from Scotland to Ireland, but also the poor. Those in receipt of poor relief are often listed in the Kirk records under payments "to the necessitous." 'Necessity' clearly increased at times of famine and war, while the incidence of occasional vagrancy increased during the summer season.[76] The surviving evidence shows that all of those in receipt of charity, in terms of Irish/Highland inter-relations, were always Irish people or occasionally, Scots who required assistance to get or return to Ireland. The question, therefore, arises why so many beggars came across from Ireland? To find the answer, it is necessary to look at the comparative provision of poor relief in the two countries. The legislation in both countries was based on English sixteenth-century statutes, precisely in the Irish case, and with modifications in the Scottish case. Further developments in both countries in the seventeenth century resulted in a 'tolerably efficient' system of parish welfare in Scotland, but not in Ireland. Although the Church of Ireland was operating regular poor collections in most of their churches in major towns by the Restoration period, there was still no statute authorising any parish in the country to assess its inhabitants for poor relief at the end of the seventeenth century. In Scotland, however, funds for poor relief were raised each week by church collections. The poor were divided into three groups, firstly, the idle poor, who could work but did not, and were not entitled to relief, secondly, those who required assistance in an emergency and were deserving of friendly assistance and thirdly, the impotent poor, who were truly helpless and weak, and were the main recipients of poor relief. The collection of parish funds for the impotent poor could be augmented by the levy of an assessment on landowners and tenants, though poor relief was dependent primarily on church offerings which varied according to the resources of the parish.[77] Certainly there seems little evidence that the levying of assessment was a regular occurrence in the west coast Highlands and Islands.

Significantly, in terms of the pattern of Scottish settlement, the best rural provision for poor relief in Ireland during the latter half of the seventeenth century was in east Ulster. 'The strong east Ulster pattern of parish action is striking: was it a response to a particular regional problem of itinerant beggars, possibly from Scotland in the wake of the 'ill years', or the influence of Scottish parish conventions in areas of greatest Scottish settlement?' It would certainly appear to be a

relevant factor. The earliest extant example of a largely rural parish keeping a poor list was the parish of Shankill in County Armagh. Moreover, six parishes or parish groupings, two in Armagh, three in Down and one in Antrim, are known to have operated a badge system in Ulster between 1699 and 1709. However, this brought its own problems, similar to those noted in Scotland, that is that wherever charity was on offer, there was a proportional increase in those prepared to consume it. Thus, in 1707, the Antrim County Grand Jury noted the "great increase of vagrant persons and idle beggars." Therefore those worthy of charity were to be badged, while those who were not, comparable with Scottish laws of 1667 and 1672, were to be publicly castigated and sent back to their birthplace or parish of three years' residence.[78]

In Scottish records, the first major documented relief to the Irish is during the civil war, though some noted as Irish were returning emigrant Scots, fleeing in fear of their lives. The presbyteries were obliged to deal with this social problem to the best of their ability, and on an already strained budget. For example, on 6 April 1642, Dunoon presbytery appointed Mr. John Campbell "to present the petitioune to the Lords of Secreit counsell for a pairt of the support that was collected for the poor from irland to the use of those that are within the yle of Buite."[79] Similarly, on 26 January of the following year, 1643, it was noted that "Mr Ewin Cameron be comanded to call the Marqueis of Argyll to memorie of his Lordships promeis at the provinciall holden at inveraray anent the contributioune collected for the distressed Scots that came out of irland."[80]

Charity was still being given out as a consequence of the war some years later when, for example, in August 1659, the session of Rothesay appointed 4s "to be given to a poore man who suffered distresse in Yrland be the Spanzard haveing his wife and children with him."[81] The "Spanzard" presumably refers to those who came with Owen Roe O'Neill from the Spanish army, to assist the Irish Confederates in 1642. There were bad harvests in Ireland in the early 1670s and from 1683 to 1684, which undoubtedly resulted in displacement.[82] Thus the session of Kingarth, on 22 April 1683, appear to have specially collected on that day "and given to Black John Stewart, a distresd man from Ireland, ten groats."[83] Clearly being unable to support himself in Ireland, John Stewart had returned to the safety of the Stewart land of Bute. Conversely, the food shortages of the 1690s in Scotland must also have encouraged people to seek new pastures, for the same session gave £1 10s to "Mr. Lawrence Forrester, a poor schoolmaster going for Ireland," on 2 November 1691.[84] However, there was still sufficient in the Kingarth session coffers on 12 March 1693, for 24s Scots and 6s Scots to be given respectively, to Patrick Stewart and Donald McAlester from Ireland, as well as 13s 4d Scots, on 9 September 1694, to Joane Gordon who came "out of Ireland."[85] One particularly unique example of the extension of poor relief is recorded on 3 November 1708, when Kilmory kirk session appointed "a shilling sterling to one Donald Mcquirry a poor Man to relieve his playd which Mc Crovy poynded for his fraught [freight] betwixt Irland and Scotland." It is interesting not only in terms of how often a plaid was put in hock to pay a ferry fare, but also in that

it gives some indication of the price of such a journey. Once again, this man's journey to Scotland may have been caused by an attempt to evade the grain scarcity of 1708 to 1709, which was harsh in Ireland and 'led to thousands taking to the roads.'[86]

Charity was also extended in cases of domestic tragedy, and here it appears that social conscience was clearly understood to extend between the two presbyterian communities as late as 1714, some years after the establishment of the separate Synod of Ulster. In these cases, those who had suffered seem to have been given permission to apply for charity from all their brethren. Kilmory kirk session records such a case of temporary relief for the deserving able-bodied poor, on 11 April 1714:

> The Session having seen Papers, subscrib'd by sev'ral Persons of Credit & Note in the County of Armagh in the Kingdom of Ireland, bearing that one Robert Johnson, who formerly liv'd in the same County, had lost all his Goods by Accidental fire, & that himself & two of his Children reduc'd to the greatest Extremity of Want (being formerly in a very oppulent Condition) to the Charity of all Christian people, & the said Relict & two of her said Children being present The Session appoints four shillings & two pence Sterling to be givn for thair present supply.[87]

Scrutiny of eighteenth-century Irish poor lists shows that the handful to several dozen adults on the list received small sums of money several times a year, which rarely exceeded £1 altogether. This seems to follow the Scottish pattern fairly exactly. For instance, Kilmory kirk session, in Arran, paid out in charity, on 8 May 1718, "to John Hamilton come lately from Ireland now in Kilbride two shillings sterling." Two months later, on 23 July 1718, the same man was given a far more generous handout of £1 4s, with no reason stipulated. Such payments, however, only appear to have been made to assist with removal outwith the country. Moreover, the evidence of the payment of small sums of money seems to point more to the use of weekly church offerings than any levying of assessment. A number of years later, on 8 June 1727, a shilling sterling was given to a namesake, "Patrick Hamilton from Ireland also in straits."[88] By this time, there was food shortage in Ireland once again, with harvest failures between 1726 and 1729. Indeed, the situation was so serious that it actually led to food distribution and relief in every parish in Ulster.[89] Scotland was also afflicted.

At times like these charity was more grudgingly given because it had to spread further, and steps were even taken to curtail its provision. The famine of 1728 seems to have resulted in migration to Argyll from the poverty-stricken areas of Ireland, but also displacement from other areas of Scotland. On 9 September 1728, in Campbeltown:

> The Magistrats and Council Considering the too too frequent repair from most parts of Scotland as well as from Ireland of a great many persons most of whom It is known to their Experience have run from Execution of Justice upon them for Crimes committed by them in their own Countrys Some of whom pleaded Impotency in Leg Arm or Some Other parts of their body to dissemble their ability and plead the Charty of this and other countrys as the greatest apparent objects thairwith tho' at the same time all was and has been proven to be Art and discrimination even upon tryals in this place.

To have goaded the continent Campbeltown officials to double adverbs, the situation must, indeed, have been serious! Their pleas against criminals should perhaps not be taken too seriously, but seen more as a method of providing social justification for their inability to cope with the hordes of starving people entering the more fertile agricultural plains of Argyll. Thus the local administration felt obliged to emphasise how "a vaste many Idle vagrant sturdy Beggars have come into been harboured Lodged and got supply in this place from parts without the two parishes of the Highland and Lowland Congregations of this Burgh."[90] Yet, why should the Irish be coming to Campbeltown? Clearly it provided more lucrative poor relief than Ireland, since it appears, as seen below, that Campbeltown had a well regulated system of relief, but the general expansion of trade in the fishing port in the eighteenth century probably also provided opportunity for employment. Moreover, where trade was expanding, more money was usually contributed to the poor fund.

Indeed, some of these so-called Irish beggars might have been impoverished, returning Scots, who were classed as Irish by the officials to avert their castigation.[91] They might even have been seasonal workers employed as cheap labour on the fishing boats, who were actually *in situ* at the time. Nevertheless, the burgh council felt it could only support its own, and approved the need to strike a stamp with two letters, one 'P' for poor, the other 'C' for Campbeltown, which was to be applied upon the person of each impotent beggar in the two congregations of Campbeltown. The local poor relief system was obviously beyond coping with the crisis, and it was usual in such situations to overcome shortage of funds by licensing the poor by the use of badges or tickets, or as in Campbeltown by stamping, which permitted them to beg in the parish. So too, since the better off parishes tended to attract vagrants and beggars from elsewhere, there was also a law which required three years' residence in the parish before poor relief was dispensed. By their sanctioning of a system of stamping, the magistrates and ministers of Campbeltown thereby discharged "all other persons foreign from and without the said parishes to begg, sorne or reside within the Libertys of the burgh that will harbour Aid or Supply them with meat drink or Lodging or any other comfortable assistance that they will be prosecuted for the same as the Law directs." Suffice it to say that "comfortable assistance" was rarely given to those who made a living as vagrants and beggars. The next burgh enactment against sturdy beggars and vagrants was passed on 18 December 1744, but did not extend to the same detail. However, it seems significant that such people only become a serious issue at times of economic or political upheaval. The Burgh Council

threatened to "Incarcerate in the Tolbooth all such persons who refuse immediately to go out of the Towns priviledges."[92] On 4 May 1763, Dugald Campbell of Ardrossan was to receive £1 7s from the Commissioners of Supply for Argyll, for apprehending two vagrants who had come from Ireland to Kintyre. They were subsequently delivered to Captain Hay, regulating Captain on impressed men in the River Clyde.[93]

V. COMPARATIVE INCIDENCE AND REASONS FOR VISITS TO IRELAND AND SCOTLAND SHOWN IN THE KIRK RECORDS

Using the minutes of 23 ecclesiastical sources, which cover the period from 1639 to 1760,[94] two bar charts have been compiled showing the overall comparative incidence of social reasons for visits to Ireland, and vice-versa to Scotland, as revealed in the kirk records.[95] There are extreme limitations in this presentation of the material, not least, as indicated above, that there is an inbuilt inclination towards disciplinary cases. Moreover, although the bar charts are based on material from a large body of kirk records, the overall number of references from which the bar charts have been drawn up is surprisingly small. Each reference in the records has only been accorded one entry in the bar chart, so that where the reference, for example, is to a minister, the figures on the vertical axis concur with the number of ministers cited, as well as with the number of references. However, one reference can sometimes refer to a group of people, as for example with those documented as being in receipt of charity, where the number of references which refer to charity are cited in the chart, but this gives no indication of the numbers of people involved in the movement. At the same time, it should be stated that only those references directly relating to movement from one country to another have been included, and not general enactments or statements. Unless the reference explicitly mentions Ireland or Scotland in relation to the movement of an individual or group, then it has not been included. The material has not been interpreted speculatively in any way at all. For example, there are a number of references where name evidence, combined with Scottish or Irish nationality, might point to general social movement, or for example, where there is a reference to an unnamed priest whose area of work and the time period strongly suggest that he was Irish, but these have not been included. Only conclusive evidence has been included. Where the reason for travelling has not been directly indicated, the entry has been placed under a general 'visitor' column.

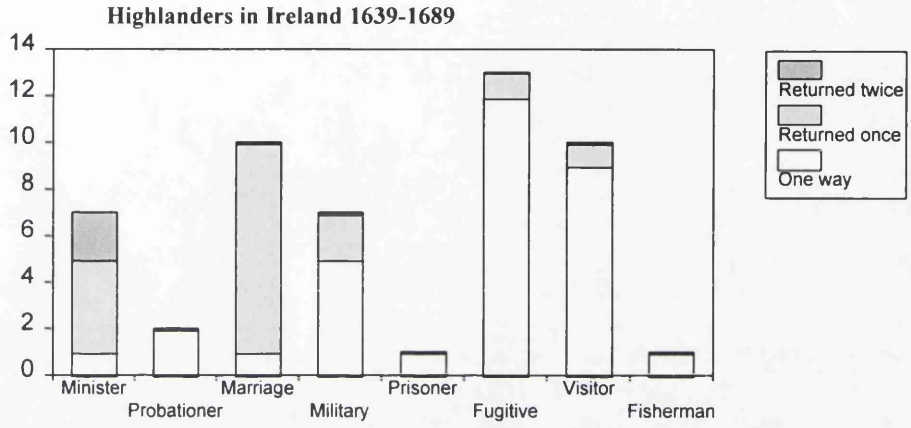
On the other hand, although one reference in the records might contain several types of information in it, it has only been noted once, according to the major reason for which it was raised in the minutes. For example, if a reference refers to a woman who absconded to Ireland to marry because her husband had been killed in Ireland, and she was not given permission to remarry, then the entry is noted under 'marriage' rather than 'military.' It is not noted twice. Only if the minute refers

specifically to a soldier having been in Ireland is it noted under 'military.' Where there is further evidence in the records that the visitor returned to the country from whence he began his journey, this is indicated by the 'return' shading. In the material analysed, it was found that no more than three journeys have been documented for any one person, simply because the Kirk did not keep track of people for any longer than the duration of the case in question. Note that for ministers and priests, subsequent tours of duty have also been shown by using the 'return' shading. In cases of giving charity to the poor, where money was occasionally doled out to the same person, that person is only accorded one entry, because the person is unlikely to have crossed the North Channel each time to be in receipt of charity, but to have stayed in the same location and received it on a subsequent occasion. Similarly, a number of references to a special fund collected by the Kirk for those Irish who came back to Scotland during the early years of the civil war, have also just been given one entry. Overall, given that both samples dealing with Highlanders in Ireland are relatively small and extend over different time periods, the first over 50 years and the second over 70 years, it is difficult to draw any significant conclusion about changes between the two periods. Note that the periods have been divided in this way to accord with the time divisions generally followed in the thesis. Nonetheless, in spite of the limitations of the presentation, the material has been processed with a degree of consistency, and provides a valid general impression of the reasons for occasional visits by Highland Scots to Ireland and vice-versa to Scotland, as indicated in the kirk records of the period. Moreover, it is possible to treat each period as an independent sample and to consider the relative proportion of each category of visitor.

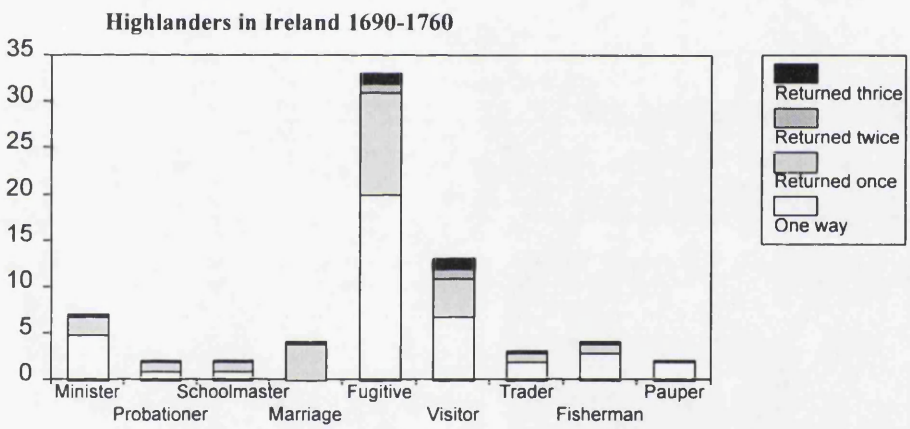
The simple conclusions which can be drawn from the bar charts are interesting. They indicate that during the period from 1639-1689 (see fig. 15.1(a), Highlanders in Ireland 1639-1689), the majority of Highland Scots noted as having gone to Ireland did so as fugitives from discipline. Further, it is not surprising that so few are mentioned as having returned, for under these circumstances it would not be in the fugitives' interest to advertise that fact, in order to avert the renewal of proceedings against him or her. It is, however, highly unlikely that the majority stayed in Ireland for the rest of their lives, though undoubtedly some did. The next highest incidence for visits to Ireland by Highland Scots is for the purposes of matrimony, while ministerial and military visits vie for third position. The main reason for Highland Scots going to Ireland during the period 1690-1760 (see fig. 15.1(b), Highlanders in Ireland 1690-1760), remains the same as during the first period, that is, as fugitives. The second largest number of visitors went for unspecified reasons, while ministerial visits account for the third largest figure. There are also a number of other interesting trends visible from the bar charts. The increase noted in fishing and trading activity during the second period is consistent with other evidence of the commercialisation of the fishing industry, as well as of the Highlands in general, and the expansion of overseas markets for which Ireland was an entrepôt.[96] There is also a marked decline in the number of Highlanders going to Ireland to seek marriage during the second period, which is probably partly

Fig. 15.1
REASONS FOR OCCASIONAL VISITS BETWEEN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

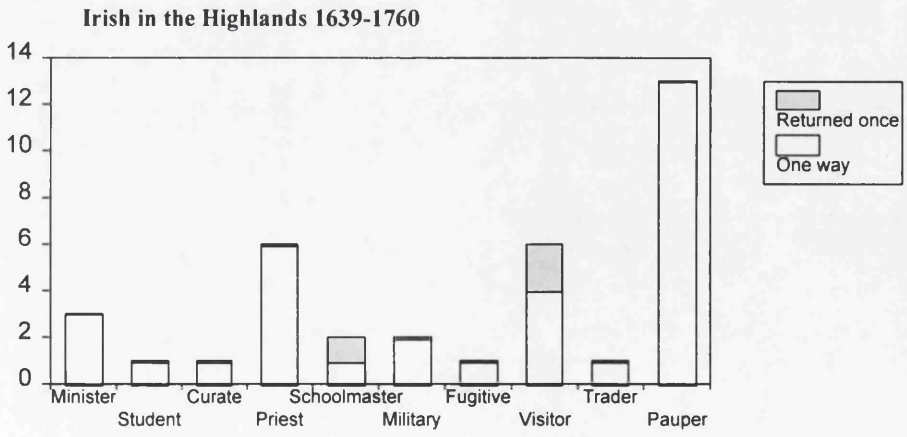
(a)



(b)



(c)



References extracted from kirk records, grouped according to reasons for occasional rather than permanent visits to Ireland and Scotland. Where the subject of the reference is known to have returned to the place from which he started the journey, this is marked in different styles of shading, 'returned once, twice or thrice' as an indicator of the frequency of visits made.

explained by the passing of the Toleration Act in 1712. Worthy of further note is the total lack of evidence for a Highland military presence in Ireland from 1690-1760, which accords with the decline in military contact between Irish and Scottish Gaels following the 1640s civil war.

Understandably, references to Irishmen in the Highlands and Islands, in the Scottish kirk records, are less frequent than those to Scots, therefore it has been possible to include all material relating to Irish in the Highlands on one bar chart from 1639-1760 (see fig. 15.1(c), Irish in the Highlands 1639-1760) This bar chart indicates that the highest incidence of occasional visits to the Highlands comprises those who were in receipt of poor funds or charity. The next highest incidence of visits was those undertaken by Irish priests. The incidence of their notation, though not high in relation to the bulk of the records searched, is, nonetheless, in comparison with notation of other occasional visits to Scotland, largely a manifestation of presbyterian paranoia against 'popery.' There is an equally high incidence of visits for unspecified reasons, while third position is claimed by ministerial visits.

Conclusion

While the kirk records might give the impression that the majority of Highlanders still went to Ireland as a place of refuge, it is likely that a sizeable number crossed the North Channel in both directions, on an occasional, social basis, particularly to visit relatives or for trading purposes, or at such times as the Ballycastle and Islay fairs.[97] The shortness of distance involved, only 12 miles at the shortest point, made it a far more viable, socially, to visit Antrim or Kintyre from the west coast Highlands or Ulster, than for people to go further afield within their own countries. Travel across land in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was still slower and more lugubrious than its counterpart by sea. This is not to deny the less salubrious elements of society who were compelled to take extended visits as fugitives. The movement appears to have been fairly one-sided, that is, of Highlanders and Islanders travelling in the direction of Ulster. This was largely because, in the seventeenth century at least, church and civil jurisdiction in Ireland, perhaps contending with the frequent immigration and movement of people in the country, appears to have been less rigorous, or possibly less successful, than that in Scotland. For similar reasons, Ireland did not appear to develop, with any consistency, even the limited mechanisms of social support which formed the basis of poor relief in Scotland. Hence, the movement of fugitives to Ireland from Scotland appears to have been balanced, partially, by a reverse movement of paupers, both opportunist and genuinely needy, from Ireland to the west coast of Scotland. Of major significance were the various tiers of plantation which occurred in Ulster throughout the seventeenth century. Many of these probably attracted labour, if not always settlers, from the west coast Highlands of Scotland, and had led to the establishment of a network of kin groups on both sides of the North Channel.

This not only resulted in frequent social intercourse of the usual forms, but also led to the enriching of economic and commercial links, and to the exchange of religious and musical personnel and of bards between the west coast of Scotland and east Ulster, in particular.

NOTES

1. Ernest Raymond Gillespie, 'East Ulster in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Colonial Economy and Society,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin), p. 31. However, see the published, R. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, (Cork, 1985.)
2. For the Ballycastle fair see above, Chapter 6, section III D. Achievements of the mission. Wentworth's persecution of the presbyterians in Ulster in the late 1630s resulted in occasional movement in the direction of Scotland. Banished non-conformist ministers fled Ireland, the majority establishing themselves in south-west Scotland, in Ayr and Galloway. 'Great numbers usually went over from Ireland at the stated celebration of the communion; and, on one occasion, five hundred persons, principally from the county of Down, visited Stranraer, to receive that ordinance from the hands of Mr. Livingston.' (James Seaton Reid and W. D. Killen, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, I, (Belfast, 1867), pp. 225-26.) There is, however, no evidence provided for such occurrences in the Highlands. The movement appears, on the other hand, to have been of probable conformists, from the environs of Inverness. (See above, Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.) However, it is more likely, given the expansion of the presbyterian church in Ireland in the second half of the seventeenth century, that the movement was in the other direction during the second period of episcopacy in Scotland, from 1661 to 1689. Since there were, by this time, a number of Highland ministers in Ulster, there is more likelihood that such movement would have involved Highlanders. See above, Chapter 7, section I C. Highland ministers in Ireland from the Cromwellian occupation to the Revolution, 1650-1689.
3. See above, Chapter 5, section II. The Protestant Initiative in the Highlands of Scotland, and Chapter 7, section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.
4. Duncan C. Mactavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, SHS, 3rd series, 37, p. 65. The Assembly: "Refers to the commissioners of the severall presbyteries to inquyre amongst the other queries how they should be proceeded against."
5. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651*, p. 41. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, V, 348.
6. *General Assembly Commission Records, 1646-47*, p. 38.
7. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 21.
8. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-51*, pp. 216-17.
9. SRO CH2/1153/1, Presbytery of Kintyre, fol. 17.
10. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 54.
11. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 162.
12. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 33.
13. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 19.
14. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 71.
15. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 16.
16. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 33.
17. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 178.

18. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 8.
19. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 8. Islay was within the bounds of the presbytery of Kintyre.
20. See below, section V. Comparative incidence and reasons for visits to Ireland and Scotland shown in the kirk records, for bar charts showing the incidence of social interaction between Scotland and Ireland from presbyterian records.
21. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 40.
22. SRO CH2/111/2, Presbytery of Dunoon, fol. 273.
23. SRO CH2/111/2, fol. 259.
24. SRO CH2/111/3, fols. 458, 454. Note with regard to the date '2 April 1683' above, that the nineteenth century transcription reads '11 April,' but elsewhere in the contemporary original with a dating of 'eleven,' this is written iith - therefore the original in this case 'ii' is probably the 2nd.
25. Andrew McKerral, *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1948), p. 66.
26. SRO CH2/557/3, The Synod of Argyll, 1687-1700, fols. 6, 10. See also above, Chapter 9, section III. Highland ministers and probationers in Ireland, for greater detail.
27. SRO CH2/1153/1, fols. 51-52. McNachtan promised to be at the next meeting of the presbytery if the weather permitted, but neither he nor O'Shenog appeared. Clearly the scandal of such a case in the late seventeenth century was sufficient to merit his temporary emigration to Ireland. O'Shenog took up a vagrant's existence in Kintyre, but by August 1694 was appointed to profess repentance as an adulteress before the congregations of Campbeltown and Southend. (SRO CH2/1153/1, fols. 55-56.)
28. SRO CH2/1153/1, fols. 61, 85. By the next presbytery of 2 March 1699 she appeared and was to make a final public confession of her guilt before appearing in front of the presbytery to be absolved. (SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 86.) A similar instance of such a scandal being instrumental in the removal of a whole family was cited on 11 April 1695 when a certain Angus McIlcheir, suspected of adultery with Effie Kelvi, was reported to have "gone with his familie to Ireland." (SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 61.)
29. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 57.
30. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 59.
31. SRO CH2/1153/1, fol. 70. Craighead can probably be identified as the Rev. Robert Craighead of Derry. (Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, *A History of Congregations in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1610-1982*, (Belfast, 1982), p. 366.)
32. SRO CH2/1153/1, fols. 81-82, 88.
33. SRO CH2/111/2, fols. 101-02. The word "purganne" neither appears in John Jamieson (editor), *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language,* (Edinburgh, 1808), II, nor William Grant and David Murison (editors), *The Scottish National Dictionary*, VII, (Edinburgh, 1968), nor in A. J. Aitken and D. C. Stevenson (editor), *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, (Aberdeen, 1986), VI. However, the general sense of the phrase "put away by a purganne" would seem to refer to abortion. The name 'McArthor' appears on fol. 102. There is also a further corollary to this case, by way of John Campbell taking revenge in kind. For at the presbytery of 6 April of the same year, 1653, John McArthur, younger,

(that is, the son of the McArthur in the above case) was slandered by Donald Mckerres in Glenchillies for adultery with the wife of William Taylor in Achinmore. But the slander had originally been heard, as Mckerres deponed, from John Campbell in Kilmund and John Lyonne in Nether Cowal. The latter had said to Mckerres "that it cost William Tailyor ane hundreth pund for his wyfe's Toyes in taking her to irland for the love shee caried to Johne Mc.arthor." Lyonne, however, denied saying anything other than "That it was out of William Tailyour his way his going to irland fyve pund Sterling and out of Johne Mcarthor his way twentie lib. Sterling." (SRO CH2/111/2, fol. 106.)

34. Henry Paton (editor), *The Session Book of Kingarth 1641-1703*, (Edinburgh, 1932), p. 33.
35. SRO CH2/1153/1, fols. 100, 109.
36. T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, (London, 1969), pp. 74-75.
37. SRO CH2/214/1, Kilmory Kirk session, 1702-1792, fols. 32-34.
38. SRO CH2/1153/2, fol. 18.
39. SRO CH2/1153/2, fol. 100.
40. SRO CH2/1153/2, fol. 113.
41. SRO CH2/214/1, fols. 157, 159. Needless to say, by the diet of 18 December 1716 she is recorded as "having gone out of the Isle," perhaps once again to Ireland. (fol. 161.)
42. Henry Paton (editor), *The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750*, (Edinburgh, 1931), p. 335. They went together to the Old Kirk of Innerkip for half an hour, but then he went to Irvine, from where he took passage for Ireland, while she went there from either the Old Kirk or West Kilbride.
43. *The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750*, p. 335.
44. *The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750*, pp. 335-36.
45. *The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750*, pp. 337-39. An interesting comment is made about small town morality, below, in her decision not to stay in Belfast. So too, the credibility of her statement must be brought into question by the consistent absence of personal and place names in her account. However, this was a probable attempt to protect those who sheltered her from Kirk enquiry and sanction, rather than necessarily being a story concocted between McNabe and Ocheltry.
46. *The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750*, pp. 338-39. The session notes that "She knew no such names as the parish of Billy or Bailintoy or Bushmils or whether they were the parishes she resided in or quhat distance they were from the house she served in." Moreover, in spite of the fact that she claimed to have stayed in Mr. Archibald McNeil's parish "She never saw Mr. Archibald M'Neil and never heard him or any other preach all the time she was in Ireland." She further claimed not to have travelled more than two miles from where she stayed, "and was never within sight of any part of Scotland or yet of the sea."
47. *The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750*, p. 340.
48. SRO CH2/1153/3, fols. 348-49.
49. See above, Chapter 7, the final page of section III B. Highland presbyterian ministers in Ireland: Case studies - Mr. John Campbell of Islay.

50. See below, section V. Comparative incidence and reasons for visits to Ireland and Scotland shown in the kirk records, for bar charts showing the incidence of social intereraction between Scotland and Ireland from the presbyterian records.
51. SRO CH2/1153/3, fol. 205.
52. SRO CH2/1153/4, fol. 86.
53. SRO CH2/984/3, Lorn presbytery records, fol. 389.
54. *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, p. 151. Lochaber seems to have been a common place for such fosterings - see Chapter 9, section IV. Social interaction among ministerial families - The MacCalmans: A case study in opportunism. The child of the ex-episcopal minister, John MacCalman, was fostered there while its mother went back to Ireland. It was probably popular because of the general inaccessibility of area to the authorities, and there was, perhaps, more need there of subsidiary income.
55. George Hill, *An Historical account of the Plantation in Ulster 1608-1620*, (Belfast, 1877), p. 166.
56. Brian Samuel Turner, 'Distributional Aspects of Family Names Study illustrated in the Glens of Antrim,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1974), p. 21. Indeed, it has been pointed out that the original meaning of the name 'Glynns' is 'Woods,' where 'Geilt Glinnes' means 'a wild man/woman of the woods.'
57. *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 23, footnote to p. 23. Also see above, Chapter 3, section III A. Small tenant farmers, wood kearn and broken men.
58. See above, Chapter 13, section VI C. The role of the fishing fleet.
59. Kinboot is financial compensation paid to the aggrieved kindred.
60. John Cameron (transcriber and editor), *The Justiciary Records of Argyll and the Isles, 1664-1705*, I, (Edinburgh, 1949), p. 121.
61. John Imrie (editor), *The Justiciary Records of Argyll and the Isles, 1705-1742,* II, (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 466. The case was reported at great length, extending to many pages.
62. Imrie, pp. 466, 408.
63. Imrie, p. 482. For instance, one witness, Janet McArthur, wife of Archibald McRobb in Inveraray, challenged McArthur for improperly meeting McLachlan in Alexander the ferrier's house, "upon which the said Christian acknowledged to her that she had meetings with him in the said place and that he proposed marriage to her in a pressing manner and that he told her he was to send for fine cloaths of all sorts to her from Glasgow and that she was willing to marry him if her friends woud consent. And that the deponent advised her against it and desired her to take care of herself that he shoud not run away with her, that since Donald McLachlan threatned to break in the windows of her quarters for her she shoud remove from the town and go to her fathers."
64. Imrie, p. 482, 480. James McNuier of Inveraray stated that she came back into the boat without compulsion, while Angus Fisher, who specified that they put in "at the small isles near Kerry" (probably Kerrycroy on Bute) stated that when asked if she would turn for home, she said yes and offered to walk away, but was brought back by McLachlan. The "small isles in Cowall" has been taken to be Great and

Little Cumbrae, which are the only islands of sizeable importance in the firth of Clyde, near Cowal. It should, however, be noted that there is a group of four islands called the Small Isles off the south-east coast of Jura, facing the coast of Knapdale, though these are clearly nowhere near Cowal.

65. Imrie, p. 481. Undoubtedly the presence of the Provost's son was designed to bring a degree of respectability to the proceedings, but since McLachlan himself was the son of the late bailie of Inveraray, he was probably one of his peers.

66. Imrie, p. 476. "Declares also that before I was carryd away I consented to the foresaid Donald McLachlan to be marryd to him and to be run away with in order to be marryd in a private manner whenever he should please and that I never retracted or repented of my consent given to him thereanent."

67. Imrie, pp. 477, 483. The receipt for payment was noted on 15 April 1737, during which time he remained in ward.

68. J. L. Campbell and Derick Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands 1699-1700*, (Oxford, 1963), pp. xvi, 12.

69. Imrie, p. 239.

70. Imrie, p. 239.

71. For previous reference to Stewart see above, section I. Ecclesiastical evidence.

72. He complained of being burdened with people from the neighbouring congregation, and that the four parishes of Campbeltown were already divided between only two ministers who, to compound the situation, did not share an equal burden. He should only have had "the Charge of the heads of families & of all in each family that the head thereof belongs to him, but besides these he has been hitherto burdened with most of the servants belonging to the other Congregation, which was owing to the Late Reverend Mr. Boes, his not having had the Language of the County." This has clear implications in terms of the relative size of the Gaelic-speaking and English-speaking populations, besides indicating that the majority of lower paid service workers came from the Highland populaton.

73. SRO CH2/1153/4, fols. 36-37. Corroborative evidence is provided just outside of the period in the 1790s. See Grant and Withrington (editors), *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, 8, Argyll (mainland), in the account for Campbeltown, p. 58, and the account for Kilcalmonnell and Kilberry, p. 194.

74. Bailie Orr was probably a descendant of a Lowland settler planted by Argyll in the early sixteenth century, for Orr is the name of an old Renfrewshire family which was particularly numerous in the parish of Lochwinnoch. They have been noted in Campbeltown from the 1640s. (George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, (New York, 1989), p. 640.) There is, however, as much likelihood, by dint of intermarriage as well as general social interaction, that Orr spoke Gaelic, as that he did not.

75. SRO CH2/1153/4, fols. 2, 4-6.

76. Evidence for the 1790s, which stands for the earlier part of the century and probably for the seventeenth, backs this up. The old statistical account for the parish of Saddell and Skipness states that "Such is the modesty of the poor in this parish, and their aversion to begging, that the session list seldom exceeds 12, except in the summer season, and in times of great scarcity. They are supported partly by the collections

in church, private charities, and their own industry; very few of them beg from door to door. But the parish is much harrassed with strolling beggars from Ireland, the Highland Isles, the Low Country, and from the northern parts of Scotland." (*The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, 8, pp. 387-88.)

77. David Dickson, 'In search of the old Irish Poor Law,' in Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck (editors), *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 149-50, 152; Andrew Forrester and Michael Moss (editors), *Changing Life in Scotland 1760-1820*, History Broadsheets, 19, 'The Kirk and the Poor,' (London, 1977.) A general bill authorising assessment in Ireland failed at its various stages in 1695, 1697 and 1698, neither can this be blamed on the famine of the 1690s, for Ireland did not suffer extensive food scarcity as in Scotland. (Dickson, p. 152.)
78. Dickson, p. 151.
79. SRO CH2/111/2, fol. 10.
80. SRO CH2/111/2, fol. 12. Later, when Montrose's army was roaming the Highlands, kirk business was even interrupted, as evidenced at Botarie on 25 September 1644. when there was "The said day, no doctrine, inrespect the exerceiser vas abstracted throgh the troubles of the tyme, and for fear of Irish armie, vas forced to leaue ther houses." Others of those in the country took the opportunity to engage in carnal pursuits. Thus, in September 1646, "Margaret Walker, in Keyth" was "accused of fornication with divers Irishes, and speciallie vith one criple among them, confessed hir fall with the criple, [but] refused the rest." (John Stuart (editor), *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, 1631-1654*, Spalding Club, 7, (Aberdeen, 1843), pp. 60, 70.)
81. *The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750*, p. 18.
82. Dickson, p. 152.
83. *The Session Book of Kingarth 1641-1703*, p. 139.
84. *The Session Book of Rothesay 1658-1750*, p. 79. Indeed, it is interesting to note how readily the Bute sessions appear to have given money to those heading for, or returning to, Ireland but perhaps their relief from further payments was sufficient to justify it. In similar fashion to Rothesay, on 11 May 1701, the Kingarth session gave 20s to Jean Orr, "to cary her and her children to Ireland" and 12s to Isbel NcIntyre "to cary her home to Ireland." (*The Session Book of Kingarth 1641-1703*, p. 217.)
85. *The Session Book of Kingarth 1641-1703*, pp. 168, 178.
86. SRO CH2/214/1, fol. 82; Dickson, p. 152.
87. SRO CH2/214/1, fol. 133.
88. SRO CH2/214/1, fols. 13, 17, 101.
89. Dickson, pp. 152-53.
90. Argyll and Bute District Archives, BC/1/1, Burgh Records of Campbeltown, 14 June 1700 - 19 June 1739, fol. 182.
91. As opposed to the kirk records, the burgh records do not mention the poor by name.
92. Argyll and Bute District Archives, BC/1/2, Burgh Records of Campbeltown, 28 September 1739 - 29 September 1767, fol. 26; 'The Kirk and the Poor.'

93. Argyll and Bute District Archives, reference in Calendar to CO6/1/1/2, Minutes of the Commissioners of Supply for Argyll, 1744-1795.

94. The following records supplied the information for this analysis:

i) The Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1651.

ii) The Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661.

iii) The Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1687-1700.

iv) The Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1701-1707.

v) The Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1708-1727.

vi) The Session Book of Kingarth, 1641-1703.

vii) The Session Book of Rothesay, 1658-1703.

viii) Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records, 1643-1688.

ix) The Presbytery Book of Kintyre, 1655-1706.

x) The Presbytery Book of Kintyre, 1707-1723.

xi) The Presbytery Book of Kintyre, 1724-1748.

xii) The Presbytery Book of Kintyre, 1749-1794.

xiii) Kilmory (Arran) Kirk Session Records, 1702-1792.

xiv) Lorn Presbytery Records, 1651-1681.

xv) Lorn Presbytery Records, 1704-1715.

xvi) Lorn Presbytery Records, 1729-1771.

xvii) The Presbytery Records of Dunoon, 1639-1686.

xviii) The Presbytery Records of Dunoon, 1689-1706.

xix) The Presbytery Records of Dunoon, 1707-1715.

xx) Inveraray Presbytery Records, 1691-1702.

xxi) Inveraray Presbytery Records, 1715-1744.

xxii) Records of the Presbytery of Mull, 1729-1760.

xxiii) Minutes of the Lagan Meeting, 1672-1695.

It should also be noted that three other ecclesiastical records were consulted, that is, the Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1728-1755, the Minutes of the Synod of Glenelg, 1725-1749, and the Records of the Antrim Meeting, 1654-1658, 1671-1691, but nothing of relevance was found in them.

95. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. John Dempster, Senior Research Officer in the department of Physiology and Pharmacology, University of Strathclyde, for plotting these graphs on the Borland Quattro spreadsheet. It should be noted that the conclusions which can be drawn from the material are limited, owing to the Kirk's overriding concern with cases of discipline and to the small number of references used to plot the graphs.

96. See above, Chapter 13, section V. Fishing.

97. See above, Chapter 6, section III D. Achievements of the mission, and Chapter 13, last page of section VI E. Case studies in the smuggling of salt.

CHAPTER 16
CULTURAL INTER-RELATIONS, 1560-c. 1640: CLASSICAL GAELIC PERIOD - THE BARDIC TRADITION

Introduction

Whatever is happening culturally in a society, overtly or covertly, reflects what is important to it, politically, economically, religiously and morally. What was valued or despised within the Gaelic social system of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was, thus, reflected in its cultural output. It would be as well to define, at the outset, what was meant by culture in Gaelic society. 'Culture,' in terms of the limited artistic meaning which is sometimes applied to it today, could perhaps more readily be interpreted as 'institutional systems' in traditional Gaelic culture. Undoubtedly, the main bastions of the Gaelic system were the hereditary families, guardians of traditional Gaelic culture. Gaelic culture was consolidated and authenticated by schools teaching poetry or bardic verse, harping, *seanchus* or history, law, medicine, stone-masonry and the exercise of military prowess. The practice of medicine was, thus, an expression of that culture and it should be remembered that Gaelic society had its own particular form of medicine which had developed from a combination of continental and traditional native learning. Formal instruction was also given in the use of arms, such as sword fighting and use of the cudgel, under the patronage of chiefs and lairds.[1] Claims could even be made that the Church was tantamount to a hereditary order, for the pre-Reformation Church became a profession for many younger sons of the learned professionals, when combined with appropriation of land and inattention to vows of celibacy. Indeed, as the supremacy of the learned orders began to break up after the Reformation, many refugees from those institutions found succour in the learned ranks of the Kirk.[2]

All of these bastions of traditional Gaelic learning, including sword-fighting, kept schools in which to instruct and edify in their discipline. Moreover, as corner-stones of that society, all disciplines were, to a certain extent, interdependent or at least mutually supportive. It was necessary, for instance, to teach a form of classical Gaelic in the medical schools so that the students could read and copy the medical tracts which had been translated into that language, even though it might not be as highly stylised as that of the bards.[3] Harping and the composition of verse were also interdependent, for poems were recited or sung to the accompaniment of the harp or clàrsach. These poems in their turn, as well as the incitement of pipe music, upheld the military tradition on which the society had been based, for many centuries. Even where the connections might not be readily visible, these hereditary families constituted a literary élite whose very presence upheld and validated the status of the other. Indeed, there is surviving evidence that, as well as the clan *fine*, members of the medical and ecclesiastical professions also composed classical syllabic verse, though composition of the formal eulogy to the chief was still the reserve of the classically trained

bard.[4]

Nowhere is the overt ratification of Gaelic society more obvious than in the preserve of the bardic system. A brief glance at the surviving corpus of bardic verse will assure the reader that the majority of a poet's work consisted of panegyric, that is, eulogy and elegy of the leaders of his society. Even other major forms, such as satire, were clear in their intention, that is, the removal of group consent from a member of the established hierarchy. This was a ruse which was also successfully used by the English authorities against the native Irish, who hired Irish poets to satirise those chiefs against whom they were working.[5] Satire indeed, was a literary form of combat, paralleling the skill in arms which was so esteemed by this society with a long-standing military tradition. Clearly, there was a financial motive behind this, in terms of patronage, but evidence from the lives of many bards indicates that although posterity often associates them with one particular clan, sept, or family more than others, many poets served a number of patrons.[6]

With reference to the literary élite, mention should be made of the classical Gaelic script or scribal hand, which they held in common. It is generally referred to as semi-uncial script, or in Gaelic, as the "corra-litir." It was still in use in 1560, but there is no example of its use in the Highlands and Islands after the middle of the eighteenth century.[7] In a society where there was an imposed monopoly on scribal capabilities, and where the fruits of the press were not in abundance, great pride was taken not only in the standard of scribing but in the possession of manuscripts themselves, which were worth up to sixty milk cows. Medical scribes who wrote more than adequately, if not well, nonetheless constantly apologised for the inadequacy of their handwriting.[8]

An exposition of the learned orders in the medieval period, which seems to hold true for the late sixteenth century, emphasises a close connection with Ireland in the organisation of society but more particularly at the level of the learned and literary orders. Thus, it has been concluded 'that Gaelic Scotland leaned heavily on Irish initiative' both in the importing of bards, physicians, scribes and musicians from the mother country, and in sending subsequent generations back to the fount of native Gaelic learning in Ireland. Visits of Irish poets have been documented from the thirteenth century onwards while Scottish scribes are found working in Ireland. In the late sixteenth century, there is still ample evidence for a pan-Celtic system of patronage.[9] While not wishing to dispute the existence of important links between the Scottish and Irish *Gaidhealtachds*, it might be suggested, nevertheless, that the co-existence and development of separate cultural trends and identities has been underplayed in the period prior to the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Nowhere is this seen more poignantly than in the compulsion in Scottish learned families, to derive their ancestry from some eponymous Irish progenitor as evidenced, if necessary, in a fabricated genealogy. While many of the Scottish Gaelic learned families had come originally from Ireland, there seems also to be a possibility, in some cases, that they were of Norse-Gaelic

origin and indigenous to other parts of Scotland, from where they had spread. Their original Irish ancestry is not disputed but with centuries of social assimilation, in some cases, it is more a question of historical emphasis.

Surviving evidence tends to indicate that the Gaelic legal order broke up earlier in Scotland than in Ireland so that by the beginning of this period, it was already defunct in Scotland. What happened, in effect, was that elements of Gaelic law were absorbed into the mainstream of Scottish law, absorptions which can be identified by the survival of the titles of Gaelic offices such as the *breitheamh* or brieve.[10] However, this simply precipitated a redistribution of resources and skills from the other learned orders so that poets and *seanchaidhean* are often found drawing up and, more particularly, witnessing legal documents. Even into the eighteenth century, when the schools had been defunct for almost a century and the era of the professional poet was over, one Donald MacMhuirich of the classical bardic family of Kintyre and South Uist[11] is found as a witness to a document signed at Ormacleit, in South Uist, on 15 July 1728.[12]

The period under discussion is one where the traditional cultural order of Gaelic society was just beginning to be seriously threatened. The major motive behind this was political. Both the English government in Ireland, and James VI in Scotland, followed policies of reducing the power of the native Gaelic lordships, to bring Ulster and the Scottish Highlands, respectively, into line. The accession of James VI to the throne of both kingdoms enabled concerted action to be taken against Highland mercenaries and their native Irish employers, resulting in the pacification of the western seaboard as well as the alienation of Irish and Scottish Gaels. There was extensive expropriation of land in Ulster, and expropriation of the clans of Clan Donald South in Kintyre and Islay, Clan Leod in Lewis and Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan, in western Scotland.[13] With concerted military action in Ireland, which ended in the watershed of the Flight of the Earls in Ulster, in 1607, and the slow but consistent daunting of the Isles in Scotland, Gaelic society was undermined. Although these political and military offensives were sporadic in Scotland, they nevertheless effected fundamental change.

Government policy on the west coast of Scotland resulted in the gradual transformation of kin relationships to commercially oriented ones, within traditional society. It also necessitated the involvement of clan chiefs in the politics of the country as a whole and encouraged their ultimate assimilation into the Scottish landed classes. Although the impact of this was not largely felt until post-1640, the seeds were planted in the early part of the seventeenth century.[14] These changes were not without their effect on the cultural system, for reduction of the political system led to the breakdown of the cultural system which ratified and bolstered it. This was undoubtedly why Elizabethan commentators and legislators always pointed out the Irish learned class as 'an identifiable source of resistance.' The whole class was considered dangerous. For instance, on 9

August 1579, order was taken by the Lord Chancellor and Council of Ireland for a muster in the Pale of 'Leaders of blind folks, harpers, bards, rhymers, and all loose and idle people having no master to be executed by martial law.' Sufficient evidence that they constituted a class, rather than a conglomerate of different professions, has been provided by the fact that members of the professional families often moved fluidly into other professions.[15] Indeed, it has been described as a Gaelic-speaking Civil Service.[16]

Significant to the contemporary recognition of a common a cultural *Gaidhealtachd*, John Carswell, bishop of the Isles,[17] dedicated his translation of the Book of Common Order not only to Archibald Campbell, fifth Earl of Argyll, but to all Christians throughout the world, but "go h-áiridhe d'fhearaibh Alban agas Eireand" (especially to the men of Scotland and Ireland.)[18] He also referred to the specific lack that Gaeldom had suffered in provision of printed material. He stated that although a certain amount of the history of the Gaels of Scotland and Ireland, the tabular staves of the bards, and the transcripts of the learned men were in manuscript, none was printed and certainly not the Bible.[19] As for language, he said that there was neither excess nor defect in the translation as he saw it, "acht mura bfuil uireasbhuidh no imarcaidh and do reir dheachtaidh no cheirt na bfileadh ar an nGaoidheilg, an ni ar nach bfuil feidhm no foghnamh ag an sgribhtuir dhiadha air" (unless indeed there is excess or defect therein according to the standard of diction or propriety laid down for Gaelic by the poets, a matter for which the holy scriptures have no need or use.) He added that not only in Scotland, but even in Ireland itself, there were very few who were masters of correct Gaelic usage.[20] However, this bombast is significant not in itself, for Carswell's command of the language has been estimated as particularly fine but, more importantly, as an exercise in deference to the arrogantly defended status of the bards.

Overall, the period under review can be seen as a transition period in Gaelic culture. This is particularly easy to see in the bardic profession, which was transformed from an order which encouraged composition of, reined, hierarchical rigidity to a free, but insecure and less patronised, employment which permitted individual interpretation in composition. Poetic composition was a cultural pursuit which came to be practised in a more amateur fashion in leisure time and, to a certain extent, this was also true of native medicinal skills. Music and architectural skills had always been patronised by a broader audience and this tendency probably increased. Thus, as the seventeenth century wore on, those to whom the custody of traditional cultural learning had been entrusted, came, of necessity to assign to it a second place. What is more worthy of note, though rarely dwelt on to the same extent, is that these cultural institutions held on, albeit in a debased form, for nearly two centuries.

Owing to its use of a stylised, classical Irish language, of all the Gaelic systems of learning, the bardic profession was more closely bound to its Irish roots. This occurred of necessity for, clearly,

bardic poetry had precious little audience among monoglot English-speakers in either Scotland or Ireland, though a doctor trained in the Gaelic tradition could treat them or a musician could play to them. Not only had the system of bardic learning emanated from Ireland in the medieval period but visits to the Irish bardic schools by apprentice Scots Gaelic poets continued well into the middle of the seventeenth century. There were also less frequent tours by Irish bards in Scotland. The three main Scots bardic families were purportedly Irish in origin, and where ordinary social contacts between migrating families might largely have broken down over several generations and, in some cases, centuries, bards continued to return to Ireland both to hone their art form and more importantly, to extend the network of patronage. Though the movement of bards was not one-way, the surviving evidence indicates that it was heavily weighted in favour of Scottish sojourns in Ireland. Nonetheless, while Irish links were significant and there were ancestral connections from earlier periods, they should not be over emphasised indiscriminately during this period. There is a possibility, for instance, that the MacEwans of Kilchoan, bards to the Campbells of Argyll and Glenorchy, were descendants of the MacEwans of Otter in Cowal. Thus, though a thesis has been made for the Cowal family's descent from eleventh-century Irish as well as Norse/Gaelic stock, claims cannot be made for continuing Irish links, on behalf of the MacEwans of Kilchoan, in the sixteenth century. Similarly, the claims made that the Morrisons, hereditary brieves in Lewis and Harris, were descended from the Ó Muirgheasáins, bards of Irish origin, in Mull and Skye, have not been definitely proven. There is as much possibility that they came from Skye.[21]

The bardic poet underwent a very rigorous apprenticeship in language, rhyme, the study of various metres and literary symbols, in a classical Gaelic language that had been more or less petrified since the thirteenth century.[22] With the strictures that were placed upon him both by the metre and by what was expected of the genre and language, the lot of the bardic poet was not based upon flexibility. The statement that: 'Clearly the professional poet was not burdened by the feeling that he had to be original' is an ironic truism well remembered when considering the work of the Gaelic bards.[23] However, it has not always been seen as a negative point, and rightly so, that 'the bardic poet had to fuse words and metre into *sententiae* in the crucible of the four-line *rann*' but as an exacting and creative task which, on occasion, was capable of producing finely-honed originality.[24] There was also a clearly defined code of imagery and privilege expressed within the poetry, largely based on Irish mythology. The bards had a common repository of the codified pre-history of the Gael and Gaelic Ireland, often termed the 'synthetic history' of Ireland.[25] The MacDonalds, for instance, were often referred to as the *Síol gColla* that is, the descendants of Colla Uais, a fourth-century king of Oriel, in Ulster. It is not, however, intended to give a full exposition of the bardic system with its detailed gradations of poets, or of the complexities of its linguistic and metric systems which has been done to better effect elsewhere.[26] For the purpose in hand, it is significant that bardic poetry or *filiocht na scol* (poetry of the school) was largely inspired by a need for elegy and eulogy of the patron, although other subjects did enter the repertoire. It is mainly here, through

the revelation of the deeds of the Gaelic patrons of bardic poetry, that its value as a historical source comes to the fore.

At the beginning of the period, in 1560, the bardic schools were in their final stage of fruition. By the end of the sixteenth century they were under threat, by the mid-seventeenth century they were on the decline, and by the end of the period, in 1760, the last poets with any vestige of the classical tradition had departed. The greater part of this span of two centuries was a period of transition. The first 40 years of the period encapsulate the fully-flown bardic tradition, but the years from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, saw increased use of vernacular, or more colloquial, Gaelic in the compositions of the poets, alongside the common classical Gaelic. In Scotland, vernacular Gaelic opinion was first goaded into poetic expression on the subject of the attempted destruction of the Clan Gregor, towards the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, which poetry evinces clan solidarity against the advances of the Campbells.[27] The Campbells, particularly those antagonistic to the Clan Donald South whose power they had largely assumed, similarly continued to be the subjects of the classical poets. It should also be pointed out, considering the geographic location of the forementioned activity, that most of the surviving evidence of interaction between the Scottish and Irish bardic families also relates, as is generally the case with religious, social and economic activity, to the western seaboard rather than to Scottish Gaeldom as a whole.

I. EXTENT OF SCOTTISH BARDIC LINKS WITH IRELAND

The large majority of the bardic families claimed medieval Irish origins and in many cases these could be proven genealogically. However, there was a fashion amongst leading Scottish professional families to provide a distinguished Irish ancestry, even if this resulted, on occasion, in bogus genealogies.[28] Thus, in some cases, the Irish links can be seen to be, at best, remote. So too, it is debateable whether the ongoing links fostered by some of the leading Scottish bardic families were necessarily as extensive as has often been indicated. Certainly, the MacMharcuis family like the MacMhuirichs[29] were undoubtedly in a geographical position to favour frequent crossing. The family held lands in Glenlussa, in Laggan, North Kintyre, about four miles north of Campbeltown, and had held Kerranmore, in Glen Kerran, about three miles north-east of Southend, from as early as 1506.[30] It has been suggested that they were, perhaps, related to the bardic family of Clann Chraith in Antrim and Thomond, as well as to the ecclesiastical family of the same name in Donegal.[31] Indeed, "Donald Makmarkie" who held the three merkland of Laggan, has been proferred as the same "Donald MacMarques" who was acting as an informant to Captain Piers, of the English government, in Ireland, almost three decades earlier on 26 April 1568.[32] This is perfectly in keeping with the role often assumed by the bardic orders as agents or ambassadors for

their patrons.[33]

A tentative connection has also been drawn between the Scottish family and the poet "Ainnrias MacMarcuis" who is on record in County Antrim, in the years 1601 and 1602, and whose only extant poem concerns the Flight of the Earls in 1607. Moreover 'Since the surname is now rarely found in Ireland outside County Antrim, it is possible that it came there from Scotland (Woulfe suggests that it may have belonged to a sept of the MacDonalds).'[34] The fact that no other MacMharcuis poets are known in Ireland in that period has been seen to add credence to the theory and there was, certainly, a Marcus MacDonald, constable of the *gallóglaigh* to the O'Connors, who died in 1397, whose son is considered as a possible progenitor of a line of MacMharcuis there. However, as previously noted,[35] the historian must be wary of falling into the trap of ascribing to all unknown, or little known, peoples a connection with the MacDonalds, in particular, or the *gallóglaigh,* in general.[36] Nonetheless, the above thesis is significant, in this instance, in indicating a possible movement of classical Gaelic expertise in the reverse direction from that generally mooted, that is, from Scotland to Ireland.

Within Scotland itself, likely descendants of the MacMharcuis poets have been documented in "Gillatius Marcius" in Islay in 1624, and in the Gaelic scholar "John mc Marques in Kintyr" mentioned by the Synod of Argyll, in 1658, for his translation of the metrical version of the Psalms into Irish.[37] However, although it is clear that the skill and inclination to work in the Gaelic language remained with John MacMharcuis, the bardic order seems already to have declined such that this mid-seventeenth century representative of the family earned his keep as a translator for the Kirk. He may also have translated Calvin's Catechism, published in 1630, into Gaelic, and was probably the teacher employed by the Synod of Argyll for Colin Campbell who, in 1660, was with "mc Marquesse in Kintyre studieing the Irish language."[38] In this, he followed a similar path to the MacEwans whose main extant literary output, in the absence of much surviving poetry, was in support of Protestantism.[39] For instance, in 1651, the Synod of Argyll commissioned Neill MacEwan to make seventeen copies of the Shorter Catechism in Irish character.[40] This movement into the Protestant Kirk by the Scottish bards, as a means of alternative employment, is in marked contrast to that of many of the traditional Irish bards and literary men who were agents of the Catholic Counter-Reformation.[41] Indeed, in the absence of clan patrons, many of the descendants of the Scottish learned families, notably the bardic and medical families, readily transferred their skills to the patronage of the Kirk at the decline of the bardic order. Although this tendency gathered momentum at the beginning of the seventeenth century with the decline of the hereditary families, the Church had been one of the main sources of patronage for Gaelic learned families since medieval times.

Another family where the evidence linking Scottish bardic families with Ireland during this period

is also tenuous is the Argyll family of MacEwans. In Scotland, the MacEwans were hereditary poets first to the MacDougalls, and later, by the beginning of the period under review, the MacEwans of Kilchoan were *seanchaidhean* and bards to the Campbells of Argyll and Glenorchy. The MacEwans were, certainly, according to a manuscript history of Craignish, employed as "heretable Genealogists of the Family of Argyll," and may have schooled Carswell in common classical Irish. Early in their history in Scotland, they seem to have been known as MacDougalls.[42] It has been suggested that the switch in name probably occurred because the MacDougall chief of Dunollie was their patron at the time. A tentative link with Ireland has been suggested for them because the very rare and distinctive name of 'Athairne' occurs twice in the genealogy of the MacEwans, and was also used by the Irish bardic family of O'Hosey (Ó Heódhusa) of Fermanagh, poets to the Maguires and O'Donnells, from whom they might, therefore, have branched.[43] However, the evidence is not conclusive. Moreover, it should be noted that the MacEwans of Otter in Cowal were one of several families of Norse/Gaelic origin in Cowal and Knapdale in the thirteenth century, namely the MacSweens, MacLachlans and McNeills in Knapdale, the Lamonts in Cowal, the MacSorleys of Monydrain near Lochgilphead, and the Argyll McLeays or MacOnleas, who claimed descent from the eleventh-century Irish King, Niall of the Nine Hostages, through the Cinél Éoghain, or O'Neill Kings of Ailech, in Donegal.[44] Therefore, it seems unlikely, albeit as one of the less prominent families of a powerful kin group, that the MacEwans would have felt the need to trade in such a prestigious lineage to take the name MacDougall, though the assumption of an employer's surname, by one in service to him, is not unprecedented.[45] Furthermore, little has been written about the MacEwan bards because of the lack of survival of their corpus which is confined, in terms of definitely attributed works, to one extant poem, with a possible four anonymous poems which may be by the MacEwans, all addressed to Campbell nobles.[46] Moreover, in spite of their early Irish origin, little survives to link them contemporaneously with Ireland.

An Irish origin is also claimed for the Ó Muirgheasáins, the Scottish bardic family from Mull, though they were, perhaps, in the first instance, a family of *seanchaidhean* or historians, who had come across from Ireland in the early sixteenth century. The anglicisation of their name occurs as 'Morrison' or 'Bryson.'[47] "Morrisane" was certainly used in 1603. In Ireland they were located on the peninsula of Inishowen in north-east Donegal, in the diocese of Derry.[48] In Scotland they were known as the Clan vic-na-heiche (Clann Mhic na h-Oidhche) or 'children of the night,'[49] and settled, in the first instance, in Mull.[50] Maol Domhnaigh and Maghnus were common family Christian names, and though a suggestion has been put forward for the family's having come to Scotland with Murchadh Geàrr, eldest son of John MacLean of Lochbuie, when he returned from exile in Ireland around 1540, it has been pointed out that a poem in the book of the dean of Lismore is ascribed to 'Meldony McVenis Vullicht,' that is, Mildonich, son of Magnus of Mull. Given that the book was compiled between 1512 and 1532, it is likely that they were there by 1512 or earlier,

possibly under the patronage of the MacLeans of Duart.[51] The Rev. John MacLeod, minister of Kilninian in Mull, wrote to Robert Wodrow in 1702 that the MacLeans of Mull had "seneciones" (*seanchaidhean*) who held office in the family until about 1660. He wrote that "the last of them that was eminent in that office, called Muldonish M'Eoin, was 34 years at the schools in Ireland; he died about 40 years ago."[52] This office lapsed, as with so many other hereditary positions in about 1660, at the appropriate juncture on the death of Muldonich McEoin.[53]

However, it should be noted that the link suggested between the Ó Muirgheasáin family in Mull and the Morrisons of Lewis and Harris, hereditary judges or *breitheamhan* in Lewis, via Ó Muirgheasáin bards to the MacLeods of Dunvegan, has been shown to be highly speculative. Indeed, no definite connection between the Ó Muirgheasáins in Skye in the service of the MacLeods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Mull Ó Muirgheasáins has been proved.[54] For instance, John MacKinnon in Mull wrote to Major John MacLeod of Talaskir in 1755 with reference to the genealogy of his family. He stated that "Macleod of Harris had in the last century, seanchies or olives of his own of the Clan I Muiriesons, or Clan vic-na-heiche, or children of the night, but corruptly and very unwarrantably, now called Morisons, to whom they have not the least affinity."[55] Moreover, it was not until the seventeenth century that any of the Skye Ó Muirgheasáins began to emerge as poets. The first was Eóin Óg Ó Muirgheasáin, author of an elegy on Ruaidhrí Mór MacLeóid of Harris and Dunvegan who died in 1626.[56]

Of greater historical significance than the remaining instances of bards who had contemporary links with Ireland or vice-versa, however, is the extant bardic poetry which is illustrative of contact between the two Gaelic cultures.

II. CLASSICAL POETRY AS AN HISTORICAL SOURCE

There has been increasing attention given in recent years to the attitudes of the native Irish and the Scots Gaels as revealed through their poetry, constituting, as it does, one of the few original literary sources available, more exclusively so in Scotland, in the absence of polemical tracts, of which examples survive in Ireland from the late sixteenth century.[57] The limitations and pit-falls of taking evidence from such a source need hardly be pointed out. The reception to the use of bardic poetry as an ideological source for the political history of the period has been mixed, but a significant number of scholars and historians remain convinced that it has a great deal of value in indicating the concerns and attitudes of its creators.[58] This is particularly so since poetry has long been recognised in Gaelic society as 'the main area of innovation as well as of conservation' and must, therefore, feature paramountly in a survey of the views indicated in its literature.[59] Nonetheless, it must be remembered that poetry is a highly subjective medium, and that within

Scotland and Ireland the clans took varying political stances, often changing from one side to another according to expediency. Furthermore, each individual had his own ideas, based on a mixture of historical precedent and current politics, which could give a distinctly personal flavour to any poem. Very often, in any form of poetry, the essence of the stance is assumed rather than overtly stated.[60] It is in relation to stance, perhaps, that the bardic poet has incurred a good deal of criticism for general inflexibility, and for a limited clan or sept view of political developments. Moreover, where this particular limitation is seen to have been transcended, it is generally replaced by the constraint of class, inasmuch as the poetry was written for an élite band of patrons.[61]

With reference to bardic poetry of the late medieval period, which includes the sixteenth century, it has been commented: 'The genre was highly political and historical in its orientation, since one of its major functions was to buttress the status of the dynastic kindreds of Gaelic society.'[62] It would be easy to take exception to the blatancy of this statement in the light of the bardic corpus which has survived in Ireland and Scotland. For while it could be said that it was historical in its bent and allusion, the poetry, in general, was not overtly political in the sense that we would understand it today, that is, open in its comment on collective public or State affairs and their administration. In its reference to occurrences which might be broadly termed political, the bardic poem acted more as a chronicle of such skirmishes or rebellions that a clan or sept had been involved in, particularly the successful ones. They were generally political only in the broad sense of the medieval Irish Annals, as a catalogue of regional events. In similar terms of limitation, it has been stated that Gaelic literature lacks 'any strong tradition of contemporeinity or reflective analysis.' However, this only restricts the historical usefulness of poetry if the historian fails to perceive that the Gaelic poets were more than weavers of verses, they were part of a literary élite - 'important functionaries in their tribal society, with a vested interest in continuity rather than change.'[63] There are messages to be taken from the poetry but they must be read rather than assumed prejudicially. The work of the bardic poets mainly reflected the entrenched social order with which they felt comfortable, as can be seen in the following case studies.

A. The MacMhuirichs, a Scottish bardic family par excellence: Case study

If there could be said to be a Scottish bardic family extraordinaire, it was the MacMhuirichs. The period of the family's literary vitality stretches across five centuries. The family is credited with assuming its name from Muireadhach Albanach, a member of the Irish bardic family of Ó Dalaigh (O'Daly) who came on the bardic circuit to Scotland in the early thirteenth century. The family held extensive lands in Kintyre, from where it was in a prime position to maintain its links with Ireland, and later in South Uist to which it translated in the second half of the sixteenth century.[64] The MacMhuirichs also held lands in Ireland which they acquired around the middle of the sixteenth century. Donald MacMhuirich, eleventh in the MacMhuirich line, went to Ireland with

Donald Dubh MacDonald of the Isles who was striving to restore the Lordship as an independent power, in 1545. When MacDonald died of a fever at Drogheda, MacMhuirich remained in Ireland with his acclaimed successor, Sir James MacDonald of Dunyveg, and it was during this period that he acquired lands there called Balilone. It should be noted that the family also held lands under this name in Bute, so that the name may have been transferred, rather than being indigenous to Ireland. Donald MacMhuirich was severely wounded in Ulster, in 1565, where he had gone to assist Sir James MacDonald in defence of MacDonald territories there. He returned to Kintyre but soon died.[65]

The poet Niall Mòr MacMhuirich was born around the middle of the sixteenth century, that is, probably around the point when the family moved from Kintyre to Uist. Potentially, four of his poems survive, but only two can be ascribed to him with certainty. He appears to have had some connection with the Ó Dálaigh family, bards in south-west Munster, in Ireland, who had held lands for centuries from the Carews. A manuscript dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, part of which was written in the *duanaire*, or poem book, of the Dillons, whose bard was then Doighre mac Aonghuis I Dhálaigh, is ascribed to Niall Mòr. The poem 'Dá láimh sínte le síoth nDé' (Hands stretched in the peace of God) is of religious subject matter, and is partly in the hand of Cathal MacMhuirich.[66] However, the ascription is in a different hand and cannot be unequivocally ascribed to Niall Mòr. Niall Mòr's output was not simply in classical Gaelic but one of his poems, 'Seanchas na Pìob o thùs' (The History of the Pipes from the beginning) is a ribald-humoured satire in the vernacular, which anyone familiar with the instrument cannot fail to laugh at. It has examples of the build up of adjectives in strings, so familiar in seventeenth-century verse and has, indeed, been suggested as an early example of village poetry, with its concentration within the satire on certain characters. [67]

Cathal MacMhuirich, a younger contemporary of Niall Mòr, is generally regarded to have been the best of the MacMhuirich poets known to posterity, an artiste rather than a mere technician who could make traditional bardic imagery original and atmospheric, and the poetry lyrical, when he wished to. It was almost as if, though the convention was still bardic, his mind began to assume the subjective freedom of the modern poet. It is suprising, therefore, that though he acknowledges that two of his predecessors were called Cathal, 'Cathal' does not appear in Lachlan MacMhuirich's pedigree of the family in 1800. This would tend to indicate that either he was not of the main line of the poetic family or, as has been suggested, that this was the result of strained relations with his patrons.[68] Cathal's bardic duties effectively consumed the majority of his time, and from 1614 it appears that his son, Donald, went to Kintyre to assume responsibility for the family interests there. This Donald also joined Colla Ciotach after he had retaken the Castle of Dunyveg in 1614. When Campbell of Cawdor launched an attack against the Castle, in January 1615, Donald MacMhuirich was one of those who escaped during the night with Colla Ciotach. Although Colla went to the

Northern Isles, MacMhuirich clearly thought it safer to go to the family's Irish lands of Balilone. However, in the following summer of 1615, during the Islay rebellion, Donald MacMhuirich returned to Kintyre to take part in Sir James MacDonald's attempt to regain the lost MacDonald patrimony. When Sir James ultimately fled to Ireland, Colla Ciotach surrendered under assurance of the lives of several of his followers, including MacMhuirich. Donald MacMhuirich then went to live in Ireland, the family retaining their lands there for the next 300 years. Although Donald MacMhuirich continued to operate out of northern Ireland, he made frequent journeys to visit his father, Cathal, in South Uist, and also kept contact with a branch of the MacMhuirichs who settled in Cowal.[69]

Cathal's extant work dates from about 1618 to about 1650, and he wrote a substantial part of the Red Book of Clanranald. The fact that his manuscripts survive in both Scotland and Ireland is testimony to the unity of the literary domain of Ulster and the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. He definitely spent some time in Ireland for his hand appears in the *duanaire* of the Dillons, as mentioned above, as well as three manuscripts that are of undisputed Irish origin.[70] In Scotland his principal patron was Domhnall Gorm Òg MacDonald, eighth of Sleat (1618-1643), whose court was at Dùn Tuilm. According to Cathal, Domhnall Gorm's wife Seònaid, or Janet, daughter of Kenneth MacKenzie, first of Kintail, was a particular patron of the Munster poets.[71] However, this connection was undoubtedly dependent on the links which had been built up by the MacMhuirichs in Munster.

Cathal's poetry shows ample familiarity, as would be expected, with Irish mythological convention. All of the classically trained Scottish poets used this to illustrate, and to give the proper weight to their verse, and possibly even to indicate that they had had a classical bardic training. In some cases, there is more justification for use of Irish reference than others. For instance, it has been shown that in his poem to Colla Ciotach, 'Saoth liom do chor, a Cholla' (I grieve for your condition, Colla), Cathal gives his ancestor not only as Somerled but also Eochu Domlén, brother of the King of Ireland, who was father of the three Collas and Conn Cédchathach.[72] However, it can be regarded as justified in this case, for Colla was born in north-west Antrim, had an Irish mother, and was therefore not simply mythologically descended from both countries.[73] The poem is thought to have been composed about 1623 or 1624, according to evidence in a prose colophon which is appended to the manuscript, and was written as a caution to Colla after the capture of his three sons by the Earl of Argyll. It is likely that Colla's sons, Giolla Easbuig, Alasdair and Aonghas, were standing surety for him, following Colla's suspected murder of Malcolm MacPhee, hereditary laird of Colonsay whose position Colla had usurped. In 1623 Colla and his son Giolla Easbuig, particularly, were thought to be implicated. Cathal regards them as innocent, and moreover, being composed in the post-Statutes of Iona era, the poem exhibits a general solidarity for the Gaelic race under threat.

"Laimh re colbha gach calaidh	(Numerous beside your land
iomdha drong do dhanaruibh	are enemies and warmongers,
ag brath ort (a chnú chridhe	they are coming with spite against the Gaelic race
's tú gan locht) dá leófaidhe."	and nobody gets any mercy from them.)[74]

It is said to be hard for Colla to submit to perverted justice at the mercy of ignorant aliens. Nonetheless, it is interesting to find the poet appealing to him not to look to the Islesmen for help, but to his kinsmen in Ireland. The poet, thus, seems to be suggesting that the Highlanders had had their fill of Colla's aggressive skirmishing and is hinting, perhaps, that he could not expect help from the more northerly MacDonalds of Clanranald and Sleat. This probably also refers to Colla having betrayed the Clan Donald South by apparently entering negotiations not only with the Lowland government but also with the exiled Earl of Argyll's agent, William Stirling of Auchyle, in order to receive a feu of Colonsay.[75]

"O tá aguibh, a fholt sliom,	(Smooth-haired one, since you have
lion t'fhurtachta a n-íath Éirenn,	sufficient men to aid you in the land of Ireland,
's bél an chuain Reachlannuigh ruibh,	and the mouth of Rathlin harbour faces you,
uainn do Lethgallaibh léig<idh>.	allow the Islesmen a respite.)[76]

In his poem 'Sona do cheird, a Chalbhaigh' (Prosperous is your trade, Calbhach), a bardic controversy, Cathal deals with more contemporary Irish connections. The poem, probably written later in his life as the vernacular tradition was taking firmer hold, is addressed to An Calbhach who is thought to have been an Irish poet of poor reputation, (at least in Cathal's eyes). From the reference within the poem to his being in the company of an Earl it has been suggested that he was an Antrim poet. The main theme of the poem is that An Calbhach flouts the conventions of the strict bardic training and brings disrepute on the profession. Interestingly, the language tends towards the vernacular in the more satirical passages, in spite of or, perhaps, because of what the poet states about the maintenance of bardic standards.[77] However, it may be that this was deliberately intended to add depth to the invective. This view is certainly held by another commentator who has identified eight deliberate irregularities in the middle section of the poem - 'two wrong tenses, two lines lacking alliteration, a missing rhyme, a bad rhyme and two extraordinary disyllabic rhyming loanwords, *briuais* "brose" and *niuais* "news".' As if to back this up, "The ability to mix up your words" is sarcastically attributed to the poet.[78]

There are a good handful of poems, at this time, which testify to the competitive attitude between Irish and Scots poets. It is hardly surprising that, at a time when patronage of the art form was clearly dying out and under threat, the poets should turn their anxiety on each other in a subconscious attempt to attribute blame where none could, in fact, be attributed. Certainly Cathal

tried to maintain the honour of a separate poetic tradition of the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd* when he wrote the lines 'Faraois éigeas Innsi Gall' (The Hebrides are a haunt of poets) and:

"Do cuireadh as cionn a ccionn
aois dána oirthir Éirionn"

(There have been extinguished successively
the poets of the east-land of Ireland.)[79]

A family of bards who were still working in the east of Ireland in Cathal's time, though not as extensive and well-documented a dynasty as the MacMhuirichs, were the Ó Gnímhs.

B. The Ó Gnímhs, an Irish bardic family of the mercenary and plantation periods: Case study

The Ó Gnímh family worked as bards in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century for several families but particularly for O'Neills of Clandeboye (Clann Aodha Bhuí) and the MacDonnells of Antrim in east Ulster. Information survives on four or, perhaps, five Ó Gnímh poets in all. Four have been definitely identified by forename - Brian, Eóghan, Fear Flatha and Pádraig.[80] Sufficient controversy has arisen in past years over the origin of the name and its connection with the anglicised form Agnew. There are several Irish poets of this name. Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh writing in the first half of the seventeenth century, certainly anglicised his name O'Gniuu, with an obvious similarity in pronunciation. Significantly, although the 'I Ghnímh' are listed in the seventeenth-century genealogical tract 'De Scriptoribus Hibernicus' as among the professional poets or *aos dána Éireann,* which suggests an established standing as poets, nevertheless the earliest trace of an Ó Gnímh poet dates from the late sixteenth century. In the early seventeenth-century members of the family held lands around Larne, County Antrim, and continued there under the name Agnew at the time of the Census in 1659. Richard Dobbs, in his 'Description of the County of Antrim' of 1683, referred to Ballygelly hill between Larne and Glenarm: "Under this hill is a small Building about 16 feet square upon a rock in the Sea, where one Agnew, an Irish Poet, dwelt in old Times."[81]

Genealogically, though it is not known if the genealogies which survive are fabricated or not, the Ó Gnímhs are connected to the MacDonnells, as well to the MacDougals and the MacRorys. This has led to the suggestion that the family originated in Scotland and migrated with the MacDonalds who gave them land in Antrim. It should, however, be stated, that the earliest evidence of the name in Ireland dates from the end of the fifteenth century, in a tract on topography of Fermoy, County Cork, in Munster, which refers to the Í Ghníomha and the Ó hAnnadha. Neither name is otherwise known in the area and it has been mooted that these were, perhaps, the originators of the Agnews and Ahannay families now in Galloway. They may, indeed, have been part of the Galloway *Gaidhealtachd,* Gaelic having been purportedly the language of the majority of the population of Galloway and Carrick until the Reformation.[82] However, it would appear that there had been some

connection or intermarriage with the English, or simply that they were of English-speaking Galloway stock, for one of the sixteenth-century Ó Gnímh poets stated of his connection to the MacDonnells in the poem 'Treisi an eagla ioná an andsacht' (More powerful is fear than affection):

"Dúinn ar-aon giodh ionan fréamh,	(Though we are both from the same root,
meise a's fhuil Eachdhach Doimhléan,	I and the blood of Eochaidh Doimhléin,
mo lucht cuil is siad Saghsain	it is the English who are my kindred
is ní hiad an fhuil Eachdhach-soin."	and not the blood of that Eochaidh.)[83]

Nevertheless, despite inadequate information concerning the origin of the Ó Gnímhs, their undoubted existence as a *bona fide* line of Gaelic poets, especially in relation to the MacDonnells, justifies their inclusion here.

Surviving evidence indicates that a Brian Ó Gnímh was composing in the 1570s and 1580s. He appears to have been poet to the MacDonnells from the 1580s to at least 1602. He is thought to be the 'Ogneiff,' that is, the probable head of the family mentioned in a land Fiant of 18 May 1602, along with 'Bernard oge Ogneife,' an anglicisation of Brian, and 'Ferflaha Ogneiffe,' likely to be his two sons.[84] Three of his extant poems exhibit a Scottish connection. 'Mionn súl Éireann i nAth Cliath' (Dublin is the cynosure of Ireland) was written on the death of Alexander mac Somhairle Buidhe MacDonnell in Donegal, who was killed by Captain Merriman in March 1586. The poem was said to have resulted in the removal of Alexander's head from the city gate of Dublin and its return to the family, which indicates the power of the poetic tradition in Ireland.[85] He is also thought to be the probable author of a corpus of poetry which survives from the second half of the sixteenth century, which is attributable only to 'Ó Gnímh,' and evinces a strong connection through subject matter to the MacDonnells. The defeat of the Scots redshanks at Ardnarea in County Mayo in September 1586 is dealt with in the poem 'Do loiscceadh meisi sa Mhuaidh' (I have been burnt in the Muaidh). The poem is a lament to Domhnall Gorm, son of James MacDonald. A third poem, 'Treisi an eagla ioná an andsacht,' mentioned above, concerning adverse treatment of the poet by the sons of James MacDonald and his brother Somhairle Buidhe, can be dated between 1566 and 1586.[86]

Brian's successor appears to have been Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh, probably his son, who was active poetically between 1607 and 1637/8. Surviving evidence suggests that Fear Flatha succeeded his father some time after 1602. In the first years of the seventeenth century, his poems mourn the passing of the previous order and that his compositions are no longer in such demand, but have been seen to imply acceptance of the changed circumstances. The connection with the Antrim MacDonnells is once again in evidence in his poem to Sir Randal MacDonnell, first Earl of Antrim, 'Éireannaigh féin FionnLochlannaigh' (Fair Lochlannaigh are of Eire too) which has been dated at

some time between 1621 and 1634. It is a poem in praise of the Scots Gaels, and welcomes Sir Randal's ancestors.[87] It chronicles the MacDonnells' settlement in the north-east of Ireland, as well as their mercenary activity:

"Dronga go gcéill chomhairle-mhir
do fhréimh Cholla chridh-iorghalaigh
ó shoin um fhád oirear-Mhonaigh
a-tád thoir 'n-a dtighearnadhaibh.

Re cian fa chuing fhéinnidheachta
ó Fhiadh Fhloinn don leoghain-ealta
deigh-sheal raith an ríogh-oireachta
maith deireadh na deorardheachta.

Tír dhúthaigh chláir chrích-fhionn-Mhonaigh
dháibh níor dhúthaigh mháthar-bhunaidh
fan tír fhoirbhthe fhéith-innbhearaigh
dhíbh níor ghoirthe acht gnáth-Allmhuraigh."

(Hosts of quick decisive spirit
of the race of Colla the joyous-fighting
abide ever since in the land of Monadh
in the East as rulers.

For long, neath rule of soldier-service,
that lion-band stayed far from Flann's Field;
blessed the fortune of the royal line,
and happy, too, the end of their exile.

The land of the plain of fair-bordered
Monadh
was for them no mother-land;
in that perfect land of fair estuaries
they could be styled only as foreigners.)[88]

The fact that the Ó Gnímh family held land around Larne in the early half of the seventeenth century, and in the same area by the time of the 1659 Census under the name 'Agnew' supports this connection. However, six of Fear Flatha's compositions are addressed to the O'Neills of Clandeboye, indicating that he was not exclusively a MacDonnell poet. Of his father's surviving corpus, only one is to an O'Neill, which tends to suggest that the O'Neill connection strengthened during the seventeenth century.[89]

Significantly, in terms of the development of poetry during this period, Fear Flatha was accused by the *ollamh* of the Clandeboye O'Neills of being 'file an tslúaigh,' that is, the people's poet. Over the productive lifetime of these two poets, from 1570 to 1640, there appears, however, to have been less change in the traditional form of the poems than a change in content. While Brian's poems mainly covered military subjects and the Celtic warrior mentality, which was one of the main bastions of traditional Gaelic society, Fear Flatha, in comparison, extolled nobility and position earned through adherence to English law and learning. However, this is perfectly in keeping with the status acquired by the Antrim MacDonnells, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as government-sanctioned Ulster planters. Thus, his above-mentioned poem to Sir Randal tacitly recognised his 1605 patent for his lands, by only then welcoming his ancestors to Ulster, when they had, in effect, been there for centuries.[90] MacDonnell's translation from Celtic lord to English

planter was implicit in this poetic treatment.

III. POETIC EVIDENCE FROM THE MERCENARY PERIOD

Eulogies in praise of the great warriors of Gaelic tradition fit very easily into the first phase of bardic poetry in the period, that is when the mercenaries were still plying their trade from Scotland to Ireland. Thus, by far the greatest extant bulk of poetry dealing with the inter-relation of Irish and Scots Gaels is from this period. Yet, there are various trends and changes visible in attitude which begin at this time and extend over the whole period from 1560 to 1760. Firstly, it should be remembered that practically all those writing in the latter half of the sixteenth century were of the professional learned families. Their priorities therefore lay with their expectation of patronage, mainly, as expressed in the poetry, at the particularised clan and sept, or local, level. For instance, in terms of a more broad-based movement, it has been pointed out that scant reference is made in Irish, by the bards or annalists, to the Protestant Reformation in that country and that no distinction is made between criticism of the Catholic Old English of the Pale and the new Protestants. So too, the naievety of the poet's political outlook has been criticised, in that the Gaelic *literati* make no distinction between the previous feuds of Gaelic chieftains and the new one with the English Crown.[91] Yet, it might be argued, why should they? In the end, it amounted to the same thing - a power struggle. Indeed, according to one stanza in a poem to the Calvach O'Connor, by Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, it appears that the native Irish took a back seat and let the English and Scots (on behalf of the Irish) undertake the fighting with each other:

"Fir Lonndain, laochruidh Alban,	(The men of London, the warriors of Scotland
siad re chéile ag comhardadh,	are contending together,
a cheann shaorshlóigh Shíthe Truim,	thou chief of the noble host of Sioth Trium,
'a n-aonbhróin fhíthe umainn."	in one compact mass about us.)[92]

Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, 1550-1591, was a famous Irish poet in the classical mould, who flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century, in north-west Connacht and Donegal. He is a particularly impressive example of a Gaelic professional poet not only because of his ample use of literary allusion from English and continental literature, but because no fewer than 47 of his poems are extant. Among his patrons were the native Gaelic O'Donnells and O'Rourkes and the Old English Burkes. As he aptly commented in his eulogy on the Old English family of McWilliam Burke, in north Connacht:

"Fearann cloidhimh críoch Bhanbha	(Ireland is but swordland.
bioth slan chaich fa chomhardha	Let all be defied to show

go bhfuil d'oighreacht ar Fhiadh bhFáil	that there is any inheritance in the land of Fál
acht foirneart gliadh dá gabhail."	save that of conquest by force of battle.)

Even English pressure did not bring unanimity of political opinion but, in their turn, the English were drawn into 'the system of competing lordships.'[93] Tadhg Dall also composed a poem on one of the most famous warriors of the period Somhairle Buidhe MacDhomhnaill, the Kintyre MacDonald who made his home in the Route.[94] Although the poem may generally refer to his coming to Ireland on a more permanent basis, it is thought that it might more specifically refer to Somhairle Buidhe's landing at Marketon Bay, in November 1567, with 500-600 redshanks. He is addressed, in traditional fashion, as a fitting mate for the personified country of Ireland:

"Rogha leannáin Leasa Cuinn,	(The best-loved of Conn's Dwelling,
Somhairle mhac Meic Domhnuill;	Sorley, son of MacDonnell,
brath céile do Mhoigh Mhonaidh	the expected mate from *Monadh's* Plain,
's re bhfoil Éire ag anamhain."	he for whom Ireland is waiting.)

He, himself, is the "fortunate spray from the apple-trees of Islay, star of favourable summer weather." The latter is a probable reference to the fact that the mercenaries flocked to Ireland in the summer months. It is significant that this is one of the few poems of the period which does not tacitly accept the concept of English colonisation.[95] In the poem, Somhairle is referred to as the "lámh ionnarbas eachtronna" (arm that banishes foreigners), and that until she entreated Somhairle to come, "críoch Bhanbha fa bhróin Danar" (the land of Banbha was under a burden of barbarians.) The clear military reason for his coming to Ireland is taken up towards the end of the poem, with reference to a classical hero:

"Mac Alastoir d'fhurtacht cháigh	(Even as Caesar came
tiocfa, mar tháinig Séasáir,	the son of Alastar will come now
don dúlasa fa Bhóinn Bhreagh,	to the Bregian Boyne to aid everyone,
slóigh nách urusa d'áireamh."	with a following difficult to number.)

He is expected to come "with the full muster of his following," and in the usual way "there will spring forth from the edges of the strands a veritable forest of sail-trimmed masts of majestic ships." In this way, "He will discharge the debt of his forefathers to the land of Bregia." This latter is a reference either to the Kintyre coast of Scotland having been the point of settlement of the first Irishmen of the Dalriadic migration, or to his ancestors having inherited the Glens of Antrim.[96]

An interesting counterpart to the conventional eulogy, above, is the poem 'Treisi an eagla ioná an andsacht' (More powerful is fear than affection), addressed to various of the MacDonnells of

Antrim, the patrons of the Ó Gnímhs. The poem mentions James MacDonald of Dunyveg and Islay and five of his sons - Aonghus, Raghnall, Colla, Domhnall Gorm and Alasdair Carrach - his brother Somhairle Buidhe, head of the Antrim branch of the family, and his son Alasdair. The poem was composed by an unidentified Ó Gnímh, but is usually attributed to Brian Ó Gnímh. It can probably be dated to just before 1585/6 by which time three of MacDonnells referred to in the poem were dead. The poet had, clearly, as he outlines in the initial stanzas of the poem, transferred his loyalty from the MacDonnells of Antrim, "cur chúil re cloin ríCholla" (turning my back on Clann Cholla), to the English. The occasion of this poem was a desire to revert to his original loyalties again:

"Méd a nduas díoghrais a rúin	(The weight of their prizes, their earnest secret,
saoilim fos is fáth iomthnúidh	I hope for still, 'tis a cause of eagerness,
cuaine gan connmháil a ccruidh	From the family which withheld not gifts,
dfaghbháil as guaille ó nGofruidh.	And to sit beside Gofraidh's descendants.
Saoilim saoilte do rígh Rois	I expect - expected it is from the king of Ros -
go mbia mé ar uilinn Aonghuis	That I shall be at Aonghus' elbow
ag ól bhuabhoill chaoin chuirme	Drinking a cheerful bowl of ale,
nó ar ghualoinn shaoir Shomhairle."	Or at Somhairle's noble shoulder.)

At this point, not only are all the other MacDonalds mentioned, stanza by stanza, but the poet ends by mentioning the common descent of the MacDonalds and the Ó Gnímh family.[97] The same Domhnall Gorm MacDhomhnaill is lamented in the Ó Gnímh poem, probably by the same poet as the above, 'Do loiscceadh meisi sa Mhuaidh' (I have been burnt in the Muaidh.) The eulogy which portrays the death of Domhnall Gorm at the hands of soldiers under the command of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connacht, is strikingly vivid in its imagery.[98] In late 1585 the Burkes of County Mayo, who were holding out against the governor's attempts to bring them under English dominance, requested Scottish aid from Ulster. In the summer of 1586 Donald Gorm, his brother Alasdair (or Alexander), and Gilleasbuig MacDowell representing the House of Argyll, arrived with their mercenaries, in Inishowen. They appear to have been attracted to Connacht by the possibility of land in Mayo to be settled on them should they banish the English. After some skirmishing in Maguire's country, they headed south to the river Erne where they commenced work on a fort. Bingham's force, initially including 300 Irish levies who were dismissed prior to the engagement with the Scots, moved up to meet the Scots who were making their way south. They eventually caught up with the Scots on the banks of the Moy, at Ardnarea, in Burke country. On 23 September, Bingham's force of about 600 footmen and 90 horse, just over a third of the size of the Scottish force, effected a slaughter of over 1,000 to 1,100 Scots and a similar number of their families and followers.[99] The river played a significant part in the rout as is explained in the report of Captain Thomas Woodhouse to Secretary Fenton:

> At about one of the clock we did join battle and they did set their backs to the great river called the Moy, and the Governor and we that were but a small number did with him [Bingham] ... charge them before our battle came in, and kept a narrow strait in our charging of them, so as they could not pass our foot battle, and there, God be thanked, we did drown and kill, as we all did judge, about the number of a thousand or eleven hundred, for there did, by swimming about a hundred escape, and as the country saith on the other side of the water, they have killed them, for we cannot this day get over this water into Tyrawly to them for want of boats, but truly, I was, never since I was a man of war, so weary with killing of men...[100]

The role of the river and the heat, both of the battle and the emotional anguish of the mourner, are highlighted by an elemental counter-balance of fire and water, extending throughout the poem:

"Do loisc lionn [mhór] an tuile	(The great (?) water of the flood scorched me
sinn ar n-oighidh énduine,	when that one man, Domhnall, died,
ar bhfosccadh ar ghoimh na nGall,	he who saved us from the fierceness of the Goill,
ar losgadh, ar ndoigh Domhnall."	he who (by his death) is now our scorching, our torture.)[101]

The Connachtmen mentioned in stanza 15 are those who were loyal to the English. However, this does not refer to the Irish levies since Bingham had dismissed the Earl of Clanricarde and Thomas Le Strange and their men, as well as the "risings out" for their "insufficiency and naughty dealing," on 14 September, when the Scots had escaped Bingham near Collooney.[102]

"Níor bheag d'Ulltachoibh re [a] n-ucht	(A stream in Connacht was sufficient to oppose
sruth as é a cCúigeadh Chonnacht,	the Ulstermen and to protect the Connachtmen
dá ccosnamh ar cloinn Domhnaill,	against the MacDonalds
ag buing m'osnadh [n-]éagcomhlainn."	making me utter groans of defeat.)[103]

Another poem survives from this period, of unknown authorship and preserved in Ireland. It is addressed to a Séamas Mac Aonghuis of the Clann Domhnaill who is quite clearly, according to the poem's content, from Kintyre and Islay, as well as being "a láogh na hoighi ó íadh Muile" (fawn of the doe from the land of Mull). This lineage best fits Sir James MacDonald of Knockrinsay, son of Angus MacDonald and Mary, daughter of Hector Òg MacLean of Duart, which thus dates the poem to the very end of the sixteenth century or beginning of the seventeenth century. The poet calls upon Séamas Mac Aonghuis to come to the aid of the Irish because, according to the words of the mythological Fionn: "Beid Gaoidhil a nglasaibh Danar" (The Gael shall be in bondage to foreigners) and "líonfuid Saxain ar fheadh nÉireann" (Saxons shall swarm over Ireland), and they will be liberated by a shoot from their own stock. The poet entreats him:

"Fionn mac Cumhaill nár char máoine,	(O James, thou hope of lordship,
a mheic Aonghuis fhuilngios frais,	bring help from Scotland of the melodious waterfalls
do chlú níor úaisligh gan adhbhar;	to the Boyne, bright with flocks of the elfin strands,
tú an úairsin do labhradh lais."	make not vain Fionn's true voice.)[104]

Nonetheless, having called Mac Aonghuis 'hawk of the Boyne,' the poet concedes that it is difficult for him to divide his energies effectively between defending Ireland and his territories in Scotland. If written when the Clan Donald South still had a Scottish patrimony, this would tend to date the poem to the period prior to 1614. Perhaps the suggestion that he would find it hard at all, is an indication that the poet did not really consider him of sufficient mettle. It would surely be easy for a true Gaelic hero?

"Deacair duit trá tabhairt th'aire	(Hard for thee to give heed to
d'Éirinn uile, a earla nocht:	all Ireland, thou bare-haired one;
ó's dá rádh lé frosMhagh bFiachaidh	since the showery plain of Fiachaidh says that
cosnamh dhá chlár d'fiachaibh ort."	thou must contest two plains.
"Deacair duitsi a ndídion uile,	'Tis hard for thee to guard them all,
imle Banna ar bhaidhreadh cáigh,	the borders of the Bann against the molestation of others,
is Ceann Tíre is dlúthghort Doire,	and Kintyre and the dense cornfield of Derry,
Ile is úrphort Mhoighi Máil."	and Islay and the green bank of Magh Máil.
...	...
"Deacair duitsi dol dá maithiomh,	'Tis hard for thee to abandon them
's as mór ndochar dod dhreich mhín	and it is great hardship to thy smooth countenance
an dá íath d'ionnramh ré roile	to wait upon the two lands together,
a sgiath biodhbhadh Thoighe an Trír."	O shield against the foes of the House of the Three.)

The poem is particularly formal in style which tends to indicate that it was simply an exercise in bardic eulogy and that the subject did not fire the emotions of the poet. This is, perhaps, hardly surprising since Sir James was brought up at Court and was renowned for changing face. He exhibited very little loyalty to his Highland kinsmen on either his mother's or his father's side or indeed to his parents themselves. His character is readily established by the record, on 5 August 1598, of his having killed his maternal uncle, Neil MacLean, and his son in Islay, as well as twenty of the clan *fine*, apparently at a tryst under trust. More pertinently, he was tried and found guilty of treasonable fire-raising, in May 1609, for having fired his father's house of Askomell in Kintyre over a decade earlier in January 1597, in which his father and mother were staying at the time. For that reason he had been banished to Ireland, but returned to Kintyre in March 1602. This, perhaps,

gives a likely dating for the poem since it survived in Ireland. Séamas Mac Aonghuis was the last of the legitimate male line of the MacDonalds of Kintyre.[105]

An Irish poet who underwent a similar banishment to Scotland was Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird of the Donegal branch of the Mac an Bhaird family. He had a variety of patrons in Ireland, particularly the O'Donnells of Tirconnell but also Conn O'Rourke of Bréifne in County Leitrim and the Magennises of Iveagh (Uíbh Eathach) in County Down. He is one of a handful of classical Irish poets for whom a significant corpus of poetry survives. In the sixteenth century there were other branches of the Mac an Bhairds in Farney in County Monaghan, in Ballymote in County Sligo and in the barony of Kilconnel in County Galway. Fearghal Óg was writing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[106] Towards the close of the sixteenth century when rebellion was still raging in Ulster, he appears, perhaps as a consequence of this, to have suffered exile for some time in Scotland. One poem which he wrote there, 'Beannacht siar uaim go hEirinn' (A blessing westwards from me to Ireland) deals with the poet's yearning for Ireland, its people and learned men. Making ample use of Irish mythological reference, he remembers everybody in turn - the makers of eulogies, those who unravel genealogical branches, the royal physicians of Féilim's land, the clerics of Iughoine's land and the music makers, especially Ciothruadh, the poet. The poem is addressed to Aodh Mág Aonghusa, one of the Magennis chiefs of Iveagh, "nár dhiúlt dán" (who has never refused a poem), who died in 1595, However, the reference to "feart Chuinn Í Ruairc" (the grave of Conn Ó Ruairc), who died in 1577, definitely places Fearghal Óg's visit between these two dates, but it probably did not occur until the 1590s.[107] He also composed a poem, perhaps also written during his time in Scotland, entitled 'Trí coróna i gcairt Shéamuis' (The three crowns in James's charter), of indifferent poetic worth, but addressed to James VI of Scotland. Some controversy has surrounded the dating of the poem, based not only upon its content, but exactly when the poet was in Scotland and for how long.[108] That he was in Scotland for some time, in and around 1595, has already been established. However, it has also been put forward that he was in Scotland following the Flight of the Earls in 1607.[109] In that case, there seems as much likelihood that there were two separate visits as one extended one. Certainly, the evidence in the poem agrees more with a later dating, possibly just prior to James's accession to the English throne. The idea that he wrote it 'to conciliate a new patron in place of those he felt he was losing in Ireland,' especially with the end of the Ulster rebellion in the same year, is also likely.[110] His attitude to James is certainly conciliatory, though he possibly sees a Scottish King as the lesser of two evils:

"A lámh as díortha dligheadh	(O prince whose hand gives straight judgments,
- a-nois i gcéill cuirfidhear -	I will now say this to thee:
ná [bi ag] teacht ar éineing d'uaim	talk not of 'taking in new territory'
	(i.e. adding Éire to your Kingdom)

's do cheart aar Éirinn armruaidh. seeing thou hast already a right to red-sworded Éire.

I gcúirt Shagsan na sreabh seang
a-tá ardchoróin Éireann;
tuar maothchroidhe a bheith san mbrugh
fa bhreith laochroidhe lonndon."

In the Court of fair-streamed England
is placed Éire's noble crown;
it means misery of heart to see it in that land
in the power of the warriors of London.)[111]

In a third poem, 'Dursan mh'eachtra go hAlbain' (Hard my journey to Scotland), he laments his stay in Scotland, where he cannot properly practise his religion. Though it is not known where the poet stayed in Scotland, it was likely to have been in the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd* where he had an audience and, thus, the theme of the poem, and the poets lack of accession to mass, provides incidental evidence of the general absence of Catholic ministrations there.[112] Though the poet admits that:

"Mór dtír nach í Alba a-mháin
nach creideann fós - fáth tochráidh -
don bhairghin go mbí 'n-a fuil
's í fa ainglibh 'n-a hiomdhuidh"

(Many a land besides Alba
believes not - what a cause of grief! -
in the Host that is true blood
and a throne with angels around it)

this is, nevertheless, a cause of grief to him and he expresses a desire to die in Ireland.[113]

In terms of exposition of Scots mercenary activity in Ireland, a poem 'Creach Gaoidheal í reilig Ros' (The Highlanders are despoiled in the churchyard of Ross) by the Scots poet Eóin Óg Ó Muirgheasáin, has survived in Ireland, which refers to the action there of Ruaidhrí mór MacLeóid, chief of Dunvegan and Harris. This is more a poem in the old style but useful as a chronicle of the times, nonetheless. The poem survives only because it found its way to Munster.[114] Ruaidhrí mór went to Ireland in both 1594 and 1595 in the service of O'Donnell and undertook raids in Ulster and Connacht. This aspect of his career is dealt with in stanzas 40 to 54. The poem seems to indicate that he actually began his military career in Ireland:

"Tús dá fhoghlaidh i n-iath Ir,
- nár ba foghlaidh Dia 'na dhiaidh -
do bhíodh ós cách in gach céim;
níor ghnáth béim dá ghníomh i ngliaidh.

(He began his career of rieving in Ireland -
May it not be that God's vengeance follows thereon -
He was leader in every foray;
never fault was found with the performance in the fight.)[115]

More specifically, the poem appears to refer to the expedition, in late July 1595, in which the Harris

MacLeods formed part of a grand Isles fleet of approximately 100 ships and at least 3,000 men, manned mainly by Kintyre and Skye MacDonalds, but also including MacLeod of Lewis, who went to help the Earls of Tyrone and O'Donnell. The poem is of particular merit in that it mentions specific geographical locations in Ireland which arise in connection with the MacLeods' expedition. It, therefore, provides information incidental to that in the State papers. The reference to the Ards refers to the first landing that the expedition made in Ireland where it is thought that they made contact with Tyrone's advisers.[116]

"Sliocht Bhriain Bhallaigh níor dhíon dóibh	(In the face of his army's fighting, the descendants of Brian Ballach
ngalaigh ar ghníomh a shluaigh;	had no protection in their warriors;
's níor bh'fheirrde i dtealaigh dá dtóir;	their plight was as miserable on the battle-hill when chased there.
fóir Eilge um cheanaibh do chuaidh.	The overthrow of the Irish troops was among his triumphs.
"Aird Uladh d'argain dá fhéin	The pride of his troops was roused by the challenge
curadh do árdaigh a n-uaill;	to plunder the Ards of Ulster;
easbhaidh daoine a theacht don tóir	because he led them on that raid
ó neart slóigh an taoibhe thuaidh."	many fell through the might of that army from the North.)[117]

Indeed, of all the Scots chieftains who went to Ulster in this expedition, Ruaidhrí MacLeóid emerged with his integrity the least besmirched. Leaving the Ards shortly after landing, the Scots took to ship again, probably heading up Belfast Lough to Clandeboye, where Tyrone was gathering cattle to supply them. Five or six Scots ships were cut off by two English ships under Captains George Thornton and Gregory Rigges, who sunk at least two Scots galleys and caused the others to flee to the Copeland Islands, off the coast of Down, where the main fleet joined them. There were only minor skirmishes but, with the arrival of an extra English ship, the Scots were prevented from contacting Tyrone. Ultimately, Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg and Donald Gorm MacDonald of Sleat agreed to a truce and offered their services to the English Queen. This does not appear to have been a ruse to remove them from a difficult situation for when, by 3 August, Donald Gorm was in the Glens of Antrim he was still offering his services to the Lord Deputy. Moreover, according to the recent truce, Donald Gorm and Angus of Dunyveg went home, and there is no definite evidence to suggest that MacLeod of Lewis had ever reached Ireland with them in the first place. Only two companies of Scots remained, that is, 600 men under Angus Og, son of MacDonald of Dunyveg, who were probably kept there as a sop to Tyrone on his father's behalf,

and a similar number under Ruaidhrí MacLeóid. However, MacLeod of Dunvegan appears not to have taken refuge in the Copeland Islands but landed at some undocumented location on the Ulster coast, where he was attacked by a force of English horse and had to retreat to his ships, with a number of his party killed. He went straight to join O'Donnell, the only one of the expedition to keep his word.[118]

Tyrone's rebellion was effectively conducted on two fronts against the English strongholds. O'Neill fronted the line to the south-west of Loch Neagh, that is, through Armagh, via Newry and to the northern Pale, while O'Donnell fronted the line which went via Ballyshannon, across the Erne, and through the counties of Sligo, Mayo and Galway in Connacht and into County Clare in Munster, with the contingent of MacLeod mercenaries.[119] The precise route recorded in the Irish Annals is easier to match with the place-names given in the poem. "... lotar tar eirne, tar drobhaoír, tar duibh tarr an rliccicch, tar lr ndara, tar sliabh ngamh, go luighne arraide co páinicc go goirdealbhachaibh." (... they marched across the Erne, the Drowes, the Duff, the Sligeach or river of Sligo - the Gity - and Eas-Dara, across Sliabh-Gamh, into Leyney, and from thence into Costello.) At that time the English were based in MacCostello's castle.[120]

"ag dul ann ní bearar béim	(As the soldiers of Harris advanced there
d'fhéin na hEaradh i n-am áigh."	they earned no reproach in the hour of battle.
"Tar Drobhaois tar Sligigh siar	On a wide ranging advance to the west
gan shlighidh rochaoil 'na raon,	across the Drowes, over the river of Sligo,
tug iarraidh ar ndíol na ndámh,	he saw that the poets were rewarded -
a lán díobh triallaidh re a thaobh.	a full company of them were with him.)[121]

By the middle of August 1595 O'Donnell was planning to attack a few English settlements, including Ballymote, in north Connacht, with his 700 Scots, the majority of whom were from Skye. According to Sir Richard Bingham, the governor of Connacht, O'Donnell's intention was to win Galway and Clare with the aid of the Scots.[122] The Irish Annals record, in more detail, that O'Donnell besieged Castlemore Mac Costello which was forced to surrender, then turned his attention on Dunmore Mhic Feorais, or the fort of the Mac Feorais (or Bermingham), now Dunmore, eight miles north of Tuam in County Galway. He also sent rieving parties to plunder Conmaicne, probably the barony of Dunmore in County Galway, known as Conmaicne Cineil Dubhain; to plunder Muintir Murchadha, a district which comprised the northern half of the barony of Clare and County Galway; to plunder Machaire Riabhach, a district between Knochdoe and Lough Corrib, largely in the parish of Annadown in Clare, County Galway and Tuam, also in Galway. They also took Turlach Mochain, now Turlough-vohan, near Tuam, another castle in Mac Feorais country.[123]

"Baile an Mhúta adhnaidh uaidh
gan adhbhaidh dúnta 'na dhiaidh;
comha is í dá déanamh dhóibh
fóir Sgí ní ghéabhadh gan gliaidh.

(He sets Ballymote aflame;
in his track no house stands with closed doors;
there was an attempt at terms with them,
but the Skye troops would not accept it, they would fight.

"Dún Mheic Fheórais airgthear uaidh;
- go ndainge seólais tar sáil -
beag da bhfoghlaibh san tír thiar
is riar síl Olbhair an áigh.

Dún Mheic Fheórais was pillaged by him;
to that stronghold he directed his course across the sea.
Little of their rievings in the west country
fell as share to the fortunate descendant of Olbhar.)[124]

The poem indicates that MacLeod exacted heavy spoil from the lands in Connacht with which to sustain his mercenaries, and the same is attested of O'Donnell's force in the Irish Annals. Poetically, herds of horses, taken from the people of Connacht were said to follow behind him. The places referred to below are the Curlew hills in the south of County Sligo, and Athlone in Westmeath.

"Taibhgheóir a ndíola don dáimh
ó daighLeóid le díorma a shlóigh;

go bhfuair troimriar as gach taoibh
maoir uaidh fán gCoirrshliabh do chóidh.

(The descendants of noble Leod, bestower of
satisfying rewards upon poets, as he led his company of soldiers
sent his stewards through Coirrshliabh
till he got full supply from every side.

"Fir Chonnacht mar do an uaidh
a gcrodh ar sgolaibh do sgaoil;

lorg a fhaghla tré Ath Luain
sgáth uaidh mar tharla ar gach taoibh.

Since the men of Connacht kept away from him
he distributed spoil taken from them upon the schools of poets;
through Athlone lay the path of his rieving;
on every hand whenever he chanced there was fear of him.)[125]

Hearing that O'Donnell had bypassed him westwards into Connacht, Sir Richard Bingham assembled fifteen companies of foot soldiers and horse and marched to the top of the Curlew hills to attack O'Donnell's force on its return from its rieving expedition. These are the English forces of Eas Dara referred to in the poem, which is located in the barony of Leyny, County Sligo. Receiving intelligence of this O'Donnell returned through Costello, Leyny, the lower part of Tirerrill, and over the bridges of Colooney, Ballysadere and Sligo. "Báttar tra goill accá iarmhoirecht amhail ar déine conrangattar ir na conairibh sin." (Through these passages the English went in pursuit of him as quickly as they could.) However, O'Donnell's force reached

Gleann-Dallain, a valley partly in Sligo and partly in Leitrim, without encounter. The English then made their headquarters in the monastery of Sligo in order to besiege the castle in which O'Donnell had left warders. O'Donnell laid a trap for the English about a mile out of Sligo but the English pursued a decoy squadron of horse which he had sent to the river bank to attract them, so fiercely, that the Scots and Irish were obliged to engage the English before the ambush. Captain Martin, Bingham's nephew, was mortally wounded and the English retreated. The English made a worthy attempt to take the castle, destroying one of the walls but were fended off, returning home, severely wounded, across the Curlews. O'Donnell headed north across the Erne where he paid the Scots and discharged them. On the way, according to the poem, they clearly attempted to steal cattle from the Fanad peninsula in Donegal but were prevented from doing so before they returned across Lough Swilly to Inishowen.[126] O'Donnell's successes against Bingham, Governor of Connacht were such that, by the end of the year, Tibbot Fitzwalter Burke assumed the Irish style of 'Lower MacWilliam' (MacWilliam Iochtair) in Mayo.[127] Though among the obsequious bardic praise of MacLeod's generosity are acknowledgements that the Scots met their match in the skirmishing, at the hands of the English force:

"Tugsad dá gcreachaibh ar gclódh	(Soldiers that were hard to repel began harassing them
curaidh ba deacair do dhíol;	when they turned back -
fáth daingin níor bh'fheirrde uadh	it was the task of Irish troops from Galway -
sluagh Eilge ó Ghaillimh dá ghníomh.	That was no better way of security from him.
"Sé an tan-soin dá dtaobhadh tóir	At that time should an army venture to attack,
dá ghasraid níor bhaoghal béim;	his soldiers would earn no discredit.
Goill fá Eas Dara 'na dhiaidh	The English from Eas Dara were following him -
treas do ghliaidh nách rabha réidh.	troops that were rough combatants in a fight.
...	...
"Crodh Fánad i ndíol na ndámh	Siol nDálaigh prevented the cattle of Fanad being driven
síol nDálaigh do loc a luadh;	away to be reward for the poets;
siris an deóraidh do dhíol	the foreign soldiers sought to exact payment,
díon ag Inis Eóghain uadh."	but Inishowen provided protection from them.)[128]

The poem was written as a lament on the death of Ruaidhrí mór in 1626. Significantly, the poet wrote that he was mourned by Irish and Scottish bards alike:

"Sgol na Banbha go Ros róinn,	(The Irish poets have gone to Ross before me;
sgol Alban ag dol 'na dáil;	the Scottish poets are going to join them;

léigthear tós caoine don chléir, a nós féin is daoire dháibh." | the poets must be allowed to lead the lamentation; it is their customary office and the harder for them.)[129]

However, though Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn showed signs of resistance to the English in his poem to Somhairle Buidhe, as well as eulogising the Irish lord Hugh McShane of Colranell, in Easter Leinster, as one who banishes English troops, this defiant attitude was not apparent in the poetry of the majority of bards. A study has been made of the *duanaire* or poem book of Feagh McShane, Hugh's son, in the *Leabhar Branach* which comprises the poem books of four generations of the O'Byrnes of Colranell (Gabhal Raghnuill) in County Wicklow.[130] Significantly, Feagh McShane's poem book covers the period of the Desmond rebellion, the Munster plantation and the main assault of the Ulster Irish against the English government, that is the period from the early 1580s. Of the thirteen eulogies - the format which best indicates changes in ideological development - eight reveal the traditional medieval ethos of the Gaelic world, one begins to show signs of change and the final four provide evidence of a change. Of the four which definitely exhibit change, two show indication of the local Gaelic lord as a leader of broader significance. In a third eulogy, by an unidentified Ó Huiginn bard, the perspective is shown to have changed to a more national one. Though, in traditional fashion, Feagh is compared to an Irish mythological figure, the poem treats of the Gael's historical claims to Ireland, of his historic fight against foreign oppression and the necessity of Gaelic solidarity. Thus, in this case, the aggrandisement of the sept is relegated to a backward role. Three other poems in the *duanaire* are shown to be important. One of these is a poem of counsel in which Feagh is advised not on a means of expanding his territory, but is given a warning against an English Crown set on annihilation of the Gael. The poignancy both of the message and the language is evident in the opening word of the poem - 'hatred.' A second is an example of late sixteenth-century vernacular verse, in rhythmic song metre, and as such will be dealt with in Chapter 18.[131] It is a poem of incitement to the Gaelic warriors to re-establish their superiority and their stake to Ireland. A third poem celebrates Feagh's victory against an English garrison, but the stance is not that of the traditional bard, for the poet states that even should the whole sept be wiped out their name would live on because of the wider significance of their deed. Thus, the *Leabhar Branach* tends to show that while the majority of poets in it still responded in the traditional fashion, that some were utilising the traditional forms to a new end, that is, in creating a broader Gaelic consciousness.[132] Nonetheless, from the evidence of so few innovatory poems, there cannot be said to have been an overall Gaelic national response to the incursion of the English-speaking foreign government.

IV. POETIC EVIDENCE FROM THE PLANTATION TO THE CIVIL WAR

It has been argued for the plantation period that the poets' response to conquest was largely local

and class-based in viewpoint, that is "tribal," rather than evincing an Ireland-wide nationalism.[133] Indeed, it would have been unusual for them to broaden their outlook so quickly from the sept to the country. Moreover, given that the poets were still under the auspices of patrons, albeit in a transitional phase, it is easy to see how these were, in large part, viewpoints acceptable to the latter. For, it has been shown that they largely came from the same literary class, so their concurrence of views is not surprising. Furthermore, just as in eulogies the poets did not often mention other leaders and landowners for fear of offending future patrons, similarly, they may simply have avoided commenting rather than not having had definitive views on the matter. Though, at the same time some showed perception of what was occurring in their poetry, especially those patronised by native Irish adherents of the Ulster Rebellion of the 1590s. For example, Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, poet to O'Donnell, in his poem "A leabhráin ainmighther d'Aodh" (O little book that bearest Aodh's name), points out the value of Gaelic learning in their struggle. The poem is thought to have been composed on the continent to accompany a manuscript presented to Aodh Ó Domhnaill, probably the nephew of the Earl of Tyrconnell who had been taken abroad in 1607. The enemy in the poem is not overtly stated, but would have been well understood:

"Atá a tteanguidh ar máthar	(Here in our mother tongue -
sonn - ga saoire soláthar? -	what provision could be nobler?
léighionn bhus cian ar cuimhne	- is learning that will long be remembered
a bfiadh Éirionn iathghuirme.	in the land of Erin of green shadows.
...	...
Teagusc diadha ar a dhruim sin,	Godly instruction besides,
eolus ealadhna an ghaisgidh,	and knowledge of the art of arms,
d'iath Éirionn agoibh anois,	thou hast now for the land of Erin,
léighionn caguidh is cunntois."	with training in warfare and computation.)

The poem also refers to the uniting of the native Irish and Old English, with the implication that this is against the English incomers:

"Ar neach do shliocht Gaoidhil Ghlais	(Conceal from the race of Gaoidheal Glas
ná Búrcaigh, na Builtéaruigh,	no knowledge that thou hast found,
na Gearoltuigh do thuill toil	nor from the Old English of the land of the Fair,
tar seanfholtaibh fhuinn Fhionntoin."	with whom we, the warriors of Ireland, have united.)[134]

Similarly, Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh, poet of Ó Neill of Clann Aodha Bhuí (Clandeboye), also shows an obvious perception of the demise of the Gaelic system after the Flight of the Earls, whose going he labels as 'bás don Bhanbha' (death to Ireland). In his poem 'Beannacht ar anmain Éireann' (A

blessing upon the soul of Ireland), the poet states that:

"Ní leigeann eagla an ghallsmaicht	(Fear of the foreign law does not permit me
damh a hanstaid do nochtadh:	to tell her sore plight;
atá an chríoch réidhse ríNéill	this smooth land of royal Niall
do chrú fíréin dá folcadh."	is being washed with innocent blood.
"D'éag a huaisle 's a hoireacht	Owing to the death of her nobility and her courts
gan toidheacht aice ón oilbhéim,	she cannot recover from the stigma.)[135]

The poem 'Cáit ar ghabhadar Gaoidhil?' (Where have the Gaels gone?), dating from about the time of the plantation, is anonymous in the *Book of O'Conor Don*, but is elsewhere ascribed to Lochlainn mac Taidhg Óig Uí Dhálaigh whose extant work appears to date from 1596 to the 1620s or later. It is worthy of note for its particular references to the dispossessed *buannadhan* or swordsmen of the Irish lordships but is a general lamentation of the exile of the Gael from Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

"Do sgarsat linn leath ar leath,	(They have dispersed from us in all directions,
óig Laighean, laochraidh Mhuimhneach,	the young warriors of Leinster, the heroes of Munster,
tréad fraochlann mhuighe Meadhbha	the fierce-bladed denizens of Maeve's plain,
's cuire saorchlann seinEamhna.	and ancient Eamhain's warband of noble race.
Ní briochd síodhuidhe seanta,	It is no ancient faery incantation,
ní ceó doilbhthe draoidheachta	no deceitful mist of magic
do léircheil oirne ré h-eadh	that has quite concealed from us
na roighne ó ghléithreibh Ghaoidheal."	the choice scions from the bright dwelling of the Gaels.)[136]

Some of these noblemen became woodkearn, the Irish equivalent of the Highland caterans, hence the poet's reference to "Coimhthionól tuatha a ttigh naomh" (a congregation of rustics in the home of Saints). The service of continental armies, into which many of them also went, is further alluded to:

"...	(...
meic ríogh ó bhionnardthoigh Bhreagh,	the sons of kings from the pleasant green house of Breagh
ionnarbthoigh dhíobh do dhéineamh.	are being made into exiles.
Do cuireadh coinnmheadh fairsing	They have been given billeting far and wide,

ortha ó Éirinn soluisslim:	away from the bright, smooth Ireland;
tighe ríogh na ttíreadh thoir	the palaces of kings of the Eastern lands
do shíol Míleadh do mhúntoir."	are made well-known to the race of Míl.)[137]

Instead of the swordsmen, they have "dírim uaibhreach eisiodhan d'fhuil Ghall" (an arrogant impure crowd, of foreigners' blood), that is, English and Lowland Scots. Ireland is seen as a golden chessboard which is destitute of its bright Gaelic chessmen. Moreover, and doubtless of primary significance to the poets, they do not support the ancient institutions of Gaelic learning:

"Ní binn leó díoghrais dána,	(They find no sweetness in devotion to poetry,
fuaim crot nó ceól orgána,	the sound of harps or the music of an organ,
'náid sdaire ríogh bheannmhúr Bhreagh,	nor the tales of the kings of Bregia of the turreted walls,
nó ríomh seanghlún a sinnsear."	nor the numbering of the ancient generations of their forefathers.)[138]

The excessiveness of the judgements against the Gaelic heroes is said to have stolen their souls and left them like half-dead corpses. Nonetheless, although the new settlers are not viewed with delight, the bard does not attempt to incite or to provoke resistance to the incomers but only to chronicle the changes. The main reason for the expulsion of the Gael is seen, at the end of the poem, to be "Díoghaltas Dé" (the vengeance of God).

"...	(...
gé atá a chlú ar chath n-allmhardha,	although its vaunt is claimed for a foreign battalion,
fearg Dé ré ccách dá ccolgadh	it is the wrath of God scourging them before all
is é is fháth dá n-ionnarbadh."	- that is the [real] cause of their expulsion.)

In a poem on a similar theme, 'Mo thruaighe mar táid Gaoidhil' (Pitiful are the Gael), Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh proposes a "new Lugh" for the salvation of Ireland from her oppressors.[139] Both poems aptly illustrate the extent to which the Irish bardic tradition was forged to Counter-Reformation Catholicism. Similar developments did not occur in Scottish Gaelic poetry until the evangelical verse of the eighteenth century.

The general secular themes of the period, that is, military concerns and increasingly, the disintegration of the Gaelic system of learning are also apparent in the work of the Scottish bardic poets. An unattributed *Crosantachd*, that is, a classical form of part prose composition and part poetry, dedicated to the renowned MacDonald warrior, Alasdair MacColla, survives in an Irish source. It is thought to have been written shortly after the Royalist victory at Kilsyth in August

1645. It is an exposition not only of the traditional hero, but of the traditional militarist, particularly MacDonald standpoint, against the imposition of Lowland fiscal and political values. Speaking of the MacDonalds, the poet writes:

"Cairt an chloidhimh dhoibh as duthchus	(The broadsword's charter is the birthright
don droing dhana;	of that bold people;
minic chuirid sios gan sela	often without seal's impression
cios is cana."	do they impose tax and tribute.)

The *Crosantachd* also advertises the Covenanting disregard for the traditional alliance of the Highlanders and the Irish for, in it, the Covenanting army states that: "marbhtur leo an began sin d'uaislibh Gaoidhiol Eireinn (sic) 7 Alban, 7 go dearbhtha go (m)benuid a chenn d'Alasdair mac Cholla" (they would slay that handful of nobles of the Gaels of Ireland and of Scotland, and that assuredly they would strike his head from off Alasdair son of Colla). However, as in the Irish poetry, this poet simply attacks the social inferiority of the Lowlanders in comparison with the Irish, and makes more of the ancient consanguinity of the Irish and Scottish Gaels.

"Ni hionnan an bhuighen bholgmhor	(Not alike on brink of battle-gap
ar bhruach mberna,	are the big-paunched folk
's na Gaoidhil ghasda Chlar Connla	and the comely Gael of Connla's plain
is o thragh Temhra.	and from the strand of Tara.
"Gaoidhil Eireann ocus Alban	The Gael of Alba and of Eire
aimsir oile,	long ago
ionann a bfremha is a bfine:	were the same in origin and in blood,
sgela ar sgoile."	as our schools relate.)

Nevertheless, it must be stressed that solidarity between the Irish and Scots Gael was largely a MacDonald phenomenon which received scant mention from poets of other clans. Even then, as has been seen from the skirmishing of the septs and clans since the end of the sixteenth century, individual sept and clan priorities came first.[140]

In the poem 'Triath na nGaoidheal' (Lord of the Gael), a eulogy to Archibald Campbell, eighth Earl of Argyll, the poet, probably one of the MacEwan bards, appears to refer to the mobilisation capabilities of the Campbells, not only in Scotland but in Ireland:

"A hÉirinn go h-imlibh Leódhais	(From Ireland to the skirts of Lewis
laoigh na ngarbhchríoch as garg gníomh	his of right are the warriors of the Rough Bounds,

leis ó chóir go h-urlamh uile: stern of deed, all ready at his word;
cungamh slóigh gach duine díobh." each of them aids a host.)[141]

While this was undoubtedly poetic convention for expressing the length and breadth of the influence of the house of Argyll, there was an element of truth in it, for a good many Campbells had settled in north and north-east Ulster during the later sixteenth century and during the Ulster plantation in the following century, while in Scotland the House of Argyll held the hereditary justiciary of the Isles.[142] When, as Lord Lorne, Archibald, the future Marquis, was deciding whether to declare for the Covenanters in early 1638, his support was dearly coveted for it was considered that he could raise the most men in Scotland. Indeed, the overall military flavour of this eulogy, referring to Argyll as "Neart an fhéinnidh ó Ear Ghaoidheal" (The might of the warrior from Argyll) and "laoch as féile d'fhéin na h-Alban" (the most generous warrior of Scotland's soldiery) probably dates it to soon after the eighth Earl's succession to his father in 1638 when he was concerned with the fortifying of his seaward positions in Kintyre against Royalist attack from Ulster.[143]

The poem 'Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban' (He hath made an intervention on Scotland's soil), also ascribed to a MacEwan, most probably Neill, was written in about 1641 or 1642 after Argyll had joined the Covenanters, and thus refers to the Marquis as "fear cabhra Gaoidheal is Gall" (he who helps Gael and Gall).[144] Significantly, the scribe of the extant copy of this poem was Irish, signing his name 'Muris O Muilghirigh' to a note at the foot of the poem. While 'Triath na nGaoidheal' expresses the hope that Archibald, the eighth Earl would patronise the Gaelic arts like his father, 'Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban' is more extensively concerned with protection of the bardic art and a personal loss. It seems to have been written as an obsequious plea to the Marquis to reinvest the poet with his hereditary lands which he had clearly seen fit to remove:

"Léigidh dhamh dúthchas m'athar, (Restore to me my father's heritage
a n-onóir ha h-ealadhan, in honour of mine art,
a ghég tarla fá thoradh, thou branch laden with fruit,
do mhéd th'anma is adhmholadh." according to the greatness of thy name and of thy praises.)[145]

Concluding perspective on the significance of classical Gaelic poetry

A significant by-product of the coerced changes in both Scotland and Ireland and the wedge which was driven between them both by James VI and I and slowly, but more insidiously, by the introduction of Protestantism to a position of power in both countries, was the demise of common classical Gaelic and the increase of the use of the vernacular or colloquial language in all written

material, including poetry.[146] The fact that Gaelic learning had been the monopolistic preserve of a group of élitist, hereditary intellectuals was to prove a death-trap to it, more particularly in Ireland after the Flight of the Earls in 1607. Irish culture found some refuge in continental monasteries, and was even used in the vanguard of the Counter-Reformation assault on Ireland, but incentive was later lost as the Counter-Reformation waned.[147] Indeed, the demise of the bardic system in Ireland has been interpreted as a by-product of the realignment of political consciousness consequent on the colonisation of Ireland by the English. The same is true, in a less obvious way, for Scotland, as the Highlands came increasingly under the sanction of the Lowland government, particularly from the passing of the General Band in 1587 which ordained that all chiefs find surety for the good behaviour of their clansmen and the regular payment of rents to the Crown. The formalism particularly imposed by the bardic order became less of a problem in the seventeenth century, as the society which upheld it disintegrated. During these times, new more flexible literary styles came to prominence while even traditional bards experimented with freer literary expression.[148] Interestingly, it was the Scottish Gaels who are said first to have broken with bardic convention, perhaps as a sign of a less exclusive cultural relationship with Ireland, yet, on the other hand, they also appear to have continued composing bardic poetry a couple of decades later than in Ireland.[149]

Throughout the course of the seventeenth century, in Ireland and Scotland, there was a gradual intrusion of less rigid metres into the poetry and the introduction of new subject matter. This naturally allowed for more originality and spontaneity. Yet, it was not until the eighteenth century that poets more commonly came from the non-literate or untrained sections of Gaelic society. Nonetheless, there are few signs that it was a painless transition for the bards. It has been suggested that Irish poetry from the mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries, evinces a profound inability to respond to colonialism. This is thought to be because the change in Ireland had been too traumatic, and too final, for the literary classes.[150] This is amply illustrated in the poems which make up the *duanairí* of two of the O'Byrne chiefs of Colranell, Feagh McHugh, and his son Féilim. At least four of the panegyrics to the former, who was chief from 1580 to 1597, adopted a rebellious Gaelic attitude towards the English but, significantly, there is little sign of this attitude in the poetry to his son. Indeed, one of the early poems in Féilim's *duanaire* expands upon the futility of fighting the English, stating that those who achieve political success in Ireland have always sought external aid. As the political stance of the O'Byrnes became more moderate, so this was reflected in the poetry to them.[151]

Given the changing and divergent political developments in Irish and Scottish Gaeldoms, it is worthy of note that bards cannot be seen laterally transferring into the Church of Ireland as occurred in Scotland. This was mainly because the survival of Irish culture was firmly bound to the Catholic religion. In Scotland, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the inter-disciplinary movement between the professional classes in Gaelic society which had been evident from the

Middle Ages, particularly in relation to the Church, operated in one direction, that is, into the Protestant Kirk. It was a route which was also being taken by other professional families such as as hereditary mediciners.

Conclusion

The survival of classical Gaelic did much to bolster the concept of the provincial unity of Gaelic Ireland and the west of Scotland, a concept which was fostered not only by the learned families but by social links between Antrim and Kintyre and, in the latter sixteenth century, by mercenary links between Irish lords in Ulster and Connacht and Scottish chiefs on the western seaboard. The concerted political attempts to rein the Irish and Scottish *Gaidhealtachd* in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the unrelenting advance of vernacular Gaelic in both countries, nonetheless, resulted in a less exclusive cultural relationship by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as well as a probable modification of the Gaelic tradition by other cultures. Greater emphasis seems to have accrued, at that time, to religious and economic links between the two countries. Within the space of less than one hundred years, the situation in Gaeldom had moved from a society whose culture had been dominated by monopolistic hereditary families and their schools, to one, soon after the outbreak of civil war, in which the professional framework of these schools no longer existed. The hereditary families had not simply monopolised the forms of cultural expression, but had fundamentally underwritten the social codes of that society and imbued it with value. That society, however, had not been valued by the ruling governments of Scotland or Ireland in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the containment of the military and political power of the Gaelic province precipitated the death of its institutions. Yet, what surprises the majority of scholars is that the power of the bards, the clearest mouth-piece of Gaelic society, did not come into full effect against that destruction. It is difficult to say why. Certainly, the profession was conservative in nature, but perhaps the conclusive nature of the changes was not so clear to the contemporary. Neither is it really possible to gauge the extent of the censoring system of the conquering nation state in terms of what was permitted to survive. What is certain is that Gaeldom was not a nation state and, therefore, its culture enjoyed none of the concomitant protection. Nonetheless, much of that culture survived outwith the Gaelic institutions, in a less constrained environment, through music and the medium of the vernacular language.

NOTES

1. John MacKechnie (editor), *The Dewar Manuscripts*, I, (Glasgow, 1963), pp. 162, 311; Derick S. Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,* (Oxford, 1983), p. 219.
2. Derick S. Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland,' *Scottish Studies*, 12, part 1, (1968), p. 75. By the fifteenth century, there was discernable movement between the learned orders in which the Church in the Highlands and Islands, as part of the nexus of temporal power, particularly of the Lordship of the Isles, shared. Attention has been drawn to a pattern of preferment to the Church, in the late medieval period, of members of hereditary families best known for their activities outside the ecclesiastical sphere, such as the MacMhuirichs or the MacDuffies, hereditary archivists to the Lords of the Isles. However, some of these preferments would appear to be have been merely devices for financial endowment for families who held hereditary office at the Court of the Lords of the Isles. (pp. 66-68.)
3. John Bannerman, *The Beatons, a medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition*, (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 106.
4. W. Gillies, 'Gaelic: the Classical Tradition,' in R. D. S. Jack (editor), *The History of Scottish Literature,* I, (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 249.
5. 'Gaelic: the Classical Tradition,' p. 257.
6. Ronald Black, 'Poems by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin (I),' *SGA*, 12, part 2, (1976), p. 196.
7. *The Dewar Manuscripts,* I, p. 318. The last manuscript known to have been written in the classical Gaelic, or Irish, script is a draft of poems by Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair. (John Lorne Campbell (editor), *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five,* The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, (Edinburgh, 1984), p. xxxiii.)
8. *The Beatons*, pp. 108-09.
9. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 75.
10. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 75; *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,* p. 147.
11. See below, section II A. The MacMhuirichs, a Scottish bardic family par excellence: Case study.
12. NLS Ms. 1304, Delvine Papers, fol. 152.
13. A. I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651: The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (editors), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 64.
14. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' p. 60.
15. 'Gaelic: the Classical Tradition,' p. 247; *CSPI,* 1574-85, p. 179.
16. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 68.
17. See introduction to Chapter 5, and section II. The Protestant initiative in the Highlands of Scotland.
18. R. L. Thomson (editor), collected by the late Angus Matheson, *Foirm na h-urnuidheadh; John Carswell's Gaelic Translation of the Book of Common Order,* Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 10.
19. See Chapter 5, section V. The Jesuit missions, and Chapter 9, section V A. Shared resources, for religious publications in Gaelic.
20. R. L. Thomson, pp. 12, 179-80.

21. For documented evidence on both, see below, section I. Extent of Scottish bardic links with Ireland.
22. R. Black, 'The Genius of Cathal MacMhuirich,' *TGSI*, 50, (1979), pp. 342-43.
23. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 74.
24. W. Gillies, 'The Classical Irish Poetic Tradition,' in *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies,* (Oxford, 1983), p. 113.
25. 'Gaelic: the Classical Tradition,' pp. 252-53.
26. See for example, Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'The Chief's Poet,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 83, section C, (1983), pp. 37-79. See also C. A. Gordon (editor), 'Letter to John Aubrey from Professor James Garden,' *SGS*, 8, (1955-58), pp. 18-26, for the Scottish tradition. For metrics see E. Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry 1200-1600*, (Dublin, 2nd edition, 1957), and B. Ó Cuiv, 'The Phonetic Basis of Classical Modern Irish Rhyme,' *Ériu*, 20, (1966), pp. 94-103. In brief, classical verse can be identified by its use of the group of syllabic metres known as 'dán,' where each four-line stanza, or 'rann' contains a definite number of stanzas, commonly seven. The position of the stresses is not important, except at the end of lines. The most exacting form of this verse, used for all the formal panegyric, was known as 'dán díreach' or 'strict dán.' ('Gaelic: the Classical Tradition,' pp. 251-52.)
27. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' p. 69.
28. For instance, the Gaelic genealogy of the MacBeths by Christopher MacBeth or Beaton, probably dating from 1660-70, which forms part of the Laing Manuscript includes partial fabrication, allowing for the inclusion and substitution of the name *Cú Bethad* for *Mac-bethad*, the eponymous ancestor of the MacBeths. The former was a descendant of the famous Niall Noígiallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages), progenitor of the powerful family of O'Neill in Ireland to whom many Gaelic families sought relation. (*The Beatons,* pp. 7-9.)
29. See below, section II A. The MacMhuirichs, a Scottish bardic family par excellence: Case study.
30. Colm Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall Mac Mharcuis,' *SGS*, 12, (1971-76), p. 183.
31. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 73, quoting S. H. O'Grady, *Catalogue of the Irish Mss. in the British Museum,* I, pp. 342-43.
32. 'Domhnall Mac Mharcuis,' p. 184. In the period leading up to the marriage of Agnes Campbell and Turlough Luineach O'Neill, he informed Piers that Scots would not come to Ireland until an agreement had been reached between them and O'Neill and that when they did, Argyll would work with O'Neill and the MacDonalds with O'Donnell. (*Scots mercenary forces,* footnote to p. 102.)
33. See, for example, the roles of Cornelius Ward in Chapter 6 and Patrick Hegarty in Chapter 8.
34. 'Domhnall Mac Mharcuis,' p. 184.
35. See Chapter 11, section II. Background to mercenary activity: pre-1560 MacDonald settlement in Antrim.
36. There is, for instance, a promontory known as *Rudha Mhic Mharcuis* in Lorn which would seem to indicate some settlement of that name there. Moreover, the area was renowned as a seat of Gaelic learning through the medical family of MacConacher, and the Campbell pipers who were authors of the Nether Lorn *canntaireachd*. See Chapter 17 for more detailed discussion of these families. Though the point may

seem contrived, MacMharcuises may, for instance, have crossed to Antrim from Lorn. (George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland,* (New York, 1989 reprint), p. 541.)

37. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 73; 'Domhnall Mac Mharcuis,' pp. 184-85.
38. 'Domhnall Mac Mharcuis,' p. 185.
39. For whom, see immediately below.
40. Angus Matheson, 'Bishop Carswell,' *TGSI*, 42, (1965), p. 201.
41. See Chapter 5, section IV. The Catholic Counter-Attack.
42. See below, however.
43. R. L. Thomson, p. 184; 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 73; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 403; Eleanor Knott, *Irish Classical Poetry,* (Cork, 1978), p. 55; John Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans of Kilbride and their Manuscripts,' *Scottish Studies*, 21, (1977), p. 17.
44. W. D. H. Sellar, 'Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale,' *Scottish Studies*, 15, (1971), pp. 21, 28, 32, 34. For an early fourteenth century *brosnachadh catha* or battle incitement for the fleet of John MacSween of Knapdale, uncertainly attributed to Artúr Dall MacGurcaigh, see Derick Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry,* (London, 1974), pp. 27-28.
45. For instance, the bardic poet Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin, poet and *seanchaidh* to the MacLeans of Duart in the later seventeenth century, was noted as 'Mildonich MacLean' in a contemporary genealogy of the MacRaes, written between 1674 and 1704. (*The Beatons,* p. 19, footnote to p. 19.)
46. R. L. Thomson, pp. 184-85.
47. Bryson represents the late syncopated Irish form Ó Bríosáin, from Ó M(ui)ríosáin.
48. T. F. O'Rahilly, 'A Hiberno-Scottish family (Ó Muirgheasáin, Morrison),' *SGS*, 5, (1938-42), p. 101. In the fifteenth century various members of the family were clerics in this diocese.
49. This appellation may also be related to the Gaelic term "cuid oidhche," meaning the right of a night's entertainment or hospitality, an exaction which could readily be associated with bards. (Edward Dwelly, *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary,* (Glasgow, 1973), p. 288.)
50. Nicholas MacLean-Bristol, 'The O'Muirgheasain Bardic Family,' *Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland and Island Historical Research*, no. 6, (March 1978), p. 3.
51. MacLean-Bristol, p. 5; Lorne Campbell, 'The O'Muirgheasain Bardic Family,' *Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland and Island Historical Research*, no. 7, (June 1978,) p. 24.
52. MacLean-Bristol, pp. 3-4. See below for further information about Maol Domhnaigh.
53. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 71.
54. Angus Matheson, 'Some notes on the Morrisons,' *Éigse*, 6, (1948-52), pp. 56-58.
55. John MacDonald, 'An Elegy for Ruaidhrí Mór,' *SGS*, 8, (1955-58), p. 28.
56. MacDonald, pp. 27-28.
57. Nicholas Canny, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1680-1750,' *Past and Present*, no. 95, (May 1982), p. 92.
58. 'The Classical Irish Poetic Tradition,' pp. 108, 110.

59. Derick S. Thomson, 'Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: the Breaking of the Mould,' in Andrew Hook (editor), *The History of Scottish Literature, II, 1660-1800*, (Aberdeen, 1987), p. 175.
60. John A. MacLean, 'The Sources, particularly the Celtic sources, for the history of the Highlands in the seventeenth Century,' (unpublished PhD, Aberdeen University, 1939), p. ii.
61. T. J. Dunne, 'The Gaelic Response to Conquest and Colonisation: The Evidence of the Poetry,' *Studia Hibernica*, 20, (1980), pp. 10-11.
62. Brendan Bradshaw, 'Native reaction to the Westward Enterprise: a case-study in Gaelic ideology,' in K. R. Andrew, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair (editors), *The Westward Enterprise*, (Liverpool, 1978), p. 66.
63. Dunne, p. 8.
64. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' pp. 72-74. It has also been pointed out that the largest number of references to lands held by MacMhuirichs relate to Kintyre. In the first half of the sixteenth century they are known to have held the lands of Kacadill (Katadill), Gardeveyne, Caprigane, Braclaid, Gartloskyn, Glak, Kildallage, Knokquhyrk and Achaquhone. The transfer of the family, according to the surviving rentals, must have occurred at some point between 1541 and 1596. In Uist, Drlomasdal and Stadhlaigearraidh were two of the areas they held into the eighteenth century. (D. S. Thomson, 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family,' *TGSI*, 43, (1966), pp. 283, 291-92, 295, 301.)
65. W. M. Currie of Balilone, *With Sword and Harp, Clan Mhurrich (Currie), The Warrior Poets,* (Milngavie, 1977), pp. 70-71, 74.
66. For whom see below.
67. D. S. Thomson, 'Niall Mòr MacMhuirich,' *TGSI*, 49, (1977), pp. 10, 11, 18, 21-23; Derick S. Thomson, 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic poets: Niall Mor, Cathal and Niall MacMhuirich,' in A. J. Aitken, M. P. McDiarmid and D. S. Thomson (editors), *Bards and Makars,* (Glasgow, 1977), p. 242; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 522.
68. 'The Genius of Cathal MacMhuirich,' *TGSI*, 50, (1979), pp. 327, 343, 354, 357.
69. Currie, pp. 82-85.
70. 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family,' p. 299; 'Niall Mòr MacMhuirich,' p. 18; 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets,' pp. 223, 233. Two mss. in his hand survive in the Royal Irish Academy and one in Trinity College, Dublin.
71. 'The Genius of Cathal MacMhuirich,' p. 333.
72. 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets,' p. 230.
73. See Chapter 11, section I B iv. MacDonalds of Colonsay.
74. Ronald Black, 'A Manuscript of Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh,' *Celtica,* 10, (1973), pp. 195, 202-03.
75. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 50-52; 'The Genius of Cathal MacMhuirich,' p. 329.
76. 'A Manuscript of Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh,' p. 196.
77. 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets,' pp. 233, 237-38.
78. 'The Genius of Cathal MacMhuirich,' pp. 337-38. Note that this technique was used by a later poet, Niall MacMhuirich, in a poem on the Red Hand Controversy, for which see Chapter 18.

79. 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets,' p. 233. A second poem of Cathal's, 'Cionnas mhaireas mé am aonar' (How shall I survive alone?) is an elegy for a poet. Although his name is given as Eóin mac Briain, which has been interpreted by previous commentators as indicating that he was Irish, Thomson points out that both of these are also MacMhuirich names. He also indicates that one 'Eóin mac Briain mhéig Mhuiridh' is stated in Niall MacMhuirich's Clanranald history to have gone to Ireland with Donald Muideartach in 1647. Moreover, Black identifies a poem in the Carmichael-Watson Ms., Edinburgh University, 135, p. 131, by a Brian MacVurich, entitled 'Oran mulaid a phriosanaich an Dunraonuill' (Melancholy song of the prisoner in Dunranald) in which, as an imprisoned poet, he pines for his Antrim home. It may, therefore, be that he returned as a captured prize from Ireland with the MacDonald force and was under house arrest, or it may simply be, as a poet, that he aligned himself with the Antrim rather than the Kintyre and Islay branch of the Clan Donald South. ('Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets,' p. 238; 'The Genius of Cathal MacMhuirich,' p. 364, footnote 39.)
80. Brian Ó Cuív, 'Some Irish items relating to the MacDonnells of Antrim,' *Celtica*, 16, (1984), p. 152.
81. Brian Ó Cuív, 'The Family of Ó Gnímh in Ireland and Scotland: A look at the sources,' *Nomina*, 8, (1984), pp. 57-58, 68-69.
82. 'The Family of Ó Gnímh in Ireland and Scotland,' pp. 58-59, 64, 67; 'Some Irish items relating to the MacDonnells of Antrim,' p. 154; J. MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick,' *Scottish Studies*, 17, (1973), p. 17.
83. 'The Family of Ó Gnímh in Ireland and Scotland,' p. 60. According to the Ó Gnímh genealogies, the preceptor of the line was one Eóin .i. Gníomh who probably lived in the second half of the fourteenth century, that is, well before the MacDonalds inherited the Glens of Antrim from Maire Biséd. Concerning the Galloway connection, there is evidence in the Scottish record, from about 1460 of Andrew Agnew, Constable of Lochnaw and Sheriff of Wigtown, being in Ulster where he and his son frequently went in their official capacity, and on private business. This was about the time that Domhnall Ballach MacDhomhnaill came into possession of the Glens from his mother. Certainly, in 1636, when a subsequent sheriff of Galloway, Sir Patrick Agnew, drew up an indenture with Sir Randal MacDonnell renewing his three townlands in the Loch of Larne, it was regranted according to the ancient bounds and limits of the same. Significant for either derivation is a grant related to the 'tuath' of Larne, dated 1624, in which John O'Gneeve and Gilbert O'Gneeve are cited as 'natives of Scotland, or of the blood of that nation.' (pp. 67-68.)
84. 'Items relating to the MacDonnells of Antrim,' pp. 152-53.
85. Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'The East Ulster Bardic Family of Ó Gnímh,' *Éigse*, 20, (1984), pp. 106-07, 109, 111, 113. Brian's earliest dateable poem is addressed to Brian Ó Néill of Clandeboye who died in 1574. ('The family of Ó Gnímh in Ireland and Scotland,' p. 58.)
86. Cunningham and Gillespie, p. 110. For a more detailed exposition of this poem see section III. Poetic evidence from the mercenary period.
87. Cunningham and Gillespie, pp. 107-09.

88. L. McKenna, S.J. (editor), 'Poem to First Earl of Antrim. By Fearflatha Ó Gnímh,' *Irish Monthly*, (June 1920), p. 315.
89. 'Items relating to the MacDonnells of Antrim,' p. 153.
90. Cunningham and Gillespie, pp. 112-13.
91. Canny, p. 93.
92. E. Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn,* I & II, Irish Texts Society, 22 & 23, (London, 1922 and 1926), pp. 272, 181.
93. Dunne, pp. 13-14; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 525.
94. For more of whom see Chapter 1.
95. Dunne, p. 15.
96. Knott, I, pp. 175, 178, and II, pp. 115-16, 118.
97. Rev. Paul Walsh, 'Worth and virtue unrequited, an Irish poet and the English,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 31, (January to June 1928), pp. 13-16, 18-20. Note that Gofraidh is a common ancestor both of the Ó Gnímhs and the MacDonalds, while the MacDonalds held the Earldom of Ross in Scotland in the early fifteenth century. (pp. 18-19.)
98. Ó Lochlainn, p. 149.
99. *CSPI*, 1586-1588, pp. 139, 145, 149-50, 153-54, 164-66, 169-79; Hayes-McCoy, pp. 171-75. See Chapter 1, section II B. The kinship factor in the contracting of mercenaries in Ulster, 1560-1593.
100. *CSPI*, 1586-1588, p. 161.
101. Ó Lochlainn, pp. 152-53.
102. *CSPI*, 1586-1588, p. 176.
103. Ó Lochlainn, pp. 154-55.
104. Equally interesting is the secondary comment on the poem that: 'To the modern reader there is an air of absurdity in the picture of an invader coming to deliver Ireland from the English power.' However, this has been aptly interpreted as a 'complimentary formula' which was not expected to be taken seriously! (O. Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry,* (Dublin, 1970), p. 161.)
105. Bergin, pp. 161-66, 287-90; Robert Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland, 1609-1615,* III, part 1, Maitland Club, (Edinburgh, 1832), pp. 2, 5-10.
106. Lambert McKenna, S.J., *Aithdioghluim Dána,* I, Irish Texts Society, 37, (Dublin, 1939), pp. xxvii-viii; Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The Poetry of Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird,' *Éigse*, 15, part 3, (1973-74), p. 235; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 525. His relationship to other members of the Donegal branch has never been clarified accurately, though he may have been the brother of Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, poet to the O'Donnells, who died in 1609. McKenna refuted O'Rahilly's suggestion that there were three poets of this name, the first of whom was dead by 1583, the second of whom was alive in 1625, and the third who was living in 1655. While the existence of three poets would seem unlikely, there were perhaps two. For if Fearghal Óg's earliest attributable work was, indeed, a poem written to Toirdhealach Luineach Ó Néill in 1567, it seems highly unlikely that this poet was still alive in 1655. The latter date probably represents the

second Fearghal Óg. (McKenna, pp. xxvii-viii.)

107. Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The Poetry of Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird,' *Éigse*, 15, part 3, (1973-74), pp. 235-36, 249; Bergin, pp. 37, 39-40, 225-27.
108. Ó Concheanainn, p. 249.
109. McKenna, I, p. xxviii. Recent commentators have suggested that he spent from 1603 to c. 1618 in Scotland at around which date he is thought to have died. (Cunningham and Gillespie, p. 111.)
110. Ó Concheanainn, footnote to p. 249.
111. McKenna, I, p. 179; Lambert McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána,* II, Irish Texts Society, 40, (Dublin, 1940), p. 105.
112. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections. There were particularly strong links between Donegal and Argyll Campbells. If Mac an Bhaird spent his exile in Argyll, this would certainly explain his inability to practise his Catholicism.
113. Ó Concheanainn, p. 250; McKenna, I, pp. 204, 206, and II, pp. 120-21. See also Chapter 18, section I. Survival of the classical tradition and the social assimilation of the Scottish bardic families, for evidence of another Mac an Bhaird in poetic controvery with a MacMhuirich at the end of the seventeenth century.
114. O'Rahilly, pp. 102-03.
115. John MacDonald, 'An Elegy for Ruaidhrí Mór,' *SGS*, 8, (1955-58), pp. 28, 40-41.
116. *CSPI*, 1592-1596, p. 353; Hayes-McCoy, pp. 245-51.
117. MacDonald, pp. 40-43.
118. *CSPI*, 1592-1596, pp. 353, 359, 364, 369, 370; Hayes-McCoy, pp. 251-54.
119. Hayes-McCoy, p. 256. For many of the places mentioned with regard to this poem, see fig. 1.9, The Counties and Baronies of Connacht.
120. John O'Donovan (editor), *Annala Rioghachta Eireann,* VI, (Dublin, 1856), pp. 1974-75.
121. MacDonald, pp. 42-43.
122. *CSPI*, 1592-1596, p. 371.
123. O'Donovan, III, p. 441, footnote z; IV, p. 1064, footnote c; VI, pp. 1974-75.
124. MacDonald, pp. 42-43.
125. MacDonald, pp. 42-43; O'Donovan, pp. 1974-75.
126. O'Donovan, pp. 1974-83; McKenna, II, p. 341.
127. Hayes-McCoy, p. 258.
128. MacDonald, pp. 44-45.
129. MacDonald, pp. 32-33.
130. For which see Seán MacAirt (editor), *Leabhar Branach. The Book of the O'Byrnes,* (Dublin, 1944), p. vii.
131. See Chapter 18, section II. The vernacular period in Ireland - poem entitled 'Dia libh, a laochradh Ghaoidheal!'
132. Bradshaw, pp. 74-78.
133. Dunne, p. 12.

134. Bergin, pp. 25-26, 219-20.

135. Bergin, pp. 115, 117, 264-65.

136. William Gillies, 'A Poem on the Downfall of the Gaoidhil,' *Éigse*, 13, (1969-70), p. 203, footnote to p. 203, 205.

137. 'A Poem on the Downfall of the Gaoidhil,' p. 205.

138. 'A Poem on the Downfall of the Gaoidhil,' pp. 205, 207.

139. 'A Poem on the Downfall of the Gaoidhil,' p. 208, footnotes to pp. 203, 210; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 526.

140. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' pp. 77-79, 83-84; W. J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry - III,' *SGS*, 2, (1927), pp. 75-77, 80-85.

141. W. J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry, IV, V,' *SGS*, 3, (1931), pp. 139, 142-43.

142. See Chapters 1, Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster, and Chapter 7, section III B. Presbyterian ministers during the Irish campaign, 1642-1648, and I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods, The History of a Clan,* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 271. The majority of information concerning Campbells in Ulster is incidental to military and religious concerns.

143. 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry - IV, V,' pp. 142-43; *Alasdair MacColla,* pp. 64, 67.

144. 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry - IV, V,' pp. 152-53; 'The MacLachlans of Kilbride,' p. 17.

145. 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry - IV, V, pp. 141, 156-57.

146. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' pp. 59-60.

147. J. TH. Leerssen, 'Archbishop Ussher and Gaelic Culture,' *Studia Hibernica*, 22 & 23, (1982-83), p. 53.

148. Dunne, pp. 8-9; Grant, p. 191.

149. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' p. 59; A. J. Hughes, 'The seventeenth-century Ulster/Scottish contention of the Red Hand: background and significance,' in Derick S. Thomson (editor), *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony,* Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Languages of Scotland, (University of Glasgow, 1988), p. 83.

150. Dunne, p. 30.

151. Bradshaw, pp. 68, 75, 78.

CHAPTER 17
CULTURAL LINKS, 1560-1760: OTHER PROFESSIONAL FAMILIES

Introduction

After the bardic tradition, Gaelic medicine and music were probably the most vital in the orders of classical Gaelic learning. The Gaelic musical tradition was almost unique in being able to accommodate both a Gaelic and English-speaking audience at once. Patronage of music crossed cultural frontiers and can be seen as a counterpart to the more exclusive cultural solidarity exhibited by the bards. The social and cultural relationship which existed between Ulster and the west coast of Scotland was multi-faceted inasmuch as the Irish-speaking musician did not play exclusively to Highland patrons when in Scotland. In Ireland, a sharper division existed, by the later seventeenth century, between Gaelic music and the music based on current European fashions, popular with the colonists in the larger towns, which has been labelled Anglo-Irish. This musical distinction was yet another aspect of the political and cultural separation of the native Gael and the incomer. However, the divide was partially bridged with the patronage of harpers by educated settler families and, in the eighteenth century, by the urban gentry's growing interest in native Irish music and folksong.[1]

Conversely, at the beginning of this period, medicine remained more exclusively within the Gaelic cultural province. The Irish medical schools continued to attract Scots to finish the medical training which they had often pursued for many years in their native land. However, 'the evidence for such traffic from Ireland to Scotland is slight compared with that in the other direction.'[2] Although this comment is made with reference to the early seventeenth century, it holds well enough for the late sixteenth century, as well as the centuries prior to this. For Ireland was regarded as the mother of the Gaelic institutions. There is some evidence for movement in the other direction, but it is sparse.[3] This is because by the early seventeenth century, the Gaelic medical tradition in the Highlands of Scotland increasingly looked towards Lowland society, rather than Ireland, both for training and clientèle and was obliged to relegate the classical herbal medicine to second place. Unlike music, when Gaelic medicine opened up its cultural frontiers, this marked the end for traditional medicine.

In Gaelic Scotland there were three main medical families - the MacBeths, the O'Conachers or MacConachers of Lorn, and the O'Donlevys or MacDonlevys of Cowal.[4] The name 'leech' was often used to denote a doctor, as in 'Mac an lighiche' or 'Mac an leagha.' However, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the word *ollamh* which was originally the highest grade in the poetic hierarchy, had also come to be associated almost exclusively with medicine, so that 'Mac an ollaimh' usually meant 'son of the physician.' At the end, as in the beginning, of the hereditary

system, the lines of professional delineation were somewhat liquid, in terminology as in personnel. Thus, the "John oig Mcmurquhie" who appears as "leiche in Ilay" in 1615, was a descendant of the MacMhuirich bardic family. It is also evident from the medical tracts that there was a certain solidarity and interchange among the medical families. For part of manuscript 60 of the Kilbride collection - known as O'Conacher of Lorn's manuscript - is thought to have been written by a MacBeth, Angus son of Farquhar son of Angus, while another part was written by a 'Donnchadh mac dubhsleibhte,' who was probably an O'Donlevy. Yet another sixteenth-century O'Conachar manuscript ends up in the hands of one Malcolm McBeath. So too, a "Iollan Maigbheatha" was present in 1596 at the writing of a Gaelic medical manuscript written in the main by Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair, physician to the MacDougalls of Dunollie, at Aghmacart, Upper Ossory in County Kilkenny, Leinster, where the Irish branch of the Ó Conchobhairs resided.[5]

I. THE MEDICAL TRADITION

A. Irish physicians in Scotland

However, there is but little surviving evidence of native Irish physicians in Scotland. One James Owhegarty (Ó hágartaigh), identified as an "Irelandman borne, leiche" testified before the King and Privy Council in Stirling, on 16 June 1579, at an inquiry into the death of John, Earl of Atholl. The less Gaelic-sounding Edward Fleming was, nonetheless, clearly a Gaelic speaker for he seems to have trained with James Beaton of Dervaig in Mull, in the early seventeenth century. He may, given his surname, have been descended from a Scottish family of Flemings.[6] Lower down the medical hierarchy there appear to have been men trained in a particular speciality only, such as bladder stone removal. Even lower than this, in social standing, were those described by James Fraser, minister of Wardlaw and Kirkhill, in his *Polichronicon* as "traversing sharltons out of Ireland." He blamed Mr. John Sholes, one of these charlatans, for the death of Isobel Wemyss, the widow of Sir Hugh Fraser of Lovat, who died in 1636. The name Sholes may be a form of Sheils, an anglicisation of Ó Siadhail, which was a renowned medical surname in Ireland, the Ó Siadhail primarily being leeches to the O'Doghertys of Inishowen in the north of Donegal but also in evidence throughout Ulster.[7]

B. Scottish medical families: Case studies

The main medical family was that of MacBeatha, the MacBeths or Beatons.[8] The majority of the information for the island division, is based around a number of pedigrees in the Laing collection of manuscripts,[9] while the mainland division is amply documented in *An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Bethunes of the Island of Sky*. In terms of continuity of lineage and service, this is

the only other hereditary family which approaches the supremacy of the MacMhuirich bards. The kin-group, which naturally fell into a western Isles and a mainland line (which includes the Skye Beatons), practised as doctors in Gaelic Scotland from the early fourteenth to the eighteenth century, though had probably been practising in Ireland from the early thirteenth century. There were MacBeth branches in Islay, Mull, North Uist, South Uist and Skye, Bute and Culnaskea in Easter Ross. There were others, who cannot be traced to either of the two main lines, in Kinloid, near Arisaig, and in Glenconvinth, near Beaufort Castle. While in Gaelic the name was 'MacBeatha' or later 'MacBethadh,' 'son of life,' from the second half of the sixteenth century Beaton began to be adopted as a surname in the non-Gaelic field. The timing of this development is significant in terms of the changing perspective in the Highlands, as Scottish Gaeldom was drawn into the Lowland sphere and a battle began for the control of various traditional clan homelands on the western seaboard. Beaton was never used in Ireland where it has been put forward that, in the sixteenth century, members of the family called themselves 'Mac an leagha' which they anglicised as 'MacLeay.' According to the MacBeth pedigrees, by the late medieval period the majority of the family in Ireland lived in County Sligo in Connacht but, Christopher Beaton, the writer of the Laing pedigrees, and James Beaton who wrote down his own pedigree in Sleat in 1588, both insisted that their ancestors came originally from Achadh Dubhthaigh or Achadowey, south of Coleraine, in County Derry, in the territory of Uí Catháin.[10]

However, the evidence of the above-mentioned pedigrees opens up the question of the progeniture of the Ulster members of the family. For traditionally, the MacBeths are held to have come to Scotland from Ulster in the bridal retinue of the daughter of Ó Catháin who, in 1300, married Aonghus Òg of the Isles.[11] However, the tendency in Scotland to explain families of unknown derivation as having come to the Highlands and Islands in the wedding retinue of Aine Ní Chatháin is as ubiquitously misused as the tendency in Ulster to suggest that families of unknown origin came there with the MacDonnells.[12] Moreover, the alleged use of 'Mac an leagha' by members of the family in Ulster is hardly definitive of their derivation from a line of MacBeths. Over 20 medical families are noted in north and west Ireland in the sixteenth century. The name 'Mac an leagha' is noted in Sligo where the majority of the Irish MacBeths allegedly lived, and 'Mac Beatha' is noted in nearby Mayo, both in Connacht.[13] 'Mac an leagha' appears more as a generic term for a medical man. Indeed, the same popular etymology, that is 'son of the physician' has been proffered for the names 'MacLae, MacLay, MacClay, MacLea and MacLeay' in Scotland, but that name can be shown to derive from 'MacDhunnshleibhe' or 'son of Donnshleibhe,' a popular forename with Irish and Scottish Gaels. Thus, those who were called 'Mac an leagha' in Ulster might as readily, given the existence of other Argyll families there,[14] have been originally Argyll MacLeays as MacBeths. The Argyll MacLeays, in their turn, appear to have been an offshoot of the MacSweens of Knapdale according to the sixteenth-century Irish *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (The Book of the MacSweeneys). More particularly, 'Macleay,' the nearest anglicisation in Scotland to the form of

the name in Ulster, reputedly came from the descendants of Ferchard Leche who held lands in Assynt in Sutherland in 1386.[15] Nonetheless, the MacBeths certainly enjoyed the patronage of the Lords of the Isles and various branches of the family emerge in disparate territories of the Lordship. A branch of the MacBeths also served the MacLeans. A letter from John MacLean to Wodrow in 1701 indicates that "Our Physicians were Beatons both in Mull and Ilay, of whose skill and acts they talk great things. They were expert schollars both in Irish and Latine, but had English ne'er a word."[16] Significantly, perhaps, the Mull branch returns the argument full circle to a connection with the MacLeays, for MacLeay was later anglicised as Livingstone, and the ancestors of David Livingstone, the explorer, were MacLeays from Mull.[17] There may, therefore, be a particular connection between the Mull MacBeths and the Mac an Leaghs in Ulster.

Surviving evidence of MacBeth connections with Ireland from the later sixteenth century indicates specific links with Ireland in two cases, one from Mull and one from Islay. Donald MacBeth of the MacBeths of Pennycross in Mull, who took over from his father Malcolm sometime after 1603, is known to have been in Ireland. Donald wrote a tail-piece to one of his father's manuscripts, in Donegal, and signing himself "Domhnall mac an ollaimh." The book is identified as *Leabhair Giolla Cholaim Meig beathadh* (Gille-Coluim MacBeth's book). Donald states his companions in Donegal to have been "Donnchadh Ulltach" and "Pfronsies Ulltach" since he could "get no one to discuss a single word since they departed." (nach bfuigim cunntafart do chuir an en focul a d'iomagh siad.) They have been identified as probable members of the MacDonley or O'Donlevy family who were hereditary physicians to the O'Donnells of Tirconnell in Donegal, because the epithet 'Ulltach' had identified members of that family from the end of the fourteenth century.[18] The Laing manuscript itself, a medical manuscript, also evinces connections with Ireland, having been written for John MacBeth of Ballenabe in Islay by Cairbre Ó Ceandamháin (O'Canavan) in about 1563 when an accompanying volume was also written for him by the same person, as well as Aedh Ó Ceandamháin and Dáibhí O'Kearney. Clearly, then, John MacBeth had connections with the Ó Ceandamháins, physicians to the O'Flahertys in South Connacht and the Kearneys, a hereditary family from Mayo. This makes it likely that John MacBeth had himself been in Ireland and had probably been to the Ó Ceandamháin school, and others in the west of the country. As well as the Mac an Leaghas in Sligo, he was probably related to the MacBeths practising in Mayo during the sixteenth century. Members of this family have been identified in 1591 and 1593, when receiving pardons from the English authorities, as Gille-Coluim and Hugh, son of James, MacBeth. There was, further, a Iollann MacBeth at the Ó Conchobhair school at Aghamacart in 1596 who was probably a member of this family.[19] The last MacBeth who is noted as going to Ireland a century later in 1700, was James Beaton, the episcopal minister of Kilninian in Mull who was fleeing presbyterianism.[20]

A good deal of information about both the MacBeths and the Ó Conchobhairs of Lorn comes from the collected manuscripts of the MacLachlans of Kilbride, a hereditary Gaelic family with an ecclesiastical bent who collected Gaelic manuscripts, and were a branch of the MacLachlans of Craiginterve in Argyll, initially a medical family but who later also tended towards the Kirk. Some of these reveal the family's connections with Ireland. The Kilbride collection, for instance, contains a large medical tract written in Ireland in about 1596-97 by "Donnchadh ua Concubhair." This Ó Conchobhair was born in 1571 and died at Dunstaffnage in 1647. It has been suggested that the Ó Conchobhairs appeared relatively late in Scotland because of the fluctuation of the name between *Ó* and *Mac*. Moreover, it has been postulated that the progenitor of the Scottish family may have been brought over on the recommendation of a MacBeth visiting in Ireland. Certainly, a connection between the two families is apparent for Angus MacBeth of Husabost in Skye trained with Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair from 1611 to 1614.[21] Yet, it has also been used to explain their lack of dispersion, for they are associated almost exclusively with Airdoran on the north shore of Loch Feochan in Kilbride. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ó Conchobhairs operated in two locations, in Nether Lorn, holding Airdoran of the house of Argyll, and in Middle and Upper Lorn, where they seem to have resided at Dunollie Beg, working as physicians to the MacDougalls of Dunollie. They also had the patronage of the Campbells of Dunstaffnage who were, in the early seventeenth century, related by marriage to the MacDougalls, and of the Campbells of Cawdor.[22]

Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair (1571-1647) went to Ireland for his training, which he received under his namesake Duncan Óg Conchobhair, the head of the Irish family, at Aghmacart in Upper Ossory, where he had his school. Duncan Óg was chief *ollamh* in medicine to the MacGillapatricks or Fitzpatricks, native Irish rulers of Upper Ossory, though the family had submitted to English rule.[23] Not surprisingly, Donnchadh was known in Ireland as Donnchadh Albannach. According to the dates of some of his surviving manuscripts he was definitely there from 1596 to 1599, but students started in medical schools as children and continued for up to twenty years. This part of Duncan's training would, however, have been undertaken in Scotland. Some details can be deduced of his training in Ossory. Part of it was to copy Bernard Gordon's *Prognostica*, which he did at Baile Cuad in Ossory. The same exercise was later given to Angus Beaton of Husabost who began his training with the Scottish Donnchadh in 1611. He also had to transcribe the same author's *Lilium Medicinae*. He was helped in a large part of the scribing by Gille-Padruig, Duncan Óg's son, and Cathal, son of Conn Ó Duinnshléibhe, whose family were physicians to the O'Donnells in Ulster. Another manuscript copy, of *De Chirurgia* of Petrus de Argellata, shows that he began the transcription at Baile mhic Cathail on 14 January 1599 and finished it at around Easter in Daire Leac an Fiach, both in Ossory. The changes in location probably coincide with visits to the patients being treated by his teacher.[24]

Evidence in a colophon written in 1590 by an Irish member of the Ó Conchobhairs, Richard Ó Conchobhair, shows definite indication of a preference for the kin-based or tanist system of succession to possessions. He wrote: "I bequeath possession of this volume in conformity with the custom of men of science, namely, it shall not be given to the descendant who is oldest in years or richest, unless he be also the most learned." The Ó Conchobhairs of Nether Lorn also inherited their lands from the Campbells of Argyll in similar fashion, throughout most of the seventeenth century. This was still so with the Mull MacBeths during the same century, at a time when most territorial lords only recognised the system of primogeniture.[25]

Only one connection with Ireland has been noted on the medical side for the MacLachlans themselves, though so much information about other medical families has been derived from them. This relates to manuscript 35 of the Kilbride collection which was written in about 1654 by the Irishman Edmond MacLaghlain. Indeed, this might be an instance of movement from Scotland to Ireland with the settlement of Argyll MacLachlans in Ireland during the plantation.[26]

The last medical family with offshoots in Gaelic Ireland and Scotland is that of O'Donlevy or MacDonlevy in Cowal. The most famous family of the name were hereditary physicians to the O'Donnells of Tirconnell in Donegal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but a MacDonlevy has been noted as early as 1395 when, on his death, he was described as chief physician of Ulster. So too, in 1600, the hereditary surgeons to MacCarthy Mór seem to be descendants of this family, known as 'Aulyves als O'Leavies,' who held three ploughgates of land in Muskerry, County Cork, in Munster.[27] However, their Irish origins as a medical family, are not fully proven. In Scotland, they practised in Cowal in the sixteenth century. There appears to be no surviving evidence, as yet discovered, of Scottish members of the family visiting Ireland, though they may have done so, and the latter representatives of the family seem to have lost their position as Surgeon and Physician in Ordinary to Lamont at Inveryne, in Cowal, of whom they held the 5-merk land of Achnaskioch in the mid-seventeenth century.[28]

Social transformation of the Scottish Gaelic medical tradition

Though the seventeenth century marked the high point in the development of herbal medicine, and the late seventeenth, and eighteenth, centuries saw the emergence of experimental method in medicine, the writing had been on the wall for Scottish Gaelic medicine since the late sixteenth century.[29] Other than that they underwent training with established physicians, little of a specific nature is known about the methods of Gaelic medical education. Information surviving in relation to Neill Beaton, physician in Lusta, Skye, would seem to indicate that he was at least up to date on medical texts of the late seventeenth century. In 1695, Martin Martin wrote that Neill was aware of the *Practice of Medicine*, one of the two standard medical texts used in Scottish Universities in the

late seventeenth century, written by Lazarus Rivierius, professor of medicine at Montpellier. He also stated that Fergus Beaton, in South Uist, one of the last classically trained Gaelic physicians, possessed ancient manuscripts in Irish character by Avicenna, Averroes, Joannes de Vigo, Bernardus Gordonus, and Hippocrates, though these texts were more representative of late medieval medicine. Nonetheless, the body of knowledge available to Gaelic physicians ultimately failed to keep pace with scientific developments. This can be amply illustrated by a fragment from a lost astronomical treatise, ascribed to one of the MacMhuirich family, which still indicated that the sun revolved round the earth.[30] This notwithstanding, the demise of the Gaelic medical tradition, in the early seventeenth century, probably had as much to do with the political situation in the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd* and the increasing attraction of the Lowland sphere than in any overwhelming deficiency in the tradition. It probably also suffered from the inevitable decline in patronage of the Irish medical schools after the Flight of the Earls in 1607, which must have made it more difficult to send Scottish Gaelic physicians to Ireland for training. The first hereditary family to stop practising medicine traditionally were the MacLachlans of Craiginterve, physicians to the house of Argyll, who appear to have stopped by 1606 when Duncan MacLachlan was indentured to an apothecary in Edinburgh. The MacBeths of Glenconvinth and Ballenabe also ceased to practise in the early seventeenth century, and the MacBeths of Husabost in about 1650 when the last professional physician of the main line of Beatons, Angus MacBeth, died though later members of the family practised in a more natural capacity. In Mull, the last fully-flown MacBeth physician, John, died in 1657 and those who came after him though trained in the classical style, were not of the same calibre for the system itself was no longer intact. The last classically trained MacBeth in Culnaskea was Neill who was dead by 1663 and there is no evidence specifically to suggest that his son John was a physician.[31]

Exponents of the old practices survived just into the eighteenth century, which confines the decline of the Scottish Gaelic medical tradition within the bounds of a century. Fergus Beaton of South Uist was still practising in a professional capacity in April 1700 and it may also be that Donald Beaton, who signed a medical certificate for Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat, in September 1716 was classically trained though this is not proved. Although there were now no functioning medical schools, many of the MacBeths or Beatons were still medically oriented but often integrated themselves into other disciplines which were respected among the learned classes. As some of the last custodians of classical Gaelic learning, they still performed tasks of a general scholarly nature, such as the witnessing of writs. John Beaton, who was minister of Kilninian, in Mull in 1679, as well as a practising physician, fell heir to the Pennycross manuscripts some time towards the end of the seventeenth century, as the last surviving scholar of Gaelic learning in the family. By 22 April 1700 he was in Coleraine, County Derry, having left or been ousted as an episcopal incumbent, following the Revolution. He took some of his manuscripts with him, for they were viewed there, earlier in the same year, by the scholar Edward Lhuyd. John MacLean and the majority of the

manuscripts he had taken with him probably returned from Ireland in about 1710, for he was living in Torrelock, Kilninian at his death in 1714. He is regarded as the end of the scholarly line, even though there were Beatons who continued to practise medicine for a while afterwards.[32]

Christopher MacBeth or 'MacVeagh' as he preferred to anglicise the name himself, the author of the Laing pedigrees, is thought to be of the North Uist Beaton family who were employed by the MacDonalds of Sleat. Significantly, the Black Book of Clanranald, the better part of which he, himself, wrote between 1702 and 1715, suggests that in his later life, that is, the late seventeenth century, he was tutor to a family of MacDonnells in Antrim. It may, indeed, be that his family were more genealogists and historians. Certainly, these were his interests, though it has been suggested that he may have had a son Fergus who was a poet, for there is a bardic lament to the Armagh poet, Patrick MacAlionduin, who died in 1733, which is attributed to Fearghus MacBeatha.[33]

From this period the transition and the necessity to the use of English rather than Gaelic and Latin in *seanchus* can also be seen, for an English *History of the MacDonalds*, biased heavily in favour of the MacDonalds of Sleat, appeared in English at some time in the reign of Charles II, ascribed to one Hugh MacDonald. A particular connection with the MacBeths has also been suggested in that this family receives greater attention than other learned families. Indeed, though the name MacBeth had sufficient genealogical distinction of its own, if Hugh MacDonald assumed the surname of his patron as a personal gesture of identification with the clan, in that the *History* was available to a larger Lowland audience, it is possible that Aodh MacBeth, father of Christopher MacBeth, is the said Hugh MacDonald. The disjointed style has led to the likely suggestion that it was compiled from a motley of Gaelic originals accrued from the body of historical material common to the Gaelic learned orders.[34] It would seem almost certain that its appearance was timed to support the MacDonalds of Sleat in their bid to retain the nominal chieftaincy of the Clan Donald and to counter that of MacDonnell of Glengarry and Aros who, in the 1660s and 70s, sought to wrest the title from them. It would have been necessary, in these circumstances, to put forward their case to the English-speaking public, who may have feared the reappearance of undue political ambition on behalf of the MacDonalds in the Highlands and Islands to the upset of the precarious stability maintained there by Argyll in the post-Restoration period.[35]

II. FROM GAELIC EXCLUSIVITY: MUSIC

Music, on the other hand, did not manifest such exigence of translation from one culture to another. As the famous Scottish harpers such An Clàrsair Dall and Murchadh Clàrsair perfected their craft and went on tour in Ireland, Irish harpers also came to Scotland because there was a similar Gaelic-

speaking aristocracy to patronise their art. As guardians of the Gaelic tradition, harpers and bards in particular were regarded with awe in Ireland by the English authorities, and in the latter years of Elizabeth I's reign there were proclamations designed to destroy their power. These were reiterated under James VI and I, in 1604, in a likely attempt to curb the use of itinerant harpers as messengers and agents following the battle of Kinsale. The Scottish circuit probably became more important after 1603, with the beginning of the break up of the old Gaelic aristocracy in Ireland, when the security of household patronage was removed from many musicians who, thenceforth, had to earn their living as itinerant entertainers. In Ireland, harpers continued to be regarded with suspicion in Cromwellian times, so that all harpers, pipers and travelling musicians had to obtain written permission to travel from local magistrates. Though they were custodians of an exclusively Gaelic tradition, nonetheless, its popularity extended beyond the *Gaidhealtachd.* Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, when they were patronised by Protestants as well as Irish and Old English families, harpers seem to have been regarded as less of a threat. However, little is known of the kind of music practised in the Gaelic world from 1200 to 1600 whether in conjunction with the bardic schools or in schools of harping, if indeed the latter existed. In Ireland, though harpers and harp playing are frequently mentioned in official papers, only some thirty melodies have been identified for the period prior to 1700, none actually notated by the original composers, and including some whose authenticity has been questioned.[36] It may be that because charismatic musical skill was innately a matter of inner interpretation as well as technical skill (which was the only thing that could systematically be taught in a school) that then, as now, individuals simply attached themselves to gifted players. Nonetheless, there is evidence of such skill continually re-emerging in certain families such as that of the Ó Catháins which boasted the famous Ruairí Dall Ó Catháin (c. 1550-1650), Echlin Ó Catháin (1729-c.1790) and the less illustrious Brighid Ní Chatháin who was the first teacher of the more renowned Denis O'Hampsey from County Derry in the first decade of the eighteenth century.[37]

Moreover, since traditional music mainly has an unwritten heritage, it is difficult to pinpoint the similarity between the original Gaelic style and what is now regarded as traditional. Few examples of written Irish traditional music, as Scottish, exist before the eighteenth century. It has been suggested that there is probably the greatest degree of correlation between the traditional Gaelic style and the written material in the extant music of the harpers, 'for the importance of their place in earlier society was such that the custom of encouraging harp music continued for a century and a half after the disappearance of the bardic schools, in spite of various attempts to suppress it.'[38] Technically, part of the decline of the ancient art of harping was marked by the increasing use of the flesh of the fingers in the eighteenth century, for the Gaelic harp - Irish and Highland - was traditionally played with long fingernails, the strings then being made of bronze.[39] Similarly, little is known about *pìobaireachd* or the classical music of the Highland bagpipe until the mid-sixteenth century, a form which developed exclusively in the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd.* The beginning of the

period under view also heralds the evolutionary stage of *pìobaireachd*, without the complexities which accrued to it by the end of the sixteenth century.[40]

During the second half of the sixteenth century evidence survives of patronage of Irish harpers in the court of Uisdean, son of Angus Fionn, the North Uist descendants of Donald Herrach and cousins of the Sleat MacDonalds. According to oral tradition, during the chiefship of Donald Gormeson of Sleat (1539-1575), Uisdean moved his residence from Balranald to Griminish which became the cultural centre of North Uist for the sixteenth century. The Hebridean harper Murchadh Clàrsair lived and taught here and was even said to be an Irishman. No evidence is known of any family connections there but he may have accompanied the MacDonald mercenaries to Ireland. One of the songs assigned to him by oral tradition, 'Caismeachd mhic Iain 'ic Sheumais' or battle march of MacIain 'ic Sheumais, treats of the heroic deeds of Donald MacIain 'ic Sheumais, a kinsman of Clanranald and tacksman of Eriskay. The song deals with his heroism in the Irish wars against the forces of Elizabeth I and is composed in the vernacular:

"'S e'n curaidh bha thall an iomairt na lann,
'S e'n curaidh nach mall an treubhantas thu;
Bho bhratach na srol 's do chlaimdeamh 'nad dhorn,
Bu bhaganta feumail foghuinnteach thu;
Bha'n lainnire riabhach seachduinn no dha,
An aobhar nan cas ag asluchadh leat;
Fann Shasunnaich dhall a dhruideadh's an fhang,
'S an ridire cam a dh'aiseagadh leo."

(The hero is here, who fought through the fray,
The hero is here, of highest renown;
Neath standard of silk, you held high the sword,
Skilled, stalwart and bold in leading your men;
Your blade flashed like fire, for two weeks of war,
A bright beam of light, that lit up the field;
It penned up like sheep the Queen's Army there,
And cut down their knight whose back was so bent.)[41]

Also resident at Griminish during the first half of the seventeenth century was the poet and harper Fearchar Ruadh mac Iain 'ic Mhurchaidh who composed the eulogy 'Oran do Alasdair mac Cholla' (Song to Alasdair mac Cholla). Evidence in the chorus of the song, also written in the vernacular language, seems to indicate that Fearchar and MacCholla grew up together, or at least that the harper had visited Antrim at some time:

"O Alasdair, gu fannain riut
Le fidheal, cruit 'us clarsach;
Gu'm b'aithne dhomh 'nam leanabh thu
An glinn na sgirean Antrumach."

(O, Alasdair, I'll play for you
On fiddle, harp of clarsach;
I knew you well when we were young
In County Antrim's shady glens.)[42]

The famous An Clàrsair Dall or blind harper, Ruaidhrí MacMhuirich (or Mac Gille Mhoire), usually anglicised Roderick Morison, who was born the son of Iain mac Mhurch' 'c Ailein, tacksman of Bragar in Lewis in 1646, also visited Ireland. He was a descendant of Allan, the last of the twelve hereditary brieves of Lewis and was sent to Ireland to pursue his study of the harp.[43]

A vernacular lament also survives, entitled 'Clàrsair Mhic Dhomhnuill an Eirinn' (MacDonald's harper in Ireland), which records an apparent sojourn in Ireland probably by one of the Ó Senóg family, harpers to the Lords of the Isles, who held the lands of Lyell and Lephinstrath in Kintyre until the mid-eighteenth century.[44] The harper indicates that:

"'S gur mise tha brònach,
'S mi nam ònar an Eirinn

'S mi tarruing na clàrsaich,
Le pràmh bhar nan geugan

(Though I am sad,
by myself in Ireland

And I hang the harp
with melancholy from the branches)

it still does not sing songs of gladness to him but rather laments those loved ones who have departed.[45] This is, perhaps, an indication that the visit occurred in close proximity to the loss of a prominent MacDonald though the allusion is no longer clear.

Much of the specific information which survives in relation to Irish harpers from the late sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century comes from Edward Bunting. Bunting, an organist working in Belfast and originally from County Armagh, was employed at the end of the eighteenth century by Henry Joy and Dr. James MacDonnell both of whom did much to preserve and record the native Irish tradition.[46]

One of the best known Irish harpers of this early period, who lived mainly in Scotland as his adopted home, was Ruairí Dall Ó Catháin or blind Rory O'Cahan.[47] He was a member of a noble family from County Derry and it has been alleged that he lived for the long span of about 100 years, from 1550 to 1650.[48] While this is not impossible, it is likely that he was born later for the dating of his birth in the second half of the century is based on the appearance of his tunes in the Lute-book of Gordon of Straloch, compiled about 1629 and the Skene Manuscript, written between

1615 and 1630. He may, therefore, not have been born until the final decades of the sixteenth century.[49] Ruairí Dall's connection with Scotland was, doubtless, facilitated by Scottish mercenary connections in Ulster where the O'Cahans were allies of the MacDonnells.[50]

Several dates and theories have been proferred by secondary commentators for Ó Catháin's arrival in Scotland.[51] Perhaps the most convincing argument has been made for 1617 when James VI made his only return to Scotland after he had left for Court in London. Much of the argument is based around the Eglinton family, the lady of whom is said by Arthur O'Neill to have been visited shortly after Ó Catháin's arrival in Scotland.[52] With the decline in visiting mercenaries in need of entertainment following the conclusion of the Ulster rebellion in 1602 and more particularly, the decline in native Irish patronage following the Flight of the Earls in 1607, Ó Catháin may have sought new audiences in Scotland. Indeed, one of the main differences between the mainstream Gaelic bardic and medical traditions, and the musical one, is that the latter attracted significant non-Gaelic patronage. Arthur O'Neill's anecdote amply illustrates the dignity of Gaelic learned office which was, in Ó Catháin's case, supported by noble birth. This distinction was clearly not understood and observed by 'polite' Lowland society. According to O'Neill's report, Ruairí Dall took a notion to visit Scotland in the company of his retinue where he made "visits in the style of an Irish chieftain," one of which was to a Lady Eglinton. She, "not knowing his rank in a peremptory manner demanded a tune which he declined, as he only came to play to amuse her, and in an irritable manner left the house. However, when she was informed of his consequence she eagerly contrived a reconciliation and made an apology, and the result was that he composed a tune for her ladyship, the handsome tune of 'Da Mihi Manum (Give me your hand)' for which his fame spread through Scotland."[53] Although the location of the encounter is unspecified, the seat of the Earl of Eglinton was Eglinton Castle at Kilwinning in Ayrshire. It has been argued, however, that the encounter is more likely to have taken place at their house in Glasgow when the King visited them there in 1617, for the King was said to have been delighted by Ó Catháin's playing.[54] A MacDonnell manuscript asserts that Colla Ciotach married a lady of the O'Cahans of Dunseverick. As the strongest force in the Route in 1565, it seems that the MacDonnells garrisoned the fortress of Dunseverick but the O'Cahans, the previous occupants, actually held the castle until the Cromwellian period when the owner was put to death for his part in the war of 1641.[55] The account, taken from the oral tradition, affirms the last O'Cahan of Dunseverick as Gilladuff, or An Giolla Dubh Ó Catháin, but the most interesting information follows: 'Gilladuff had two sons, Torlough, who was hanged with his father in Carrickfergus, and Rory Dall (or Blind Rory), who escaped to the Highlands, and is said to have changed his name to Morrison. He was a great musician - he could play on both harp and bagpipes. He was much respected by the Highland gentry, and was called 'Rory, the Irish harper.'[56]

Ruairí Dall then spent much of the remainder of his life in Scotland, earning his living composing tunes or *puirt* for Scottish nobles. A possible thirteen tunes survive which have been credited to Ruairí Dall Ó Catháin, of which his 'Port Atholl,' 'Port Gordon' and 'Port Lennox' are most famous.[57] The mixture of Highland and Lowland names referred to is, once again, ample testimony to the way in which Gaelic music crossed cultural boundaries. The last date at which Ruarí Dall is thought to have been living is 1650 when John Gunn's *Historical Enquiry respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands* refers to a Ruairidh Dall Morrison. Since An Clàrsair Dall was not born until 1657 this is generally thought to refer to the Irish harper. On this occasion Ó Catháin is said to have accompanied the Marquis of Huntly on a visit to Robertson of Lude, and composed the tune 'Suipeir Tighearna Leòid' (the Laird of MacLeod's supper).[58] However, there is always a possibility that this refers to an intermediary harper born after Ó Catháin and before An Clàrsair Dall who has not previously been noted. The former might, indeed, have had a son.[59] Ruairí Dall is thought to have died in Scotland though O'Neill's statement that it was in the house of MacDonald of Sleat is generally discredited in light of other embroideries concerning a harp-key given to a namesake of his over a century later.[60]

Given that Ó Catháin was composing at a time when other Irish arts were undergoing a process of transition, which in poetry marked the decline of the classical language and the beginning of the use of the vernacular, what evidence is there of a move from the classical harper tradition in his work? Unfortunately, little is actually known of what the classical harper tradition was. In terms of musical analysis, it has been pointed out that all of Ó Catháin's tunes have 'the same characteristically unsymmetrical phrase construction, with a second strain several bars longer than the first,' which, thus, differ from more modern tunes in that they clearly did not follow the rhythm of a poem or the pattern of a dance. He may have been innovating in composing these tunes, and following a simultaneous trend in Europe which, from the end of the sixteenth century no longer only saw music written to be sung to words but saw the first published collection of instrumental music. Although its construction is highly regularised, unsymmetrical phrase construction is also surely an element of the classical *pìobaireachd*? Therefore, it may be more likely that Ó Catháin was composing in the classical Gaelic musical tradition then current.[61]

A 'shieling story' or story from the oral tradition, told in relation to the composition of the *pìobaireachd* 'The Finger Lock,' seems to identify another Irish harper in the west Highlands during this period. It states that: "Two men of the name Robert and David were brought from Ireland by the Earl of Cawdor when he was the proprietor of Muckairn, and they had from him the farm of Scuil for their services. David was a superior harper and Robert was armourer." Both the general dating of the composition of *pìobaireachd* as an art form and the fact that Campbell of Cawdor was proprietor of Muckairn would seem to date this story to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. According to the tale the two men settled in the Highlands for "Malcolm, the son of

Robert, had a splendid musical ear and he was sent by the Earl to Mull to learn the music of the pipes from MacDuillidh."[62]

Worthy of note, in terms of the diversification of Gaelic culture, is the absence of *pìobaireachd* or *ceòl mòr* in the Irish pipe music tradition, though the Irish appear to have played the same instrument. Both the depiction of the Irish bagpipes in the Monasterevin missal of 1501, and the piper in the woodcut in John Derricke's *Image of Irelande* of 1581, show instruments similar to the Highland bagpipe, though without the third drone that the latter went on to acquire. The bellows-blown union pipes, more recently known as the *uilleann* pipes, did not come to prominence until the early eighteenth century.[63] Yet, *pìobaireachd* was developed solely in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Little is known about it prior to 1570 but it is thought to have developed from an earlier style of pipe music, no longer extant, which probably had a good deal in common with the classical harper style mentioned above. Certainly, by the end of the sixteenth century, *pìobaireachd* compositions were already sophisticated. Like bardic poetry, *pìobaireachd* is intricate and stylised. It consists of a ground or *ùrlar* which is played slowly, followed by several variations on this musical theme, basically consisting of the same movement with gracenotes and doublings following each note of the ground. It appears to have reached its perfection as an art form in the late sixteenth century. In the early sixteenth century, the music seems only to have evolved to the stage of a ground and one or two variations. An example is thought to be *'An ann air mhire tha sibh'* or 'Salute on the birth of Rory Mòr,' which was composed in 1562 at the birth of Rory Mòr of Dunvegan. Like poems, *pìobaireachds* were largely composed in salute or lament of significant figures, or in commemoration of battles or gatherings. While *pìobaireachd* was an exclusively Scottish Gaelic development, the social, political and cultural links with Ireland during the period of composition of classical *pìobaireachd* are apparent in the dedications of two tunes in particular, the ' *Cumha Iarla Aontruim,'* or 'Lament for the Earl of Antrim,' which possibly honours the first Earl of Antrim, Sir Randal MacDonnell and thus dates the tune to post-1620, and *'Lamh dhearg chlann Domhnuill'* or 'The Red Hand in the MacDonalds' Arms.' Little has been ventured previously on the historical context of the Red Hand *pìobaireachd* but it seems more than likely that it commemorates the poetic controversy of 1690, as evinced in the inter-*Gaidhealtachd* debate between two Ulster poets and Niall MacMhuirich as to which Gaelic family had the best claim to the heraldic emblem of the Red Hand.[64]

Apart from the commemorative aspects of Scoto-Irish links which are preserved in the names of tunes, an example survives of the treacherous use of the piper's office during Alasdair MacColla MacDonald's second plundering of Argyll in 1646. Traditionally the *pìobaireachd 'A Cholla mo Rùin'* or 'The Piper's Warning' commemorates the action of MacColla's piper on the approach of the Royalists to Duntroon Castle.[65] The story, which rests upon the fraternal feelings which existed between pipers who had undergone their musical education in the same school, records that:

> Tràth bha am feachd Èireannach a' tighinn am fagus do Thaigh Dhùn-treòin, dh'iarr Alasdair mac Colla air a' phìobaire e a chluich 'Fàilte Fear Dhùn-treòin,' a thoirt air Tighearna Dhùn-treòin a chreidsinn gum b'ann mar chàirdean a bha iad a' tighinn. Ach bha anns an am sin bràthaireachas a measg nam pìobairean, gun tuigeadh iad fèin a chèile. Na pìobairean a chaidh fhoghlam ann an oilthaigh Mhic Cruimein, bha dòigh aca air na puirt a dhùnadh gun tuigeadh an dàrna pìobaire eile, cò dhiùbh a b'ann gu olc a dhèanamh na le sìth a bhitheadh iad a' teachd. Chluich pìobaire Alasdair mhic Colla am port agus dhùin e am port air dòigh gun do thuig pìobaire Dhùn-treòin gum b'ann gu marbhadh agus gu creachadh a bha iad a' tighinn. Dh'innis e [sin] do Thighearna Dhùn-treòin, agus theich Thighearna Dhùn-treòin gu àite dìon agus thèarainn se e fèin. Thuig Alasdair mac Colla gum b'e am pìobaire aige-san a thug rabhadh do Thighearna Dhùn-treòin agus dh'òrdaich e bàrr nam meur a bhith air a ghearradh bhàrr a' phìobaire.
>
> (When the Irish host was approaching Duntroon House, Alasdair mac Colla asked his piper to play 'Salute to the Laird of Duntroon,' to make the Laird of Duntroon believe that they were coming as friends. But at that time there existed a brotherhood among pipers and they could understand each other. The pipers who had been educated in the MacCrimmons' College had a way of closing a tune whereby the one piper could understand from the other whether they were coming to do harm or in peace. Alasdair mac Colla's piper played the tune and closed it in such a way that Duntroon's piper understood that they were coming to slay and plunder. He informed the Laird of Duntroon and the Laird of Duntroon fled to a fastness and saved himself. Alasdair mac Colla understood that it was his own piper who had warned the Laird of Duntroon and he ordered that the tips of the fingers should be cut off the piper.)[66]

However, it has been convincingly proposed, from a consideration of the various versions of the story, that *'A Cholla mo Rùin'* may readily have been played much earlier, in 1615, on MacColla's approach to Dunyveg Castle, to warn him that Campbell of Cawdor still held the fort.[67] According to this thesis, it was probably the *pìobaireachd 'Fuaim na Tuinne ri Duntreòin'* which was played at Duntroon, to the same effect, that is, to warn the garrison of MacColla's attack. The historic confusion between the tunes derives from the similarity in situation.[68]

The renown of the MacCrimmons, the piping equivalent of the MacMhuirich bards, and the fame of their school at Boreraig in Skye is mainly associated with Donald Mòr MacCrimmon who succeeded his father, Iain Odhar, as hereditary piper to MacLeod of Dunvegan in 1570. Donald Mòr was succeeded by his son Patrick Mòr in 1640 and, thirty years later, by his son Patrick Òg who achieved the greatest reputation as a teacher of piping. Piping schools were also run by the MacArthurs of Skye, the MacKays of Gairloch, the Rankins of Mull and the Campbells of Mochaster in Argyll, allegedly all in close association with Boreraig. Here, pipers were expected to

learn many *pìobaireachds* in *canntaireachd*, a language of syllabic vocables by which the tunes were committed to memory.[69]

A harper to the Earl of Antrim, thought to have been one Cailean Cormac (or Cormaic), is specifically mentioned in a eulogy by Brian, the seventeenth-century bard of Assynt, to Iain Molach MacKenzie, second of Applecross, which has been dated to about 1650. Little is known about the harper but he is also connected, anecdotally, to another Island chief, MacLeod of Lewis. The laird's patronage of, and interest in, traditional Gaelic learning was renowned, and not, it seems, just in poetic convention. The final stanza in the poem 'Do Fhear na Comraich,' (To the Laird of Applecross) refers to the harper making much of Iain Molach's generosity:

"Bha clàrsair aig Iarl Anndruim	(A harper of the Earl of Antrim's
Dhearbh e siud is mhionnaich e	Proved this and avowed that
Nach fhaighte sna trì rìoghachdan	there would not be found in all the three kingdoms
Na rachadh sìnt' rid chaithinich."	one who could match his generosity.)[70]

A few Irish harpers continued to visit Scotland well into the eighteenth century. The presence of Denis O'Hampsey and Echlin Ó Catháin who both still played by the traditional method using fingernails, can be authentically documented. The former was born in 1695, into a not inconsequential family who held lands in Magilligan in north-west Derry, and was blind. He travelled extensively in Scotland between 1713 and 1724 and is known to have played for Sir J. Campbell of Auchinbreck in Argyll, probably the fifth baronet who died in 1756. He also visited "the Laird of Strone," possibly Robertson of Struan, or perhaps the laird of the Strone which is situated just north of Inverlochy. Moreover, he was in Edinburgh in 1745 when the Young Pretender was there.[71] Echlin Ó Catháin, born in 1729 in Coleraine, the son of a farmer and wine merchant, was not only from County Derry too but also blind. He can certainly be linked with the Campbells of Inverneill in Argyll, from the year 1757, and had probably been visiting Argyll from the late 1740s.[72] He is also linked, anecdotally, to Alexander MacDonald, fourteenth of Sleat, in whose house he stayed for a week at some time in the later eighteenth century. Interestingly, he can be connected through his teacher, Cornelius Lyons, to the MacDonnells of Antrim, since the latter became harper to Randall MacDonnell, the fourth Earl of Antrim.[73]

In terms of subject matter harpers, as did pipers and bards, mainly worked in commemoration of their patrons, highlighting important events in the said patrons' lives, as well as battles and folk-heroes of both Ireland and Scotland. Thus, the much hagiographed Alasdair MacColla is the subject of 'MacDonnell's March,' an air noted by Bunting, known in Munster as 'MacAllisdrum's March,' which the Irish "played at all their feasts." It was stated in two separate sources to be both "a wild rhapsody" and to have "impetuous energy and wild shrilly fervour" and was in Bunting's

opinion, "undoubtedly the same piobaireacht that they marched to on the morning of their last battle." It is known to be part of a longer piece written for the pipes called "Mairseail Alasdruim" (Alasdair's March). Moreover, not only were some airs readily translateable from one instrument to another but tunes were as readily transported from one country to another. The tune which Bunting notes as 'Fada an La gan Clann Uisneach' (Long is the day without Clann Uisneach) has been published elsewhere under the title of 'A Song of the Antrim Glens and Scottish Isles.' This is presumably mainly because Bunting mentioned in a letter of 1839 having obtained two versions of the piece, one in Murloch, County Antrim, and another from "the old Marchioness of Londonderry" who said that she had learned it from a "Blind Highland Woman."[74] As far as can be gauged musically, the traditional art of harp-playing, as with *pìobaireachd*, consisted of detailed embellishment of the melody with grace notes and the playing of *arpeggio* figures downwards, in the opposite way to modern practice.[75]

Conclusion

Those learned diciplines which have always been dependent on the support of a hierarchy, like medicine, did not survive the breakdown of the professional Gaelic family structure. The proliferation of hereditary medical lines indicates that the Gaelic medical tradition was once a vital part of Scottish Gaelic society though it would seem that the profession was never as extensively developed as in Ireland where over five times as many medical families have been noted in the sixteenth century.[76] However, at the end of the sixteenth century it was a tradition under threat. Though the deficiencies of the Arabian derived medieval medicine on which their learning was based are thought mainly to have been made good by native medical lore based on herbal cures, the Scottish Gaelic medical families, nevertheless, fell into decline. This was probably as much to do with political changes within Scottish and Irish Gaeldom which threatened Gaelic society and culture, and lead to élite patronage of Lowland physicians, as because it failed to assimilate the modern scientific developments of the day. In these circumstances, apprenticeship to a Lowland physician or a university education increasingly superseded the traditional medical training.[77] As in other cultural traditions, the social assimilation of the professional medical class and the demise of hereditary medicine began in the first half of the seventeenth century. The Gaelic medical tradition declined fairly rapidly, over the course of about a century, since it was culturally less easily assimilated than literature or music, which could both credibly still be engaged in without formal training. A skilled discipline like medicine, where lives depended on the degree of competence acquired, undoubtedly needed a school to support it but music did not. Musical expertise, however, could readily be passed from one skilled exponent to the next. The only threat to the integrity of the surviving Gaelic musical tradition was where the Irish and Scottish governments perceived that its performance had, or might have, political implications. This was

true of the incitatory role seen to have been played by harpers and bards in seventeenth-century Ireland, as well as the status of the Highland bagpipe as an instrument of war and the implication that playing it was a treasonable offence in Scotland, in 1747, following the last Jacobite rebellion.[78] Once they were assured of the loyalty, or military ineffectiveness, of the Gaelic élite who patronised it, Gaelic music began to assume the more cosmopolitan stance which it has today.

NOTES

1. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 546-47.
2. John Bannerman, *The Beatons, a medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition,* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 105.
3. *The Beatons,* pp. 2, 105.
4. 'Derick S. Thomson, Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland,' *Scottish Studies*, 12, part 1, (1968), p. 61.
5. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' pp. 64-65; *The Beatons,* pp. 2, 8.
6. *The Beatons,* pp. 106-07.
7. *The Beatons,* pp. 80, 94-95;*A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 518.
8. Much of the information known about them is collected in John Bannerman's *The Beatons: a medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition,* (Edinburgh, 1986.)
9. Edinburgh University Library.
10. *The Beatons,* pp. 1, 5, 8, 10, 77; 'Gaelic Learned Orders,' p. 61.
11. She is said to have been a daughter of Cú-maige nan Gall Ó Catháin of Keenaght, who in some accounts is called Aine. According to the Book of Clanranald 24 families in Scotland sprang from this retinue. Indeed, the employment of the MacBeths by the Munros of Foulis who held lands near Foulis Castle from 1557 and probably earlier, is reputed to have stemmed from the fact that the progenitors of both families came across in the wedding retinue of Aine Ní Chatháin. (*The Beatons,* pp. 10-11.)
12. For which see Chapter 14, section I. Settlement during the mercenary period.
13. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 519.
14. See Chapter 14.
15. George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland,* (New York, 1989 reprint), pp. 533, 231-32; W. D. H. Sellar, 'Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale,' *Scottish Studies*, 15, (1971), pp. 23, 34.
16. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 62. Edward Lhuyd's record of the books in their library amply shows that they were part of a learned Celtic structure, with books of Irish sagas, genealogical tracts and Irish verse as well as the expected medical manuscripts.
17. Sellar, p. 34.
18. See, for example, William M. Hennessy, *The Annals of Loch Cé,* II, (London, 1871), p. 477, which notes the death of Eoghan Ultach Donlevy, "best leech that was in Erinn."
19. *The Beatons,* pp. 27-28, 53-54, 116-17.
20. See Chapter 9, section A. Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism.
21. 'The MacLachlans of Kilbride,' p. 14; *The Beatons,* p. 98; 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' pp. 63-64.
22. *The Beatons,* pp. 103, 105, 146, 149; Black, p. 634.
23. *The Beatons*, p. 101. It has been pointed out that Donnchadh assumed their political stance, for he deplores in one of his manuscripts on 10 February 1597 "ag denamh uilc 7 cogaidh a n-adhaigh na Bainrigain" (doing of evil and strife against the Queen) by some of the Irish. (*The Beatons*, p. 101, footnote 21.) Moreover, the Irish branch of the family does not appear to have been exclusively

physicians to the MacGillapatricks, but competed for this with the MacCaisíns, a medical family established in the parish of Aghaboe, whom the evidence tends to indicate were longer established in Ossory. The MacCaisíns may have been recently ousted for their political affiliations, for Duncan describes some of them as being "ar an gcetairne coille" that is, a band of woodkerne. (*The Beatons*, pp. 100-02.)

24. *The Beatons,* pp. 102-04.
25. *The Beatons,* p. 86.
26. 'The MacLachlans of Kilbride,' p. 30, footnote 14. It should also be noted, in view of above expositions on Gaelic families in Cowal, that the MacLachlans of Kilbride were related, and probably derived from the MacLachlans of Cowal and thus, were descended from an eleventh century king of Ailech in northern Ireland. (Sellar, p. 33.) However, two ecclesiastical members of the family took refuge in Ireland at the Revolution from presbyterianism. The draw of the episcopal Church of Ireland and the possibility of taking up employment in the episcopal Church of Ireland was undoubtedly a strong one. However, when it is considered that exactly half of those Highland ministers who went to Ireland after the Revolution were members of Gaelic learned families, that is, the two MacLachlans and Mr. William MacLachlan, episcopal minister of Kilmartin and a probable family member of the MacLachlans of Craiginterve went to Ireland in 1690 and was suspected of having taken the parish register with him. Mr. Patrick MacLachlan was a member of the Islay offshoot of the MacLachlans of Kilbride and the previous episcopal minister of Kildalton and Kilchoman in Islay. He went to Ireland in 1693. ('The MacLachlans of Kilbride,' p. 30, footnote 14 and p. 11. See also Chapter 9, section entitled 'Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism' for further information on these two MacLachlans.)
27. 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 65.
28. *The Beatons,* p. 2.
29. Walter Sneader, *Drug Discovery: The Evolution of Modern Medicines,* (Chichester, 1985), pp. 2-3.
30. *The Beatons,* pp. 88-90; Allan I. Macinnes, 'Seventeenth-Century Scotland: The Undervalued Gaelic Perspective,' in Cyril J. Byrne, Margaret Harry and Pádraig Ó Siadhail (editors), *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples,* Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies, (Halifax (Nova Scotia), 1992), p. 535.
31. *The Beatons,* pp. 67, 73, 87, 90-92, 120.
32. *The Beatons,* pp. 120-21, 124-26, 37-38, 119.
33. *The Beatons,* pp. 16-18, 20.
34. *The Beatons,* pp. 17-20.
35. *Alasdair MacColla,* pp 278-89, and also refer to Chapter 11, section II. Case Study of the MacDonalds.
36. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 558-60; Colm Ó Baoill, 'Some Irish Harpers in Scotland,' *TGSI*, 47, (1971-72), pp. 145, 151.
37. Ó Baoill, pp. 144, 162.
38. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 558.
39. Ó Baoill, p. 144; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 561.

40. Seumas MacNeill and Frank Richardson, *Piobaireachd and its Interpretation. Classical Music of the Highland Bagpipe,* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 20.

41. Donald A. Fergusson, *From the Farthest Hebrides,* (London, 1978), pp. 72-73; 93-95; Grant,.p. 197. This North Uist hero is most famous for his later victory over the MacLeods at the battle of Carinish, in North Uist, in 1601.

42. Fergusson, pp. 73, 100-02.

43. William Matheson, *The Blind Harper,* The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. xxxviii, xlii.

44. *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,* p. 117; 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati,' p. 70.

45. A. and A. MacDonald, *The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry,* (Inverness, 1911), p. 392.

46. Some of MacDonnell's genealogical collections of the MacDonnells and O'Neills, in the MacDonnell papers, PRONI D3819, is included in Chapter 11. These latter organised a meeting of ten harpers from the northern half of Ireland in Belfast in 1792 at which Bunting noted down as many of their tunes as possible. He augmented this by a subsequent tour in Ireland and by further meetings with the harpers. The result of his labours was published in three collections in 1796, 1809 and 1840. (Ó Baoill, pp. 145-46.)

47. Note too, that the blind harper was not just a Gaelic phenomenon but by the end of the sixteenth century in England harpers were proverbially blind. The harp had become 'the common resource of the blind' as the minstrelsy had declined:

    "If thou'lt not have her look'd on by thy guests,
    Bid none but harpers henceforth to they feasts."
    (Guilpin's Skialetheia, 1598.) (W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time,* I, (London, 1859), p. 108.)

48. D. O'Sullivan with M. Ó Suilleabhain (editor), *Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland,* (Cork, 1983), p. 20.

49. A good deal of information about him was given by one of the ten Belfast harpers, Arthur O'Neill. *The Memoirs of Arthur O'Neill* were published in the biography of Turlough Carolan (Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin), *The Life Times and Music of an Irish Harper* who was one of the greatest composers for the instrument in the first half of the eighteenth century. Although Ó Catháin is said by Arthur O'Neill to have had the title of "eriagh Thee O'Caughan" (Oireachtaidhe Ó Catháin) conferred upon him, which supposedly included the towns of Coleraine, Garvagh, Limavady and Kilrea, that is the traditional family lands, it has been indicated that there was no chief of this name in the main line of the family who fits these dates. (Ó Baoill, pp. 146-47.)

50. See Chapter 1.

51. See *Bunting's Ancient Music of* Ireland, p. 98; Ó Baoill, pp. 146-50.

52. Ó Baoill, p. 149.

53. *Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland,* p. 98.

54. Ó Baoill, pp. 149. Bunting states that Ó Catháin arrived in Scotland not long before James VI became the first of England in 1603. Though this would be in keeping with the 1550 dating of his birth given by

Bunting, the 1617 dating suits a later floruit which better fits the chronology of the surviving evidence relating to the harper. Interesting information has been uncovered, probably drawn from the oral tradition, in relation to a subsidiary branch of the family, the O'Cahans known as the Clann Mhaghnusa na Buaise who held the fortress of Dunseverick or Dún Sobhairche (as opposed to the Clann Mhaghnusa na Banna, who held territory west of the Bann).

55. *MacDonnells of Antrim,* footnote to p. 138 and p. 57, both noted from Ó Baoill, p. 147.

56. Ó Baoill, p. 147, quoting W. Adam, *Dalriada: or North Antrim* in The Coleraine Chronicle, 1906, p. 58 - no month is given. The reference to the name Morrison has been suggested as a likely misassociation with Ruaraidh MacMhuirich, An Clàrsair Dall, which seems valid but causes doubts about the validity of the remaining information. While there is probably some truth in the account, it raises problems concerning the chronology and life span of Ruairí Dall. The implication from this account seems to be that Ruairí escaped to the Highlands after 1641, perhaps even as late as 1653 when Gilladuff is known to have been executed. However, according to Bunting's projected chronology he was dead by the latter date. (Ó Baoill, pp. 147-48.)

57. *Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland*, p. 98; Ó Baoill, p. 152.

58. Ó Baoill, p. 152.

59. It certainly seems more likely that this is the same man referred to in the oral tradition. See note 50, above.

60. Ó Baoill, pp. 159-60.

61. Ó Baoill, pp. 150-51.

62. Alexander John Haddow, *The History and Structure of Ceòl Mòr*, (Glasgow, 1982), p. 81.

63. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 563-64.

64. The Piobaireachd Society, *The Piobaireachd Society Collection*, Book III, (Glasgow, 1981), p. 82, Book IV, (Glasgow, 1932), p. 121, Book X, (Glasgow, 1982), p. 298. For more on this topic, see Chapter 18, section I. Survival of the classical tradition and the social assimilation of the Scottish bardic families.

65. *Alasdair MacColla,* p. 217.

66. Angus Matheson, 'Traditions of Alasdair Mac Colla,' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow,* 5, (1956-57), pp. 24-25.

67. For details, see above, Chapter 2, section II B. Islay rebellion 1614-15.

68. Ronald Black, *Colla Ciotach, TGSI,* 48, (1972-74), pp. 231-34.

69. MacNeill and Richardson, pp. 20, 38-47; Seumas MacNeill, *Piobaireachd, Classical Music of the Highland Bagpipe,* (Glasgow, 1976), pp. 36-38; Alexander John Haddow, *The History and Structure of Ceòl Mòr,* (Glasgow, 1982), pp. 105, 207; 'The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,' p. 18; The Army School of Piping, *Historical and Traditional Notes on Piobaireachd,* (unpublished typescript, 1966), 'The Campbells,' p. 9.

70. Kenneth D. MacDonald, 'The MacKenzie Lairds of Applecross,' *TGSI*, 54, (1984-86), pp. 416, 449; Ó Baoill, pp. 143-44, 166-67. I am grateful to Mr. Kenneth MacDonald, Senior Lecturer in the Celtic department, University of Glasgow, for translating the last line of the stanza.

71. Ó Baoill, pp. 158-64. The latter association was made from reading D. S. Thomson's 'The Poetry of Niall MacMhuirich,' p. 283 which points out that in the previous century Niall MacMhuirich refers in his Clanranald History to "Domnall an stróim" or Donald of Stronem who is said to be "mac aongus mic Alasdar tigerna Gline garadh 7 cnoidebhart." (son of Angus, son of Alaster, laird of Glengarry and Knoydart.) (Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, II, (Inverness, 1894), pp. 174-75.)

72. J. L. Campbell (transcriber), 'An Account of Some Irish Harpers as Given by Echlin O'Kean, Harper, Anno 1779,' *Éigse*, 6, (1950), pp. 147-48. In Echlin's own account the statement that "he often visited Scotland" comes before the mention of his European tour, and would seem to imply that he had been in Scotland prior to 1757. It is possible, through a piece of evidence previously unnoticed, to prove that he was in Argyll prior to 1757. For in the Minute Book of Inveraray Burgh on 9 September 1751, it is recorded that "Ealin O'Kaine, Harper from Coulraine in the County of Derry, Ireland" was created a burgess of the burgh of Inveraray. Where the person was not a merchant or a trader, the title was merely an honourary one, recognition being given for a particular skill or status of office. Here, Echlin clearly was honoured for his musical ability. (Argyll and Bute District Archives, List of Burgesses of Inveraray extracted from the Minute Books of the Burgh. See appendix.) He is last known to have visited Argyll in the year in which this ms. was written.

73. *Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland,* p. 154.

74. *Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland,* pp. 161-62, 210. The Sullivans draw to the attention that the air has been published under the latter name in the *Journal of the Irish Folk Song Society*, 8.

75. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 561. It should be briefly noted that, like music, architectural styles also crossed cultural frontiers, though movement appears to have been, as in so many other instances, in a one-sided direction from Scotland to Ireland. Scottish architecture was influenced by a motley of continental styles which first came to the Lowlands. As such, it is difficult to speak, beyond the humble dwelling house, of indigenous Highland architecture. Certainly a number of tower-houses with projecting turrets, a peculiarly Scottish design, were built in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Yet, though there are two such castles in the Isle of Arran from where settlers are known to have gone to Ulster, the majority of tower-houses were in the south-west Lowlands of Scotland. (E. M. Jope, 'Scottish Influences in the North of Ireland: Castles with Scottish features, 1580-1640,' *UJA,* 3rd series, 14, (1951), pp. 31-34.) Indeed, in the main, as with Gaelic music, architectural cross-fertilisation between the west coast of Scotland and Ulster provides evidence more for the assimilation of Highland and Lowland landed classes in Scotland, resulting in a common architectural heritage, than for a united Gaelic province. It this general Scottish architectural influence that is visible in the areas of Ulster where the highest Highland concentrations were, such as Down, Antrim, Londonderry and Donegal and not a specifically Highland one, for the Highlands took its architectural line from the Scottish Lowlands. The MacDonnells, for instance, had a turreted gatehouse built at Dunluce in the late sixteenth century. So too, Captain W. Pers, Constable of Knockfergus, informed Sir W. Fytzwylliams, the Lord Justice, on 28 April 1560 that "James M'Donnell has many carpenters come out of Scotland, to build him a house in the Red Bay." (*CSPI,* 1509-1573, p. 170.) The castle features an Italianate *loggia*, built around the middle of the sixteenth century

which may have derived from Crighton near Edinburgh or St. Andrew's. Moreover, it was not only the MacDonnells with their obvious Scottish roots who hired Lowland masons but there are a few examples of turreted castles built for Irish chiefs before the plantation of Ulster. Scottish masons were probably used in the building of Newcastle in County Down, in 1588, for Felix Magennis, and possibly at the O'Cahan fortress at Dungiven in County Londonderry and Castle Burt, the stronghold of the O'Dohertys in County Donegal, probably built in the latter decades of the sixteenth century. (Jope, pp. 36, 38, 44-45.) The hiring of these masons was undoubtedly facilitated by the increased contact with the Lowlands through the mercenary trade, particularly with Glasgow which supplied a good deal of the weaponry and gunpowder for the native Irish lords. (Hayes-McCoy, pp. 259-61.) It is interesting to note that the only place where the turreted style exists, even in modified form, outside Ulster is in Connacht, the other major area of Highland mercenary activity in Ireland. This seems to suggest that a network of social contacts with Scots had been established through military activity. Other castles in Ulster follow the Scottish Z-plan castles which were designed for better flanking firing in defence of the castle, with a tower at opposite corners. This is seen in Burt Castle, Donegal, and at Castle Upton, Templepatrick in Antrim. So too, the L-plan of the Scottish defended house, used there from the fifteenth century, found its way to Ulster in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for example at Derrywoone castle in Tyrone, built in the first half of the seventeenth century. More surprisingly, perhaps, given the extent of both Lowland and Highland presbyterian influence in Ulster there is relatively little trace of Scottish features in the churches. All that seems obviously Scottish in the later period is the occasional use of 'plain unmoulded window- surrounds.' Indeed, in general, large buildings in Ulster from the latter half of the seventeenth century appear to have developed more in English style. A more direct influence of the Highlands on Ulster architecture was probably the feature of harling or rough-casting on the outer walls of the castles. This practice was especially common, by necessity, in the Highlands and Islands. (Jope, pp. 33, 36, 38, 40.) Thus, the architectural evidence points less to an overall Gaelic unity than to a homogenous Highland and Lowland landed class in Scotland, the latter of which had a prime opportunity to effect some influence in the lands allocated to Scots in the plantation of Ulster.

76. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 518-19.

77. Allan I. Macinnes, 'Seventeenth-Century Scotland: The Undervalued Gaelic Perspective,' in Cyril J. Byrne, Margaret Harry and Pádraig Ó Siadhail (editors), *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples,* Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies, (Halifax (Nova Scotia), 1992), p. 535; *The Beatons,* pp. 68, 74.

78. Frank Adam, *The Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands,* (Edinburgh and London, 1977), p. 424.

CHAPTER 18
CULTURAL INTER-RELATIONS 1640-1760: VERNACULAR GAELIC PERIOD

Introduction

Although the earliest extant piece of Scottish vernacular verse dates from the fifteenth century, the period from 1640 to 1760 can be held to be the high point of the vernacular tradition. The classical period was closely related to the existence of a Gaelic-speaking patronage. When this found itself under threat in Scotland in the Covenanting, and increasingly, in the Jacobite period, and in Ireland from the time of extensive British settlement at the beginning of the seventeenth century and further during the Cromwellian campaigns of the middle of the century, the existence of the bardic schools and the formal bardic poetry was, by extension, also attacked.[1] One of the significant outcomes in the transition from bardic to vernacular poetry was its opening up to a wider Gaelic audience. The colloquial language was obviously accessible to more than the *literati.* While it could not be said that bardic poetry was only understood by those trained in the bardic schools, it is fair to say that the detail and nuances of the fossilised classical Gaelic forms were understood largely by the literate clan *fine* alone. The Irish semi-uncial script or the *corra-litir* appears not to have been used beyond the middle of the eighteenth century. The MacMhuirichs in South Uist used it in the first few decades of that century and Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair is said to have written it but poorly. One of the tales in the Dewar manuscript purports to identify the last two readers of the classical Irish script in Argyll.[2]

There were also some differences in theme and approach within vernacular poetry. Whereas classical poetry was written in strictly codified syllabic metres, what is defined as vernacular poetry was written in more colloquial Gaelic in stressed metres, commonly having four stresses to the line.[3] Classical bardic eulogy seldom addressed itself to any powerful contemporaries other than the subject of the poem himself. This was doubtless to ensure the purity and continuity of the patronage. Moreover, this exclusivity has been seen to be stronger in Scottish than in Irish bardic poetry. In the early vernacular panegyric tradition in Scotland, the subject's allies, friends and supporters were vigorously outlined.[4] Going further into the eighteenth century, Scottish Gaelic verse opened up into a broad spectrum of styles and themes, including nature poetry, Jacobite poems, evangelical and local humorous verse. 'This is partly because of changing social conditions throwing up new initiatives while the old are still unexhausted: the political upheavals of the Fifteen and Forty-five Risings, the break-up of the clan system, the migration that began to build up from Highlands to Lowlands, and the changing patterns of education, all helped to create new contexts and interfaces which came to be reflected in the literature.'[5]

The value of poetry as a political and social source, which can often reveal the motives behind certain clan actions, has already been intimated. In their traditional role as clan chroniclers and inciters of clan emotion, the poets recorded the stance of the clan. While the historian must be aware of clan and individual prejudice, all serious poets had to remain abreast of the main political happenings of the time and many were even witness to the events about which they composed and as such their poetry constitutes a valuable testimony. These sources are especially significant where the attitudes revealed are diametrically opposing or radically different from any which survive in English.

I. SURVIVAL OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION AND THE SOCIAL ASSIMILATION OF THE SCOTTISH BARDIC FAMILIES

Although the composition of poetry in the classical tradition continued long after 1641 in both Scotland and Ireland, at which date the last of the bardic schools are believed to have been closed in Ireland, and though patronage was extended well into the eighteenth century, it was no longer given systematically or regarded as indispensable. Thus, when John MacCodrum was appointed bard to MacDonald of Sleat in 1763, this was more a historical gesture than a contemporary obligation. In Ulster, too, research has indicated that although many of the native Irish aristocracy submitted to English rule, others like the Clandeboye O'Neills and the MacMahons of County Monaghan continued in their support of the old ways in the late seventeenth century, long after the closure of the last bardic schools. The strain was not as pure as it had been in the strictly bardic days, but syllabic poetry continued to be composed into the eighteenth century. Thematically, too, in Scotland as in Ireland, the poetry continued to echo one of the major subjects of the earlier part of the century, that is, the impending demise of Gaelic society.[6] In Scotland, over the course of the later seventeenth century, command of the language of the schools, intercommunication with Ireland, and full time literary employment gradually fell away, to greater or lesser degree. Much like the redundant military complement of Gaelic society in the early seventeenth century, the poets found themselves being assimilated into the remaining professions such as the ministry, or becoming clerks and tenant farmers.[7]

The poet Niall MacMhuirich (Niall mac Dhomhnaill Gheàrr), great-grandson of Niall Mòr MacMhuirich, is regarded as the last fully-trained classical practitioner of the poetic art in the MacMhuirich bardic family. Niall's poems, like those of Cathal MacMhuirich whom he succeeded, survive in both Scotland and Ireland.[8] The surviving corpus of Niall MacMhuirich's twelve poems has been dated from the early 1660s to 1719, and he is thought to have died in about 1726. Most of this is bardic poetry but two poems survive in the vernacular.[9] He is also remembered as much for writing the classical prose account of the Montrose wars in the *Red Book of Clanranald*, in the

latter part of the seventeenth century, as a deliberate exercise to balance the account given by English-speaking historians. "Do gheibhinn moran re na sgriobhadh do sgeluibh ar gnoidhibh na haimsir da ccuirfin romham e acht as e tug oram anuradsa fein do sgriobhadh mur do connairc me gan iomrágh air bioth ar Ghaoidhealuibh ag na sgriobhnoiribh ata ag techt ar gnoidhibh na haimsire an mhuinntir do rinne an tseirbhis uile." (I had many stories to write on the events of the times if I undertook to do it, but what induced me to write even this much was, when I saw those who treated of the affairs of the time have made no mention at all of the Gael, the men who did all the service.)[10] He was keen to point out that: "n^{c} sgriobhthar ann so acht na daóine do connaic me fein 7 fes coda da ngniomhtharuib ar cuimne agam. Giodhedh is furasda dhuit as an tenguidh choitchinn ina bfuiler ag sgriobhadh san rioghacht fios ar thriobloid na haimsire dfaghail." (nothing is here written except of the people whom I have seen myself, and from my own recollection am acquainted with that part of their deeds. It is easy for you, however, to obtain information about the troubles of the times from the common language in which they are writing in the kingdom.)[11]

It was mainly in the time of Niall MacMhuirich that the Gaelic world experienced the final death throes of the classical tradition. The demise of traditional learning, probably the most popular bardic theme in the seventeenth century, is inferred in a couplet in his bardic lament 'Do thúirlinn seasuimh Síol Cuinn,' (There has fallen a pillar of the race of Conn) for Allan MacDonald, fourteenth of Clanranald, who died in 1715 after the battle of Sheriffmuir. However, his first poetic comment on receiving the news of the wounding of Allan MacDonald at Sheriffmuir, 'Gur e naidheachd na Ciadain' (It was Wednesday's news), was in the vernacular. The fact that he wrote a second lament, 'Och a Mhuire, mo dhunaidh,' (Oh Mary, my misfortune) in the vernacular style on the same subject is, perhaps, a more final statement.[12] Niall's extant corpus indicates, nonetheless that, like the poets of the sixteenth century, he was still conversant with the family's historic origins in Ireland, through ample reference to the Irish pantheon of heroes and some of the Irish chiefs. In his poem, 'Fuaras cara ar sgáth na sgoile,' (I found a friend for the sake of the school) for example, written in about 1661 and addressed to Sir James MacDonald of Sleat, Niall extends the mythological boundaries of MacDonald of the Isles to Ireland:

"Umpa iadhaid oireacht Fionnghall	(Around them there press the leading nobles of the
éigsi cháich da labhra leam	Hebrides - other people's poets tell me (so) - these
gurbh iad sin sealbha na sinnsear	(loyalties?) belonged to the ancestors (of MacDonald),
s tigh Teamhra na ttrinnseach ttenn."	together with the house of Tara that had strongly-built moats.)[13]

His poetry also contains references to familiar Irish poets such as Flann File and Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, with the latter of whose work he seems to have been particularly familiar.[14]

Niall MacMhuirich's contribution to the poetic debate, in 1690, about which clan or sept had strongest claims to the heraldic Red Hand emblem, has rightly been seen as significant in terms of continuity of a unified literary *Gaidhealtachd.* For MacMhuirich's involvement indicates an awareness in Scotland of the work of contemporary East Ulster bards. The controversy of the Red Hand can be followed in four extant syllabic poems which survive in the Red Book of Clanranald and are probably survivors of a much larger corpus. Of these, two were written by Irish poets and two by MacMhuirich. The first poem, 'A chormuic cuimhnigh an chóir' (O Cormac remember the right) composed in about 1690, is by the Ulster poet Diarmuid Mac an Bhaird, of the family who were bards to the O'Donnells. It is addressed to someone by the name of Cormac, stating that he should not adopt the Red Hand emblem, since this rightly belonged to the Magennis sept. This tends to indicate that the Magennises of Iveagh, in County Down, were the patrons of Mac an Bhaird. Cormac has most likely been identified as Cormac Mac Airt Óig Uí Néill of Clandeboye, who had thus probably claimed the Red Hand for the Clandeboye O'Neills. The second, 'Náir an sgealsa tiacht do tigh,' (Shameful this tale coming to a house) is a reply to Mac an Bhaird by Eoghan Ó Donnghaile, a Tyrone poet, who in turn claimed the emblem for the O'Neills of Tyrone with whom it had long been associated. MacMhuirich, for his part, claimed the Red Hand for the MacDonalds as descendants of one of the Three Collas, and fashioned a reply to both of them. Moreover, MacMhuirich applied a poet's irony to the contest by replying, also in about 1690, to Mac an Bhaird in the poem 'Labhradh trían chonguil go ciuin,' (Let Conghal's band speak quietly). He composed the poem in the strict metrical *dán díreach* in which the Irish poet had written, while chastising the less competent Ó Donnghaile in the poem 'Nar lém choisnes tu clu dhuin' (May it not be suddenly that you earn fame for us) for speaking out against Mac an Bhaird when his own work did not conform to the classical standards, and using a less strict form of *dán díreach* to do it. Understandably, most of the mythological reference is Irish. This interchange of poems on the Red Hand theme has been noted, so far, as the last known example of definitive literary interchange between the Irish and Scottish *Gaidhealtachd.*[15]

Niall MacMhuirich was also aware of the political gulf which existed, in his lifetime, between the two Gaelic groups. This is very apparent in the poem 'Da chúis aig milladh ar meamna,' (There are two affairs that are wasting our minds), dating from 1719, which treats of the exile of Ranald MacDonald, fifteenth of Clanranald, after the 1715 Jacobite rebellion. It was probably composed after the routing of a Jacobite force of 200 Spaniards and about 900 clansmen under the Marquess of Tullibardine, at Glenshiel, on 10 June 1719. MacMhuirich clearly recognises, given the native Irish non-involvement in the '15, that Highlanders could no longer expect assistance from Gaelic Ulster as they had in 1689:

"Cceart an chruin ag urruing eile	(The right of the crown is with another,
as rí Breatan ar chall a ciort,	and the King of Britain has lost his rights;

do dhuisg sin easbhuigh gach haoinfhir,	That has awakened every man to his loss,
sni seasguir Gaoidhil on gleic.	And the Gael are not at ease from the contest.
"A ccobhuir snach bhfuigh nulltuibh	Their relief is not to be obtained in Ulster,
bean sa muintir a magh bhfail	Although their people were beloved in Magh Fail;
ó se do gabhadh an gasruigh	Since the parties have been taken,
bfagail rí sagsan tar sál."	Leaving the King of England over sea.)[16]

At least one MacMhuirich poet, Donald MacMhuirich, Niall's nephew, is known to have gone to Ireland to broaden his poetic training in the later seventeenth century, but appears not to have completed it. Though this educational trip is significant, inasmuch as it occurred well after the vernacular revolution had begun, the ineffectiveness of his training can possibly be accounted for by the demise of the bardic schools or, more probably, the increasing popularity of the vernacular. Nonetheless, he appears to have been the last member of the family to receive any sort of formal training though his poetry is not held to be particularly good. He was composing in the 1730s and is said, in turn, to have taught his nephew, another Niall MacMhuirich, the Irish script.[17]

Of the representatives of other Scottish bardic families, Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin, poet and *seanchaidh* to the MacLeans of Duart, who is associated with both Mull and Skye, is known to have been in Ireland during the civil war period. Four poems with Irish connotations are extant, none of his work having survived in Scotland.[18] In the early seventeenth century, the Ó Muirgheasáin connections, like those of the MacMhuirichs, appear to have been with Munster, for Maol Domhnaigh visited west Munster at some time about 1642. Indeed, given both Cathal MacMhuirich's connection with Skye as well as that of the Ó Muirgheasáins, it is easy to explain why Munster poets were attracted there.[19] The visit, which may have begun earlier, can be dated by an elegy he composed in that year, 'Cia feasda as urra don eól' (Who is the guardian of learning now?), for a Munster poet Cú Chonnacht Ó Dálaigh (Cú Chonnacht mac Maoil Sheachlainn Óig mhic Maoil Sheachlainn mhic Donnchadha). Ó Dálaigh was from Kilsarkan, County Kerry, and the poem indicates that he was chief poet of the Geraldines, under whose patronage he ran a bardic school at Tolcha, thought to have been in Killagholehane, in the barony of Glenquin, County Limerick. This was certainly one of the places stated, in his elegy, to have been visited by Maol Domhnaigh. This poem, composed in 1642, like another in the corpus of four, shows no indication of the poet's Scottish nationality. It does, however, indicate that Cú Chonnacht was one of Maol Domhnaigh's teachers. He states:

"D'éis oide dealbhtha na nduan	(After the teacher of poetic composition
ar n-oige ní fhaghbha a gleódh"	my poem will not get its evaluation

and more specifically: ...

"an feadh nár chuimhnigh ar chaoi, I would yield nothing to the Munster woman
ní meadh do mhnaoi Mhuimhnigh mé." in making a vow of mourning for my tutor.)[20]

Moreover, the implication, even with customary elegiac hyperbole, seems to be that those left behind were not of the same calibre and did not attract the same patronage - "I saw the goodwill everyone bore to poets until Cú Chonnacht's departure from them." He also refers to "the dispersal of the members of the schools," so it seems that the death of this eminent poet dealt one more blow to a system that was already breaking up. It has been suggested that it was at this point, with his tutor dead, that Maol Domhnaigh returned to Scotland.[21]

There are three other poems with Munster connotations. One of them Maol Domhnaigh addressed to Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin, chief from c. 1631-50, of Clonmeen in County Cork. Donnchadh (son of Cathair Ó Ceallacháin, an illegitimate son of an O'Callaghan chief who drowned in 1579) was a conspicuous Munster Royalist and active in the Confederacy of Irish Catholics. He was an active colonel at the battle of Cloughleigh in 1642 and was outlawed, with his brothers, from Dromaneen on 2 August 1642. The poem 'Gnáith féile ag fagháil innmhe' (That liberality customarily begets standing) also shows no indication of the poet's Scots derivation. There is, however, one incident which exhibits the subject's connection with Scotland and that is, that after the battle of Cnoc na nOs in 1647, he brought back the body of the lieutenant-general of the Munster forces, Alasdair mac Cholla Chiotaich, and buried it in the tomb of the O'Callaghan chiefs at Clonmeen.[22] Another, 'Cia is urra d'ainm an iarthair' (Who is the guardian of the westerly name) was addressed to Domhnall Ó Donnabháin, or Ó Donnabháin Mór, of Clancahill in Carbery, County Cork, who was born in 1584. This Munster chief obtained livery of sasine to Clancahill, the Ó Donnabháin territory, on 13 February 1640. The elegy is typically Irish in its composition and does not contain any Scottish references.[23] The third 'Ní doirbh go deaghuil na ccarad' (Unhappiness begins when friends part) is an elegy to Séafraidh Ó Donnchadha, poet and chieftain of the Glens (Uí Dhonnchadha an Ghleanna). Maol Domhnaigh did, however, travel to other places.[24] The Kerry poet, Piaras Feiritéar, chief of the Ferriters of Ballyferriter who joined the Catholic Confederacy, wrote a poem 'Oide a ndréachtaibh an dreasfháil,' (An expert in dense verse) in Maol Domhnaigh's honour, identifying him as a renowned Scottish poet 'who had visited most of the centres of professional poetic learning in Ireland.'[25] He is definitely known to have visited Killagholehane, Brosna and Ballydaly, the latter being a part of the estate of the poet Aonghus Ó Dálaigh or Ó Dálaigh Fionn, chieftain of his name.[26]

When in Kerry, the poet yearned for Lewis and Harris which indicates his connection with the Clan Leod.[27] In his poem 'Ní doirbh go deaghuil na ccarad' which was probably written in 1643 on the

accession of Séafraidh Ó Donnchadha to the chiefship, he laments both having to leave those who instructed him, as well as lamenting that he had left Scotland (Monadh) at all:

"Ionnsa mo theacht óm thír dhúthaigh	(So inseparable am I from the line of Fiacha,
druim re a hamharc ní f(h)éd sinn	as a result of my instruction by the western band,
luach m'oileamhna d'fhéin(n) an iathair	that I cannot turn my back on them;
doidheaghla ó fhréimh Fhiachaidh inn."	it was easier to leave my native land.
"An toil ler fhágbhus iath Monaidh	Would that I had not given rein
meisde an srian do léigeas lé	to my desire to leave Scotland.
ar tteacht a measc mhaicne Lui(gh)dheac(h)	Once I arrived among the race of Lughaidh,
do mheasg Tailte M(h)uimhneach mé."	Munster's Teltown intoxicated me.
"Leath mo thoile ag triall go Leodhas	My mind half journeys to Lewis,
's an leath oile ag anmhuin tiar	whilst the other half remains in the west
go ttabhair m(e)isi ar mhoing moire	More pronounced is the division of my mind as I proceed
treisi roinn mo thoile ag triall"	till it bear me out to sea.)[28]

Aside from simply expressing a desire to return to an island with which the poet is familiar, this reference to Lewis probably looks back retrospectively to the expropriation of the Clan Leod of Lewis in 1598, to James VI and I's attempts to colonize it by contracting land to the Fife Adventurers, and its final loss to the MacLeods in 1615. In the last decade of the sixteenth century the main landowners on Lewis, the MacLeods, were split by a feud, and taking advantage of their weakness, the government sought to develop the herring fisheries which would have reaped greater profit if the fishermen had not had to pay dues to the local landowners. In a precise, if smaller scale, parallel to the plantation of Ulster the Adventurers were forbidden to feu or lease land to Highlanders. However, the Adventurers ultimately did not prevail, and though the heritable right to Lewis was gained by MacKenzie of Kintail in 1610, the Islanders struggles against the Lowland planters are regarded as having discouraged a more extensive plan for colonization in the Highlands and Islands. Not only were there close links between the MacLeods of Skye and Harris, the Ó Muirgheasáins' patrons, and the MacLeods of Lewis but Toirdhealach Ó Muirgheasáin took part in a vengeful raid on Lewis in 1616 which was noted in the minutes of the Privy Council. No poetic output survives for Toirdhealach, who was possibly the father or brother of Eoin Og, but the existence of a Gaelic contract of fosterage written by him for Sir Rory MacLeod indicates that he was at least employed in a learned capacity. The whole poetic episode is significant in indicating, in a case other than that of the Clan Donald South, both how deeply forfeiture of clan land was resented and for how long it was subsequently remembered.[29]

This cannot have been Maol Domhnaigh's first visit to Munster, for he writes of Séafraidh Ó Donnchadha's father, Tadhg, in terms that suggest he knew him. In fact, it may have been a long-term stay, since he spent 34 years in Ireland and this is the only visit documented. Within the poem he states that though it is difficult to leave Séafraidh, for him to refrain from going back would be more difficult. He also presents plans for an alternative united Ireland, in lamenting that Scotland and Ireland's southern half are not united!

"Monuar nach éintír iath Lodhairn	(Alas that Scotland and Ireland's
is Leath Mogha na múr ccorr	southern half are not united,
go breith dom úidh ar na hEaradh	that I might alternately give my attention
's bheith dúinn gach re sealadh sonn."	to Harris and sojourn there.)[30]

As with the other hereditary families, there is an example in one Donnchadh Ó Muirgheasáin, a descendant of the family, pursuing poetry on a more flexible basis after the demise of the bardic schools. Donnchadh maintained an interest in the genealogical lore of the Campbells and composed an elegy for Sir Norman MacLeod of Bernera in 1706.[31]

The civil war can also be specified as the general period of the demise of the MacEwans of Kilchoan as *seanchaidhean* and bards to the Campbells of Argyll. Having transferred their hereditary lands, before 1630, to the MacLachlans of Craiginterve who subsequently granted them to the MacLachlans of Kilbride, the MacEwans can probably be regarded as redundant by the 1640s though unsuccessful attempts were made by Neill MacEwan to entreat their reinstatement to Kilchoan. Certainly by the early 1650s Neill had transferred his allegiance, of necessity, to the Kirk, his new patrons.[32]

The last of the MacMharcuis family professionally accomplished in Gaelic was Domhnall MacMharcuis who, at the end of the seventeenth century, was living in Lochaber. It was he who answered a list of questions asked by the Rev. Robert Wodrow about the area, giving himself the title of "fear adbhail na gaoideilge" or professor of Gaelic, and writing some words in the classical Irish script.[33] Like John Mac Mharcuis before him, he too, was employed by the Kirk. On 14 June 1699, local ministers were "to setle Donald M^{c}.marcus school master & Catechis in Lochaber," and to try to establish a maintenance for him. He worked as catechist there from Martinmas 1697 to at least June 1701.[34] Perhaps the best piece of corroborative evidence indicating that he was a member of the MacMharcuis bardic family comes in a poem accompanying an address by him to the Synod of Argyll, dated June 1701. At the end, in classical hand, is a sentence stating that this is "o dhomnall m^{c}Marcuis gan lagan," that is, Donald MacMarcus from the Lagan, the area in north Kintyre where the MacMharcuis originally had held their hereditary lands.[35]

As the vernacular inexorably superseded the bardic tradition, only minimal involvement of the hereditary bardic families in the emergent poetic culture is apparent in Scotland. According to the extant corpuses of the bardic families, only in the MacMhuirich family, does much lip-service appear to have been paid to the ascendancy of the vernacular tradition in the period of transition.[36]

II. THE VERNACULAR PERIOD IN IRELAND

Similarly, in Ireland, by the early eighteenth century, literary activity was no longer monopolised by the progeny of the old hereditary learned families. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the majority of vernacular Irish poets belonged to the former ruling families such as MacCarthaigh, MacGearailt, Ó Briain, Ó Caoimh, Ó Conchobhair, Ó Gadhra and Ó Súilleabháin (MacCarthy, Fitzgerald, O'Brien, O'Keeffe, O'Connor, O'Gara and O'Sullivan.) That is, in Scottish Gaelic terms, they belonged to the *fine* or to the tacksman classes from which the majority of Scottish Gaelic vernacular poets also came. However, it has been mooted that many of the Irish poets may have been illiterate which may possibly be accounted for by the greater degree of dispossession in Ireland, though certainly the Scottish poet Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir, composing in the mid-eighteenth century on the Argyll-Perthshire marches was illiterate, as was his near contemporary, Rob Donn, a MacKay from Sutherland.[37]

While it has generally been assumed that Irish literature related to an exclusively native Irish community, it has been pointed out that many who wrote in Irish, from the late sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, were Old English Catholic reformers who chose Irish as a preferred medium because it gave them access to the two Catholic communities in Ireland, whereas English would have given them access to only one. Here, evidence is not just available through the form of poetry in Ireland, but also in the form of political treatises. Those written by the Old English in the Irish language are considered particularly valuable because they draw on a broader spectrum of Irish Catholic opinion than that available through the English texts.[38]

Until the 1970s, the general view of historians was that attitudes within the Gaelic polity were fixed and traditional, almost totally bound to the sept and clan and its locality, and with a self-evident interest in what promoted them.[39] However, that decade heralded the beginning of a scholarly debate and exposition of the ideological content in poetic panegyric, both bardic and vernacular. A seminal article by Brendan Bradshaw based on a study of the *Leabhar Branach* or *duanaire* of the O'Byrnes, emphasised, instead, the germination of a new nationalist consciousness. His view was that under the trauma of conquest and colonization and the drive of Counter-Reformation, attitudes were in an early stage of transition, and the Counter-Reformation 'was the modernising influence that provided the impetus under which Gaelic Ireland groped towards a nationalist ideology of faith

and fatherland.' Subsequently, after the appearance of the Catholic Confederacy in 1642, this ideology was more fully articulated.[40] This re-evaluation was largely rejected by T. J. Dunne, particularly for the narrowness of its poetic sampling. In his article, Dunne took a wider sampling, including some of the transitional poets who wrote in the vernacular. While acknowledging the intricate weave of change occurring in Gaelic society he, nevertheless, concluded that seventeenth-century Gaelic poetry held fast to traditional attitudes and forms, that it was still largely fixed to the locality or at least to an élite class in attitude, and expressed change in human rather than political terms and with a deep sense of fatalism. This he regarded as a powerful indication of the psychological difficulties which the old élites had in handling the extremity of the change.[41] A measured and enlightened synthesis of the debate has been provided more recently by Ann Dooley in an article which explores the whole concept of change in early seventeenth century Ireland, and attempts to balance both 'literary craft' and 'cultural agenda.' She particularly points out the historical pitfall of looking at this period of Irish history with hindsight, as one encompassing 'the completion and resolution of tragic loss,' that is, of seeing only that evidence which supports the historical outcome of the period.[42] In the event, a case can be made for both points of view, and the emergent mixture of poetic attitudes is probably one which is far nearer to the truth of the prevailing native Gaelic attitude. For, in general, it is not the remit of the poet to prescribe and precisely delineate political solutions. Indeed, the most successful poets have sought to incite a profound emotional response in their readers with tortuous subtlety, and thus to spur them into concrete activity. In this, the human response is of greater significance, even though it is more alien to the psyche of the historian.

Unanimity in politics was sought through the destruction of the Gaelic system, not by its transformation. When this occurred, it was as natural for the poets to voice their individual concerns over the lack of patronage and the loss of their *duais* or poem-fee as to express their concern over the future of the Gaelic race. While this personalised response to the situation has been seen to reveal the depth of fatalism inherent in the response of the literary class to the demise of Gaelic society,[43] for the poet it can surely be seen as an symbol of that demise. Moreover, as long as there was a slight possibility of élite patronage, the poetry was bound to remain class-bound, for at a human level all men sought to make a living before they concerned themselves with detached political commentary. Among the ranks of the Scottish poets this response is particularly evident in the poetry of Cathal MacMhuirich, especially in his poems written post-1636. While any classically trained poet who relied exclusively on Gaelic was under threat, this was perhaps more poignantly so for Cathal who, at this time, had a foot on both sides of the North Channel. Not only did Cathal hold lands in Kintyre but the MacMhurich family had held the estate of Balilone in Ulster from the mid-sixteenth century.[44]

The means had existed through the mobility of the literate classes and the institutions for which

they stood, to provide a cohesive Irish Gaelic identity. It could be said that attempts were made towards this during the seventeenth century, but with the failure of the Catholic Confederacy in the 1640s and the defeat of the Jacobite cause in Ireland in 1691, they failed ever to take on a political nationalist dimension as in Scotland under the Jacobite banner in the eighteenth century.[45] Hence, Gaelic Ireland did not transform itself into a nation state like many other European countries of the period. Rather, the Gaelic poets simply came to look upon the English as another element in the chequer board of lordships, and more importantly, as potential patrons. Moreover, though a preoccupation with Gaelic mythology and poetic personification of Ireland might seem, to the first-time reader, to be an expression of nationalism in the poetry, more honestly, it simply served the purposes of convention and of bolstering the positions and claims of the chiefs and sept or clan.[46] Thus, many poets were as adept at composing a eulogy for one patron as for another.

While the 1640s is usually seen as the beginning of the flourishing vernacular period, a change in the attitudes generally prevalent at the beginning of the period in 1560, was already visible by the late sixteenth century. More pertinently, as was the trend in Scottish Gaelic poetry, the vernacular language began to be used in preference to classical Gaelic in Ireland as the medium for more vigorous political comment. This is apparent in the poem 'Dia libh, a laochradh Ghaoidheal!' (God with you, heroes of the Gael) which was written in about 1580 by Aonghus mac Doighre Ó Dálaigh, a member of the bardic family of the same name, from County Wexford in Leinster. Justifiably, this song to the Gaelic warriors has been labelled a rebel song. Indeed, it could easily parade under the banner of *brosnachadh catha* or incitement to battle. The poet demands action of the Gael:

"Má'r áil libh agradh Éireann,	(If you desire to avenge Ireland,
A ghasradh céimeann gcródha,	O champions valiantly descended,
Ná seachnaidh éacht ná iorghail	Shun not perilous deed nor wrath
Ná catha mionca móra.	Nor many mighty battles.
	...
Ag seilg croda ar fhéinn eachtrann	Urging fight against the foreign soldiery
'Gá bhfuil fearann bhur sinnsear."	Who hold your fathers' land!)

Interestingly, Ó Dálaigh is of the opinion that:

"Ní tacha lúith ná lámhaigh	('Tis no want of strength or skill in arms
Tug oraibh, a ógbhadh Bhanba,	That hath caused you, O chivalry of Banba,
Bheith dhíbh urramach umhal	To be humble and obsequious

Do mhear-sluagh ghusmhar Ghallda." To the overweening outland horde.)

The reason he gives for English victory is the disunity of the Irish, so that the latter are called "ceitheirn cúthail' coille" (mere skulking wood kearns) in their own country.[47]

The native Irish lords attempted to use the power of the Counter-Reformation to bolster their political ends during the Ulster rebellion of the 1590s against the English. When they were defeated in that struggle, many of the native lords left Ulster and fled to the protection of the Spanish Hapsburgs and to France, accompanied by their men of letters. It was largely in the continental monasteries that the drive to bring renewed vigour to Catholicism in Ireland as a religious force, and the need to protect it within a political framework, grew and came to fruition. Part of this was a new impetus to Catholic missionary work in Irish, under the combined auspices of the Gaelic and Old English clergy, which sought to spread itself further afield than the Gaelic areas. More interestingly, poetic abstracts of the principal treatises produced in Irish were composed by the exiled *literati* on the continent. This attests to the power of verse in the Gaelic culture. Pertinently, there was a graduation from classical Gaelic to vernacular Irish so that the views could be more readily understood. For those already versed in Catholic doctrine there were extensive arguments to counter Protestantism's deficiencies. So, while those bards who remained in Ireland became involved in the fruitless 'Iomarbhágh na bhfileadh' (Contention of the poets), a dispute between the Ulster and Munster bards at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the continental *literati* attempted to, and succeeded in, engaging some of them in the composition of religious-inspired verse. Thus, the movement towards the use of the vernacular in Ireland was linked to the need to evangelise effectively, as it was also in Scotland.[48] Most significantly for the future of the north of Ireland, the struggles of the sixteenth century came to be interpreted as religious conflict.[49]

Although the bards were subject to the views of pro-establishment Catholics and the few Protestant landowners who supported them, the Counter-Reformation dynamic is regarded as having influenced the work of the poets who remained in Ireland in three salient ways. It encouraged an overriding reverence for the supremacy of the papacy, an acquaintance with Catholic apologetics, and an extreme hatred of Protestantism. Indeed, Counter-Reformation ideology was probably the most potent force for change in the Irish poetry of the seventeenth century. With the passage of time the poets also became less chary of steering their would-be patrons on the right political course, as they saw it, rather than being deferential. Subjects of praise poems were no longer just Celtic heroes but had to be defenders of the faith.[50] Catholicism was definitely the new focus for Irish Gaelic identity but opinion differs as to what extent this was self-conciously so.[51]

The most significant period, in terms of evidence of changing attitudes amongst the Old English,

was the 1630s and 1640s, when they began to use more flexible forms in poetry and prose. Two important poets in this group were Seathrún Céitinn (Geoffrey Keating) and Pádraigín Haicéad, who were both of Old English stock from Tipperary in Munster and from continental seminary backgrounds, and well imbued with the prevailing Counter-Reformation views and ideas. What has been seen as particularly new in their poetry, was the development, in their "dánta deoraíochta" (exile songs) of a form of patriotism which appeared to transcend the localism of previous concerns. The word "Éire" for instance, was far more often used than mythological words from the past. Yet, like Niall MacMhuirich, Céitinn was a poet of transition, equally at home with bardic metres or vernacular rhythms, and it was a classical syllabic metre which he used for his poem 'Mo thruaighe mar tá Éire' (Pitiful is Ireland), a comment on the grievous situation in Ireland after 1641.[52] Céitinn attempted to provide the native Irish with a glorious and worthy past. In his "Foras feasa ar Eirinn" (A basis of knowledge about Ireland), a narrative history of Ireland which circulated widely in manuscript, he contended that ancient Celtic morality had been very similar to the Christian one and that, hence, Christianity had been taken up very easily. Significantly, this was the diametrically opposite view to that taken by contemporary critics of Gaelic Ireland who aimed, thus, to justify English over-running of the native savages with the sword of Christianity. By implication, therefore, Céitinn sanctioned native Irish rebellion against the English.[53] However, at the same time, inasmuch as he also stated that he 'deemed it not fitting that a country so honourable as Ireland, and races so noble as those who have inhabited it, should go into oblivion without mention,' it was clear that he had a profound understanding that the days of the native Irish civilisation were numbered. Indeed, Céitinn's work was a reaction, during the death throes of that society, to its portrayal as savage and backward by the English writers.[54] Both Céitinn and Haicéad supported the native Irish and the Catholic Confederacy during the civil war.[55]

Attitudes to change expressed in the poetry, are more unusual than would be expected. For example, it is surprising to note that the poets seldom seem to make a stand against the loss of land, though perhaps this could be said to be implicit in any criticism of the incomers. So too, when resentment against anglicization is noted, it is from a conservative view point. Their objection appears not to have been to anglicization in itself, but to the heinous sin of being Protestant and to the increasing use of the English language by the peasants as a symbol of that class's freedom from their native overlords. This general theme receives most ribald treatment in the widely known social satire entitled 'Páirlimint Cloinne Tomáis' (Parliament of the Clann Tomáis), composed in verse in the seventeenth century. The work is a satirical assault on the *Clann Tomáis,* low-bred but upwardly aspiring tenants of English planters who assemble as a 'parliament.' Though anonymous it was clearly written by a member of a professional learned family who feared the erosion of his class and social position.[56] A similar attitude is especially evident in the poetry of Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair, a native Irish Munster poet, who lived from about 1625 to 1698 and is regarded as one of the greatest Irish poets of the Cromwellian to the Williamite, or in Scottish terms the Revolution,

period. Ó Bruadair underwent training as a professional poet but it seems likely that the new metrical patterns were studied in his curriculum, for his vernacular poetry, in accentual metre, is held to be far superior to his limited grasp of the classical style. He was concerned particularly with the traditional order of Irish society, doubtless because his own position would have been safeguarded within it. His patrons were not only Gaelic lords like the MacCarthys but Old English families such as the Burkes, Barrys and Fitzgeralds. Thus he had a vested interest in the system, not simply in the native lordships. Those prepared to uphold the system had their rights to the land legitimised while the incomers were vilified for destroying the old social system. Catholicism and injustice wrought on Irish Catholics is a recurring theme in Ó Bruadair's poetry, as in that of many poets of the period. Indeed, in his poem 'Suim purgadóra bhfear nÉireann' (Summary of the purgatory of the men of Ireland) he attempted to enumerate the suffering of the Irish in four decades from 1641 to 1684, from the civil war to the Popish plot, in which he took the view that at least some of Ireland's misfortune had been caused "tré peacadh na prímhféinne" (the sin of the ancestors).[57] Adherence to the true religion was used not only to legitimise land-rights but, by the same token, to explain native Irish loss to the English:

"Chreidiomh Chríost is paiteant prionnsa	(The rights of these foreigners is based on them having
cairt na ngall so	the faith of Christ and the Patent of a Prince.
a sealbh sin re cúig céad bliadhan	Their occupation for five hundred years
ní bréag fhallsa."	is no falsehood.)[58]

Ó Bruadair took some hope with the accession of James VII and II, however, and this is reflected in his poetry, from which period dates some of the best and mature of his work.[59] Indeed, humour invades his work at this point. He wrote the poem 'Caithréim Thaidhg' (The triumph of Tadhg) after many Irish Catholics had received commissions in the army and the tone is jauntily optimistic. The following extract, in which the soubriquet 'John' (i.e. John Bull) denotes the archetypal Protestant planter, 'Tadhg' the archetypal Irish Catholic, and 'Cia súd' (Who's there?), the common challenge of the Irish sentry, gives the flavour of the better parts of the poem:

"Go bhfuil rí dá ríribh againne
dobheir fáilte is fál dár sagartaibh
is d'éis ar fhoidhnigh Tadhg do tharcuisne
go bhfuil fórsa pórt is bailte aige.

Ní do bhreoghoin Seon is atharrach
Tadhg ón sliabh do thiacht san ngradam san
fear "Cia súd" i gcúram ragairne

is fear "Who's there" na shéithleach airgthe."

(That we now have a king in reality over us
Who bringeth protection and joy to our priests with him,
And that Tadhg after suffering insults and outrages
Now has the forces of cities and fortresses.

The thing that hath wounded John sorely and others too
Is that Tadhg from the mountain should rise to so high a rank,
That "Cia súd" should be thinking of nothing but revelry,
And "Who's there?" should now be a plundered old driveller.)

At worst, it degenerates into typical Jacobite *schmaltz*, as in the penultimate verse:

"A dhé dhil ón Éigipt tug Maoise is cách
gan méarfhliuchadh aonduine tríd an sál
léigsi gan éalaing sa naimhde ar lár
Séamus mac Séarluis dá mhuinntir slán."

(Dear God, who brought forth from Egypt Moses and his followers
Through the ocean's briny waters keeping every toe unwet,
Leave Thou James, the son of Charles, with his people safe and sound
Free from every want or failure, and humble to the ground his foes.)[60]

One of Ó Bruadair's best and frequently discussed poems is 'An longbhriseadh' (The shipwreck), which he wrote in 1691. He continues with the idea expressed above in 'Suim purgadóra bhfear nÉireann,' that it was mainly the sins of the people which had brought ruin upon the country. Indeed, he pulls no punches in the second stanza of the poem where he comments on the lack of Gaelic solidarity:

"Innmhe ag gallaibh ní machtnamh dom thuairims
is cunnail a gcaingean sa gcaradar buan gan scur
ní hionann is clanna na n-ainnear ór ghluaiseasa
do rithfeadh a gceangal go rantaibh le ruainne fuilt."

(The success of the Galls is no wonder at all to me;
Discreet is their compact, unbroken their friendship lasts,
Not like the sons of the women from whom I spring,

Whose bond would, if pulled by a hair, be dissolved in bits.)[61]

In the penultimate verse he links the fate of Ireland to his personal fate as a song-maker, with a plea to the Trinity "go dtuillid fir Bhanbha malairt na duaine si" (That Banbha's men merit a different song from this). He also had higher aspirations:

"Gé shaoileas dá saoirse bheith seasgair sódhail
im stíobhard ag saoi acu, nó im ghearra-phróvost,
ós críoch di mo stríocadh go sean-bhrógaibh
finis dom sgríbhinn ar fhearaibh Fódla."

(Though I had hoped as a result of their freedom to be snug and
comfortable as steward to some good man among them, or as
a petty provost, since it has ended by reducing me to old
shoes, here's *finis* to my writing about the men of Fódla.)[62]

A rare few showed some spirit, as did a little-known vernacular poet featuring in a collection of seventeenth century political verse who wrote, in one of his *aisling* or 'vision-poems,' "Is treise Dia ná fian an Bhéarla" (God is more powerful than the English-speaking crowd).[63] So too, the Leinster poet Seán mhac Ruaidhrí Uí Uiginn saw no prospect of improvement "go dul Sagsanach tar sál" (until the English leave the country).[64] However, the attitude is seldom overtly politically antagonistic, as for instance, is that of Iain Lom in the Scottish Gaelic tradition, but tends more to chip away at English racial solidarity with an accumulation of insulting metaphors which result in a general atmosphere of discomfort. Such, possibly, was the reality of the reaction to occupation and the fear which it engendered.[65]

Thus, poetry which criticised the Cromwellian settlement, attacked the settlers on the basis of the foreignness of their language and their social deficiencies, in a style reminiscent of 'Páirlimint Cloinne Tomáis.' For example, the phrase "brosgán brocach do bhodachaibh céirde" (a grimy rabble of churlish artisans) appears in another poem in the above-mentioned collection of seventeenth century verse by Éamonn an Dúna who was possibly a MacCarthy from west Cork. Nonetheless, the same poet anticipates the return of Charles II as the leader of the Irish rather than a native Irish chief. Ó Bruadair was scathing of the Cromwellian settler as "daoiste dubh díobaighthe duairc gan dán" (a surly black-faced boor with no interest in poetry),[66] who was only interested in cattle and sheep. The early eighteenth century Kerry poet Aodhagán Ó Rathaille,[67] applied a similar label to the Ó Gríogas, a family of native Irish who assimilated into the English order. They became agents for the British landlords and earned themselves the tital from him of "clann na gcaorach" (the family of sheep).[68] The parallel with eighteenth century Scottish Gaelic poems of

the Clearances, though later than 1760, is apparent.[69]

The Irish poets also show keen awareness of the importance of the prevailing political situation in England to the Catholic cause. At the three points of political upheaval in Britain during the seventeenth century - during the civil war, the Restoration and the Revolution - they show a new inclination to the power of divine intervention in their cause and willingness to champion resistance against English rule in Ireland. When on all three occasions the Irish suffered defeat, that also was seen to be the will of God, and the poets tended to return to conservative acceptance.[70]

Similarly, the Irish poets show some awareness of political developments in Scotland though this is limited to what overtly affected them. A poem, 'Taisdil mhionca ór siabhradh sionn' (So frequent that they have left us deranged), of unknown authorship, was probably a criticism of Randal MacDonnell, the second Earl of Antrim, for his excessive journeying overseas and what the poet saw as over involvement in British politics. If this is so, the poem was probably composed between 1639 and 1642 at a time when he was involved in Royalist service and prior to his capture by General Munro, though it might conceivably also refer to his projected visit in 1646. Though 'An Iarla' (the Earl) referred to in the poem is not identified, the circumstances of the poem would seem to fit this Earl. The constant travelling of the subject is felt to leave northern Ireland open to attack:

"tré dhlúthdhol I Cholla ar cuan	(Because of the constant travelling abroad of Colla's descendant
...	...
ní slán tuaighleath Éirionn uadh."	the northern half of Ireland is endangered because of him.)

The subject's citation as "aonlámh comhdha ar cceall" (unique protecting hand of our churches) which in Irish poetic terms is always the Catholic church, also points to MacDonnell of Antrim.[71] Another poem records an attempt by the Marquis of Antrim, in 1645, to ship some supplies into Scotland. Anti-Campbell sentiments are to the fore in the poem which is of uncertain authorship but may have been composed by Domhnall Ó Dalaigh.[72] The poem can be fairly accurately dated by a reference in it to two frigates. At the beginning of 1645, Antrim was sent with letters from the King to the Queen in France. On the journey he acquired two armed frigates from the Spaniards in Flanders. On his way back to Ireland, from where he intended to carry some troops to Scotland, Antrim docked at Falmouth where the King made use of the arms and ammunition in the frigates. The poem, beginning 'Beid mar do bhádar roimhe' ('They shall be exalted as aforetime they were'), is basically a tribute to the Marquis of Antrim, with the implicit understanding that he will come with supplies and that God will guide the ships. However, the major enemy is seen, in the light of Antrim's desire to reclaim old Kintyre territories, as the Campbells:

"Claoidhfidh rea nert a námhuid	(His might shall overwhelm his foes,
beid na bhfuigheall fanámhuid	remnant of mockery shall they be,
Duibhigh ... a ccloinne	clan Campbell ...
fa bharr doilghe is doghrainne."	shall suffer the extreme agony of disaster.)

The munition went to Cornwall and one of the frigates had the dubious honour of becoming his escape vessel when the King fled first to Scilly and then Jersey.[73]

The ninth Earl of Argyll also received short shrift in the poem 'Caithréim an dara Séamuis' (The Triumph of James II) by Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair, for having attempted unsuccessfully to raise rebellion against the Catholic monarch in May 1685. By the time the poem was composed in about October 1687, Argyll had been dead for two years, having been executed in June 1685:

"Gach cuid d'Éirinn nár Chromaolaidh	(Every portion of Erin that was not Cromwellian
tugrat d'aonghuth deonuightheach	Offered with one accord willingly
A gcuirp ra gceathra a ngoil ra ngairce	Their persons and cattle, their courage and prowess
fá chur glaice an ghleobhile	Into the hand of this battle-oak;
acht an taobh úd do lean traosún	But the opposite side that resolved upon treason,
is tug faonchrú a bhfeola ris	And brought the thin blood of their hearts to it,
tugadar Alba turas nár dhearmad	Yielded up Scotland, paid homage and hearkened
urraim is aire dá órduighthibh."	To his orders - a march unforgotten still.)[74]

The early part of the stanza refers to Catholic Ireland's support of James VII and II on his succession. The 'side that resolved upon treason' was the exiled Argyll's. Apart from a general failure to support the King, 'thin blood of their hearts' possibly also refers to Argyll's expectation, but failure, to raise a large force of his own followers in Kintyre. The invasion culminated in an ineffectual march towards Glasgow and the dispersal of Argyll's force near the Clyde on 18 June and his own capture.[75]

Following the Jacobite defeat in Ireland in 1691 and the advent of the Protestant ascendancy, many of the traditional Irish poets recognised the totality of their demise and could not return to conservative acceptance of it. This is thought to be one of the reasons that the eighteenth-century Irish poets, and this serves equally well for the Scots Gaelic poets after the '45, wrote increasingly, though not exclusively, on local or personal matters. In Ireland this has largely been referred to as 'occasional' verse and in Scotland as 'village' verse. In this way, the poets possibly sought to avoid commenting on the political situation or were apathetic to it. This is evident, for instance, in the extant corpus of 145 poems of Seán Ó Murchadha na Ráithíneach, a Munster poet who was at various times a farmer, clerk and bailiff and a member of the Blarney *dámhscoil* or school of poets

- an informal gathering of non-professional poets typical of those which grew up after the demise of the bardic schools but exhibiting greater continuity than most. Writing between 1719 and 1741, Ó Murchadha composed elegies and praise poems to friends, love poetry, as well as poetry covering current events. While there is little of national significance in poetry such as this, which has more recently been placed under the banner of 'poetry of the dispossessed', it is, nonetheless, regarded as an important chronicle of rural life. Overall, however, the eighteenth century Irish attitude has been seen as pessimistic and fatalistic for, by their rejection of the contemporary political system, the Gaelic poets could anticipate little improvement in their situation other than in holding out for a lost *Tìr nan Òg* or Utopia.[76]

Another Irish poet who marks the confluence between the classical poets of the old order and the vernacular poets of the eighteenth century, is the east Kerry poet Aodhagán Ó Rathaille, the only vernacular poet of this period held to match the poetic stature of Ó Bruadair.[77] His extant poems, over forty of which survive, all date from after 1700. No longer employed by his predecessors' patrons, the Mac Cárthaighs, since they had been broken at the beginning of the seventeenth century, his main patrons were the Old English family of De Brún or Browne. When they suffered confiscation following the first Jacobite rebellion, the poverty of such poets as Ó Rathaille, must have fashioned them into more of an élite - in terms of diminishing patronage and opportunity to pass on the art - and this was also the case in Scotland. Nonetheless, Ó Rathaille was able to eek out a living, travelling widely in Kerry, Cork and Limerick as a poet and also working, like the descendants of the Scottish bardic families, as a scribe. Ó Rathaille very much continued Ó Bruadair's line of argument, that is, seeing the English conquest in terms of having destroyed the élite structure which maintained native cultured society. His tone, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as with many of the seventeenth century poets has, nonetheless, been seen as fatalistic. He simply expressed his disgust that conquest had occurred at all speaking, in his poem 'An milleadh d'imthigh air mhór-shleachtaibh na hÉireann' (The Ruin that befell the Great Families of Erin), of the particular ruin of the race of MacCarthaigh from whose ancient territory he came, of the power of the enemy, and of Ireland as "tír na ngaibhne" (a land of fetters). Like Ó Bruadair he also spoke out for the native Irish against "Éagcóir Gall go ceann dá ró-sgrior" (the injustice of the English forcibly despoiling them).[78] Though poetic forms of the vernacular poetry might have been new, many of the same views were expressed if in a less rigid format.

Ó Rathaille took some hope from Jacobitism, a theme which occurs frequently in his poetry, probably because of the problems caused to him personally when his patrons, the Brownes, were dispossessed for supporting the Stewarts. This theme was developed in his political *aislingí* or 'vision poems' of which he composed about twenty, set to music, in which Ireland is portrayed allegorically, as a young woman in need of rescue. The aisling poem soon became a symbol of political hope and continued to be used in the same fashion in the nineteenth century.[79] Indeed, in

the aisling poem 'Maideann sul smaoin Titan' (One morning, ere yet Titan thought) he even accepted the tri-partite power-base through which James VI and I had attempted to smash any trace of Gaelic solidarity a century before, that is, the union of the kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland:

"I n-ainm an ríogh dhíoghrais bheas againn go luath
I gceannas na dtrí ríoghachta 's dá gcosnamh go buan"

(In the name of the beloved King we will soon have,
ruling over the three kingdoms and defending them forever.)[80]

Yet, while such poems may have instilled hope in the general Irish populace, they were simply backward-looking pleas to the Stewarts to establish a lost Golden Age, as in Ó Rathaille's poem 'Tarngaireacht dhoinn Fhírinnigh' (The Prophecy of Donn Firinneach):

"Beidh Éire go rúgach 'r a dúnta go h-aodharach,
Ar Gaodhailg 'g a rcrúdadh 'na múraibh ag éigribh;-
beurla na m-búr n-dubh go cúthail faoi neultaibh,
Ar Séamus 'n a chúirt ghil ag tabhairt cunganta do Ghaodhlaibh."

(Erin will be joyful, and her strongholds will be delightful;
And the learned will cultivate Gaelic in their schools;
And the language of the black boors will be humbled
and put beneath a cloud, and James in his bright court will lend his aid to the Gaels.)

He also anticipated, in the same poem, the banishment of Luther's Bible and his false teaching to other lands. Indeed, he went even further in his poem 'Don taoiseach Eoghan Mac Chormaic Riabhaigh mhic Carta' (To the chieftain Eoghan son of Cormac riabhach MacCarthy), by equating misfortune with the conversion of some Irish lords to Protestantism:

"Ir brónach anoir le cur a nGaodhailge,
An cheura thuit 'na chioth air Ghaodhalaibh,
Ir air gach aicme de clannaibh Milesius,
An mhéid díobh d'iompaigh re Luther a n-éide."

(Sad now is it to record in Gaelic,
The torture that fell on the Gaels in a shower,
And on every band of the descendants of Milesius,
As many of them as became turncoats with Luther.)[81]

For, in the main, his views were those of the seventeenth century, which saw Catholicism as a focus

for Gaelic identity and lamented the dethronement of the propertied classes of Gaelic society.[82]

Jacobite and Catholic views were also to the fore in a group comprising at least 26 bilingual Irish scholars who began to congregate in Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of the most prominent was Seán Ó Neachtain, a poet, teacher and scribe, some 50 of whose poems have survived, and his son Tadhg, originally from Roscommon in Connacht. The group also included two Franciscan priests, Francis Wallis, a lexicographer and a poet, Pól MacAodhagáin who, as Catholic priests and Jacobites, worked under constant threat of imprisonment. One of Pól Mac Aodhagáin's poems, composed in 1709 in *aisling* style, deals with the imaginary arrival of James VII and II, with a fleet at Howth, near Dublin, but the poet awakes to find it a dream. At the time, the government was fearful of a threatened Jacobite invasion of the country which it dealt with by imprisoning a number of Catholic priests, one of whom was MacAodhagáin. Another of the group, Aodh Buidhe MacCruitín, from a family of hereditary poets and historians in Thomond, County Clare, was still capable of composing in bardic as well as vernacular metres. His poetry deals with familiar themes such as the decline in traditional patronage for poets and the rise of peasants. He also regarded the Stewarts as the Irish salvation, as did many poets of the eighteenth century.[83] The faith of the Irish in a restored Stewart monarchy, of course, was a gross irony, for England, access to London and hence, English government, were always the ultimate goals of the Jacobite rebellions, not a long-term restoration of a Gaelic Utopia. So too, it was a Stewart King, James VI and I, who had introduced a Protestant plantation to Ulster which had led to the displacement of so many Irish Catholics, even if the last reigning Stewart King had favoured Catholicism.

Overall, while the English conquest of Ireland elicited a definite response from the native Irish, which they increasingly chose to display through the vernacular language, they do not appear to have united sufficiently to have made a concerted political response. This may have been because of the traditional focus towards the locality or because the English had long been in control of the centralised government. Instead, the Irish turned to an institution with which they felt at ease to act as a focus for their discontent - the Catholic church. Unfortunately, therefore, inasmuch as this was not a legitimate legal force in Ireland, any resistance which it supported was really dependent on the strength of the Catholic church on the continent. In Scotland, the poetic response of the Gael displayed many similar facets, but could perhaps be said to be slightly more politically scathing and certainly lacked the Catholic focus. Poems which dealt with Catholicism in Scotland were purely devotional.

Conversely, there was a move towards the rehabilitation of Gaelic in the Reformed Kirk in Scotland. Although Carswell had actively used it, albeit in its more or less classical form, Gaelic had received short shrift in the Statutes of Iona as a rude language which promoted incivility. However, by the 1630s, perhaps through observation of the Irish example, the absolute necessity of

using the language which the majority of the inhabitants understood, for evangelising the Highlands and Islands effectively, was understood. Indeed, with the establishment of presbyterianism in Scotland after 1638, there was increased awareness of the necessity for probationers to practise and maintain their Gaelic. Positive discrimination was even practised within the policy of sponsoring Gaelic-speaking students for the ministry. The Kirk began sponsoring Highland students in 1643 and congregations in the Synods of Ross, Moray and Caithness were not obliged to contribute to the bursaries of boys from Argyll and the Isles if every presbytery in these three Synods maintained a Gaelic-speaking student at the schools. Nevertheless, the Kirk can be seen to be primarly interested in the promotion of religion, not in the promotion of Gaelic culture. Moreover, given that the Bible was most easily available in English and not Gaelic, and even then, not in vernacular Gaelic, it is understandable that they were also more than willing to promote the use of English schools. Indeed, the Kirk has been criticised more for its lack of attention to producing devotional aids in vernacular Gaelic than a flagrantly anti-Gaelic policy.[84]

III. THE FLOURISHING OF THE VERNACULAR TRADITION IN SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY

Although the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly, marks the period of the height of the Gaelic vernacular tradition in Scotland, vernacular poetry or song survives from the sixteenth century. Apart from the obvious difference in language, vernacular poetry is largely known for its spontaneity of comment and emotion on a wide variety of themes from love to war. Examples of the early vernacular poetry are, as might be expected, much akin in style, content and subject, if not in language to the bardic poetry of the period. Indeed, the whole period, from 1560 to 1760 was largely one of transition where a mixture of both forms of poetry existed. The fairly prosaic term 'semi-bardic' has even been used for the highly literary, but vernacular, poetry commonly found in early seventeenth century Scotland.[85] Thus, several poems at the end of the sixteenth century make mention of Islesmen fighting in the Ulster wars and generally display a similar focus on the clan and locality as shown in the classical poetry. A fragment remains of the song 'Mort Raghnaill 'Ic Dhomhnuill Hearraich' (Song of Defiance on the death of Ronald son of Donald Herrach), which records his support of his kinsmen, Síol Iain Cathunnaich or the MacDonnells of Antrim, in whose country he was wounded. His murder, however, occurred in Paible in North Uist, supposedly caused by his harsh behaviour to the Clanranalds who tried to take over his holding in Griminish. The poem holds an expectation of support from the Irish warriors:

"Am fear dubh a mharbh thu, cha'n fharmad measg chinneil e,
Bi rosadh teachd n aimsir 'us dalmachd a chumas ris;

Thig iad nall thar fairge bho mhac Shomhairle Bhuidhe leinn,
Bi fulang air a chliathain nach b'iarranta sathadh."

(The dark man who killed you, not envied by his kin-folk,
His time will be coming for vengeance is drawing nigh;
And they'll come by ocean from Sorley's son to us,
Such suffering in his sides that he'll ask for the sword-thrust.)[86]

So too, Highland awareness of the cultural supremacy of Ireland is often alluded to in the vernacular poetry. An event of considerable magnitude, frequently spoken of in oral tradition and enshrined in song was the marriage of Angus Òg and the daughter of O'Cahan in 1306. Most frequently mentioned is the "tochradh nighean a' Chathunnaich," or dowry, composed of men from many of Ireland's important families. Great weight is given to Ireland as the cradle of civilised Gaelic learning, which tends to back up the previous evidence from the classical period that there was more traffic to Ireland from Scotland than vice versa. Thus, in the song to Angus the Fair, 'Oran Do Aonaghus Fionn' MacDonald of North Uist, who was chief in the second half of the sixteenth century, there is a traditional reference to him being descended from the heroes of Ireland:

"S tu fillte gu rioghail ri flaitheachd na Eirionn
Bho Cholla 'us bho Chonn ta freumhaich do choir,
'S an co-thlamadh calma, na Cathunnaich gharga,
Ri freumhaig Mhic Ruairi an treubh Aonghuis Oig...

(You're royally folded in heroes of Ireland,
From Coll and from Conn the roots of your rights,
And weaving in strongly the fiercest O'Cahans,
With seed of Mac Ruairi that bore Angus Og...)

However, following this it is plain that there is real reverence for the depth of Irish learning and that the poet, Domhnull Gorm mac a' Phiocair, is not just paying them lip-service.

"'Nad dhileab bho Eirionn mar mhuthaicheas leirsinn,
Thig oilein 'us feile, thig ciall agus ceol;
Na sudairean turail a ghreiseadh an linnseag,
Na ioldana grunndail chuimseach an glor.
An inne, mu iontas a' Chruinne 's na speuran,

'S na reachdan bha dubhrach aig iosal 'us ard;
Bha deigh aca air eolas, air sgriobhadh 'us leubhadh,
An ollamh, an eacnai, am filigh, 's am bard."

(As heirship from Ireland and plain to be seen still,
Comes learning and breeding; comes wisdom and song;
The skill of the tanners who rank high as craftsmen,
The deepest of thinkers and proper in speech.
Their genius who studied the World and its heavens,
Whose laws are obscure still to high and to low;
Their love for all learning, for writing and reading,
The thinker, the wise man, the poet and bard.)[87]

The politicisation of vernacular poetry

Nevertheless, the reaction of the bards to the assaults on Gaelic society, in Scotland as in Ireland, was largely localised and particular, in reflection of their clan lifestyle. However, a broadening of perspective has been noticed following the beginning of the Covenanting Movement in 1638. The evidence is less obvious in the work of those classically trained bards who were still composing than in the output of the vernacular poets who 'preferred to broadcast contemporary comment than to compose esoteric works of art.'[88] Though the main Gaelic source for the history of the civil war period is Niall MacMhuirich's classical Gaelic history of the MacDonalds, this period coincides with the flourishing of a group of vernacular poets, a number of whom, such as Mairearad Nighean Lachlainn of Mull (c. 1660-1751) and Diorbhail Nic a' Bhriuthainn (Dorothy Brown) of Luing (f. 1645), were women. The latter, for instance, was as vitriolic and anti-Campbell as Iain Lom. Following MacColla's retreat from the advancing Covenanting army and his flight to Ireland in 1647, she vent her disappointment on the Covenanting Marquess of Argyll, as follows:

'S truagh nach eil mi mar a b'àite leam,
Ceann Mhic-Caileinn ann am achlais,...
Bu shunndach a ghelbinn cadal,
Ged a b'i chreag chruaidh mo leabaidh.

(It is sad that I am not as I might wish,
with Argyll's head under my armpit
then I would happily be able to sleep,
even if my bed was a hard rock.)[89]

The Covenanting movement which had to provide a viable alternative to monarchical government at local as well as national level, of necessity brought a broad-based political awareness into play across society in Scotland, and this was also so within Gaeldom. No less than any that had gone before, the movement produced its factionalism, feuding, military heroes and promoted connection between west coast Highlanders and Ulster Irish. The province of vernacular poetry quickly

became the vehicle for expounding political and social comment, which the bardic verse had often deliberately shunned, to avoid giving offence to a potential future patron. The Scottish vernacular poets were more concerned with making people aware of current happenings and information than in metrical correctness. However, inasmuch as new perspectives are always born out of old, much that was revered in the bardic tradition was also retained in the vernacular one. Thus, a good deal of the classical imagery and thematic treatments of the poems were familiar and this was because the vernacular poets also came from the literate and upper social rung of the clan. Although Scottish vernacular poetry remained mainly traditionally oriented, as did Irish poetry of the period, nevertheless significant change can be seen in an increased willingness to criticize the behaviour of the clan *fine* in a political and social context. References to absenteeism and the erosion of heritable responsibility began to enter the vernacular poetry, indicating that the unwillingness to subject the clan chiefs and leaders of the political establishment to criticism had now been broken.[90]

Iain Lom[91] Scottish vernacular poet, par excellence, was able to fuse the themes of the old poetry with ascerbic political comment and did a great deal to promote the Royalist cause. Yet, he was also able to call upon the historical antipathy of the MacDonalds for the Campbells and place it in the equally valid arena of their alignment in the civil war. This, indeed, is a common theme in the vernacular poetry of the period, for most of the clans on the western seaboard suffered from the overtly expansionist policy of the Campbells during the early seventeenth century. This, in turn, attracted them to any side opposing the house of Argyll.[92]

The self-evident hagiography of Alasdair MacColla by the Scots poets, is another indication that they were, in many senses, as backward-looking as the Irish poets. The era of the warrior hero had passed, but the ingredients in the lifehistory of Alasdair MacColla, the MacDonald hero with Ulster, and Kintyre and Islay, connections, whose family had been evicted from Colonsay in 1639 by the Campbells, made him a prime candidate for immortalisation. As well as harbouring the traditional grudge against the Campbells, he stood for the Scoto-Irish connection which the MacDonalds sought to exploit. His only deficiency was that he was not a chief in his own right.

The Gaelic vernacular bards got good poetic mileage out of the Royalist battle of Inverlochy, fought on Sunday 2 February 1645. According to MacMhuirich, it was Magnus O'Cathan, leader of one of the three Irish regiments which came across with Alasdair MacColla, who started the battle by attacking Archibald Campbell, laird of Pennylands in Kintyre, and his men. Not only was the victory eulogised by the Royalists but the Campbells also dwelt upon the devastation wrought, and the part played by the Irish within that. Campbell of Glenfeochan's widow wrote a lament for the decimation of her family. Three of her sons, her husband, her four brothers, nine foster-brothers, as well as her father, met their deaths in the battle.

"Ho, gur mi tha air mo leònadh	(Ah, verily I am sore wounded
Bho latha blàr Inbhir Lòchaidh;	since the day of the battle of Inverlochy.
Bha ruaig nan Eireannach dòite,	The attack (lit. 'pursuit') of the Irish
Thàinig do dh'Alba gun stòras,	who came to Scotland without gear
A bha dh'easbhuich air na cleòcaibh;	and lacking cloaks, was searing:
Thug iad spionnadh do Chlann Dòmhnaill."	they gave impetus to Clan Donald.)[93]

Similarly, Florence, the sister of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, whom Argyll had recalled from Ireland to defend Argyllshire, was married to the Royalist John MacLean of Coll. The lament which she composed for her brother was entirely written from the emotional stance of a Campbell.

"N'an robh mis' an Inbhir-Lòchaidh,	(Were I at Inverlochy,
Is claidheamh da-fhaobhair am dhòrnaibh,	with a two-edged sword in my hand,
Is neart agam gu m' mhiann, is eòlas,	and all the strength and skill I could desire,
Dheanainn fuil ann, dheanainn stròiceadh,	I would draw blood there, and I would tear assunder
Air na Leathanaich 's Clann Dòmhnaill;	the MacLeans and the MacDonalds.
Bhiodh na h-Eireannaich gun deò annt,	The Irish would be without life,
Is na Duibhnich bheirinn beò as."	and I would bring the Campbells back alive.)[94]

The most celebrated poetic account of the battle of Inverlochy, however, was that by the most potent of the vernacular bards, Iain Lom, who was an eye-witness to the scene. However, his poem was very much executed with the classical attention to his own clan and the achievement of having daunted the Campbells, and hence there is no mention of the Irish.[95] Indeed, perhaps the Campbell preoccupation with the Irish in the previous two poems was a subtle device to demean the Royalist clans, that is, implying that they needed assistance from Ireland to defeat the Campbells.

In like celebratory fashion, when the Earl of Antrim came to Kintyre in late May or, perhaps, early June 1646, an anonymous song, 'Failt' a Mharcuis a dh'Alba,' (Welcome to Scotland to the Marquis) was composed in his honour. His main aim was to see through the agreement he had with the King that he should reclaim the old MacDonald lands of Kintyre and Islay. Hence, the battle prowess of the MacDonnells is eulogised in the song. The MacDonnells are identified in the poem as "Clann Domhnaill à Ile" (MacDonalds from Islay), and the Earl as "Oighre Charaidh 's Ghlinnarm" (heir to Carey and Glenarm). The poem, typical of its genre, stretches the credibility of his actions, and undoubtedly, for this reason, makes good use of the mettle of his ancestry. Thus, it states that:

"Ann an Alba 's an Eirinn,	(In Scotland and in Ireland
Rinn 'ur n-euchdan 'ur dearbhadh,	your deeds proved your worth

'S ann an aghaidh fir Shasuinn,	and against the English
Cha do chleachd sibh bhi leanabail;	you were not wont to be faint-hearted.
Ard Iarla, ùr, allail,	Lofty Earl, young and handsome,
Ogha 'n t-seannar bha ainmeil,	you are the grandson of the renowned,
Somhairle buidhe mòr, buadhach,	mighty, and victorious Sorley Buidhe,
Com a' chruadail 's na h-ainmein."	in whose breast there was courage and determination.)

The poem also points out the undoubted boost it gave to Highland morale:

"'S mòr muinighin do chàirdean,	(Great is the confidence of your friends,
Nis o'n thàinig thu th'Alba,	now that you have come to Scotland.
'S mòr an tachdsa do'n Righ thu,	You have been a great support to the King
On a dh'inntrig an aimlisg".	since the disorder began.)

MacDonald enmity for the Campbells also receives customary treatment:

"Gun teid luchd nam beul fiara,	(The people of the wry mouths
A chur sios fo ar sàilean,	will be trampled under our heels,
'S bi Clann Domhnaill an uachdar,	and Clan Donald will be on top,
Nar bu dual do'n an àl sin."	as was usual for that people.)[96]

Antrim did not remain long in Scotland, and when he returned to Ireland, Aeneas MacDonell of Glengarry went back with him. However, Glengarry appears not to have been accompanied by a fitting number of men for a person of his status, for Iain Lom's lament for Alasdair MacColla, 'Cumha Alasdair mac Cholla,' composed in 1647, indicates that he went alone. The poem asks God to protect the chiefs who set off in a small narrow boat with three sails.

"'S ann diubh an t-Aonghus òg Glinneach,	(Among them was young Angus of the Glen,
A ghabh fògradh thar linne;	who took refuge across the sea;
'S truagh gun ròiseal d'a chinnidh 'na chòir."	it is a pity that there was not a force of his people with him.)

Iain Lom also mentions the MacDonalds flight from Islay and Kintyre and refers to one of the officers in the Irish force, Ranald Og, a cousin of the Marquis of Antrim's who was executed by Lieut.-Col. Leslie in Inveraray.

"'S oil leam sgapadh fir Ile	(Sad to me is the dispersing of the men of Isla,
Agus uaisleam Chinntire,	and the gentlemen of Kintyre;

Is cha b'fhasa leam diol Raonuill Oig." not less regretful to me is the fate of Ranald Og.)

After the siege of Dunaverty in early June 1647, and the apparent loss of the MacDonald and Royalist cause on the west coast, Iain Lom appears to take solace in the hope of help from Ireland, which will cause the Covenanters to seek a truce. The reference to the 'prancing steeds' probably refers to the Covenanters superior cavalry strength, which was seldom matched on the Royalist side.

"Gur mòr chuid èislein o'n sgeul-s' tha mi clàistinn,
Sibh bhi togail 'ur leigeard ratreut chum na fàsaich,
Thig marcaich à Eirinn an èirig na dh'fhàg iad,
'S bi luchd nan each ceumnach ag èigheachd a' phàrlaidh."

(Great is my sorrow on account of this story which I hear,
that you are raising the siege and retreating into the wildnerness.
Horsemen will come from Ireland to avenge those whom they left behind,
and the people with the prancing steeds will be calling the parley.)

Though the Scottish poetry of the civil war period sprang from traditional bardic themes, it also began to show a greater awareness of national issues than Irish poetry, and evinced some criticism of the political establishment. Scottish Gaels were particularly indignant at the selling out of the King by the Covenanters to the English Parliamentarians, for an initial instalment of £200,000 sterling, at the beginning of 1647. The monarchy, as invested in the Stewarts, was also seen not to be sufficiently protective of the national interest, on occasion, as seen in Iain Lom's 'Cumha Morair Hunndaidh' (Lament for the Marquess of Huntly). One of the most overt examples of developed, grass-roots political consciousness in verse, is an anonymous song 'An Cobhernandoir' (The help of the Tories). This poem analyses the cost of undertaking the Engagement or 'Band,' as it is called in the poem, of 1648. The Engagement was an attempt by the Scottish nobility to rescue the King from captivity on the Isle of Wight, in return for his agreement to a trial period of presbyterianism in England. The attempt failed in the defeat of the Engagers at Preston in August 1648. The poet is thought to have been connected to the MacDonalds of Glengarry and writes from a Royalist, but not an Engager, standpoint in castigation of the Engagement. The poem is interesting in that it enshrines the word 'Tory' in its original meaning, that is, as it was first applied to the dispossessed Irish land-holders who assumed the occupation of woodkearn after the Ulster plantation. Remaining in an Irish context, it was applied, by extension, to the native Irish Confederates during the civil war period. By the 1650s it had been transferred by the English to the 'rural guerillas' who resisted the Cromwellian occupation in Scotland. Here, however, it is used in a political context, being applied to the Engagers, that is, the more moderate Covenanters and Royalists. In

evolutionary terms, as has been noted: '*Cobhernandoir*...is the prime example of the re-channelling of the cultural links among the Gaels in a polemical direction: a product, perhaps, of the political co-operation of the Irish Confederates and the Royalist clansmen in the campaigns of MacColla.' Indeed, MacColla, the ubiquitous arch-Celtic warrior, is mentioned in the last stanza of the poem.[97]

Some of the stanzas in Iain Lom's lament for the Marquess of Huntly, 'Cumha Morair Hunndaidh,' composed in 1649, show how the effects of the Cromwellian campaign in Ireland reverberated in the Scottish Highlands. The poet writes:

"Tha na h-amraichean-mùine,	(The urine-troughs are
Togail siùil an cuan farsuing"	hoisting sail in the open ocean.)

This refers to the Commonwealth fleet which was sent to Ireland to counter the small fleet sent in 1649 with Prince Rupert to Ireland, for the purposing of helping the Duke of Ormond against Cromwell. The Commonwealth fleet did not bode well for the Gaelic vessels:

"Na loingeas dharaich a crionadh,	(The vessels of oak,
Dh'òlta fion air an saidse"	on whose hatches wine was drunk, are decaying.)

However, there was some hope that Charles II and Montrose might land in Ireland, and save the day:

"Tri fichead sgùd lòdail	(But if Montrose
'S buill chorcaich nan srèin riu;	with a command from the King
Le 'n ceannabheirtibh òrbhuidh,	comes on the coast of Ireland,
Agus òrdugh Righ Sheurlais,	with three score proud vessels
Bhiodh an fhaisneachd an òrdugh,	bridled with hempen tackle and having golden prows,
Mar thuirt Tòmas an Rèumair."	the prophecy will come true, as said Thomas the Rhymer.)

Montrose did come to Scotland again after this but was defeated at Carbisdale on 27 April 1650. Charles II, however, distanced himself from Montrose's expedition and was conducting his own negotiations with the Covenanters.[98]

The poetry of the Jacobite period is also fairly overtly political in its bent, and from the time of the Union of 1707 the poets take increasing liberties in criticising the cultural transformation of their chiefs. Thus the MacLean bard, Iain Mac Ailein or John MacLean[99] in his poem 'An Sùgradh' (The Mirth-making), composed to commemorate the return of Sir John MacLean from exile in France in 1703, paints a picture of a past Gaelic Golden Age in the house of the MacLean chiefs of

Duart in Aros who extended hospitality to Scottish and Irish artistes alike:

"Nuair 'thigeadh an luchd-sugraidh,	(When the makers of mirth came
An cuil cha chuireadh siad iad;	they would not hide them away;
'Sann ann 'bhitheadh iad gle mhuirneach	they made them joyously welcome
Fagus d'an seomraichean ard.	close to their high-ceilinged rooms.
Bhiodh meas ac' air na h-orain,	They showed regard to the songs,
S bu sholasach deth na baird;	and the bards had their joy of it;
Is bhiodh luchd-falbh na h-Eireann	and the travellers from Ireland
Gle ghleidhte le féil' an làmh."	did well at their liberal hands.)[100]

However, the decreasing military contact between the Irish and Scottish Gaels, in numerical terms, is amply reflected in the sparseness of reference to the Irish in the poetry of the last decade of the seventeenth century. The group of about 300 Irishmen from Rathlin who joined Dundee some fifty years after the civil war, did not, on the evidence of the above-mentioned bard, Iain Mac Ailein, attract the same admiration as their forebears in the 1640s. Whether this had anything to do with their behaviour in Mull where they landed on their way to join Dundee, and stayed for some days, can only be surmised. Certainly, they fought next to the MacLeans at the battle of Killiecrankie, on 27 July 1689, but Mac Ailein portrays them as rampantly uncivilised. Speaking of the MacLeans he writes:

"Bha ri'n sgèith-san buidheann èiginn,	(There was on their flank a desperate company,
Dh'fhalbh à Eirinn còmhla,	that had left Ireland as a unit:
Ri mionaid eile phàigh an èirig	in a moment they had paid their own blood money
Fèin le glèusdachd còmhraig;	with the excellence of their fighting.
Bu bhinn an sgeul ' bhith seal 'gan èisdeachd,	It was pleasant to listen to them for a little,
'S iad ri èigheachd crònain,	when they shouted their war-cry;
'S a liuthad fear air bheagan ceannaich	many's the one of them that got
A fhuair malairt còta."	a change of coat at little cost.)

The allusion in the last two lines of the stanza is to the Irish looting the bodies of those who died. This was certainly a practice which had been well documented over fifty years previously, on 13 September 1644, at the battle of Aberdeen. It is also clear from the next stanza that the Irish were slightly ostracised, that is, they were not "luchd-cèille" or kindred people of the Highlanders, who clearly wished to distance themselves from their behaviour.

"Cha bu ghealtachd ' bhi 'gan seachnadh,	(It was not cowardice to shun them

Cha robh am faicinn bòidheach:	(for) they were not a pleasant sight to see;
An lèintean paisgte fo'n dà achlais;	their shirts were folded up under their armpits,
'S an casan gun bhrogan	and their feet were shoe-less:
Boineid dhathte 'dion an claiginn	coloured bonnets were on their heads
'S an gruag 'na pasgan fòtha;	with their hair gathered under;
Bu chosmhuile 'n glèus ri trotan bhèistean	their charge was more like to the stampede of cattle beasts,
Na ri luchd-cèille còire."	than to the charge of beloved and related people.)

This is agreed with in the *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel,* where they are said to be newly raised, naked and undisciplined.[101]

Less specifically, an anonymous poem composed on the battle of Killiecrankie, indicates a general awareness of another Jacobite front-line in Ireland. The poet writes:

"Ach 's mòr m'imnidh 's mo smuaintinn	(I think, and great is my fear,
Thaobh gach cùis a ta 'g èirigh,	regarding what's happening,
Gu'm bi Breatunn deth ciùrrte	that Britain will suffer,
'S fuil bhrùit ann an Eire;	there'll be bruised blood in Ireland;
Gu'm bi bristneadh a' Chnàimh	James and Mary will share
Eadar Màiri is Seumas;	the bone that is shattered,
'S gu'm bi'n smior aig an Fhrangach	and the Frenchman will have
Mu'n ceannsaich sibh a chèile."	while you quarrel, the marrow.)[102]

Later on in the first Jacobite campaign, Kenneth MacKenzie, fourth Earl of Seaforth returned to Scotland in June 1690. He had gone to Ireland with James VIII and II in 1689, but was sent in the following summer to raise the clans for the King, with a company of Grenadier Guards. For a number of reasons, however, they would not rise. Even his own Clan MacKenzie would not do so. In effect, the King had left it too late. He had stayed in Ireland for too long as, indeed, had Seaforth and not sent sufficient munitions and aid to the Highlands over the previous year. Since then, they had suffered too much from incompetent leadership. The fact that the MacKenzies failed to rise for their chief apparently shocked some men from over the sea, probably Irishmen. A poem composed in August 1690, of unknown authorship, but by someone who sympathised with Seaforth, indicates the Irishmen's amazement that they would not rise.

"Fir eile bha'n cruadal, a thàinig air chuantaibh -
Gu'n aithris iad uam so gu h-àrd -
Leis am b'ìoghnadh so thachairt, 's nach do smaoinich a' bheart-sa

Mu na ghluais iad gu machair bho thràigh;
'S a liuthad laoch gasda bha'd faicsinn 'na bhratach
Nach faighteach ri gealtachd gun spàirn."

(There were others in the strife, who came across the sea,
and - may it be repeated openly -
who were surprised at this happening for,
before they moved to the lowland,
they did not contemplate such an occurrence, considering the number they saw under his banner
of fine heroes who would not be found cowardly without pressure.)

However, Seaforth's appearance was not welcomed after such a long period of time and he was advised, by three whom the poet declines to mention, to return to Ireland where, it was insinuated, he was more at home. The advice he got was:

"Pill fathast gu d'dhuthchas le h-eich Bhuchain a nunn bhuainn,
'S leig sgaoileadh do d'mhuinntir ach pàirt,
Ach gu'm fosglar duit dorus dheanamh do shìothshaimh le onoir
Chionn 's nach faicear leat cothrom is feàrr."

(Return yet to your country along with Buchan's cavalry,
and disband but some of your clan,
so that a way may be opened for you to make your peace with honour,
since you can see no better way.)[103]

Following the first rebellion, there is no confirmed evidence of native Irish involvement in the '15 and the Irish contribution in the '45 was essentially non-Gaelic, and occurred through France.[104] Hence, the Irish make little appearance in the Scottish Gaelic Jacobite poetry of the eighteenth century. The three fleeting references which are made specifically to Ireland, that is, in Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's 'Teàrlach Mac Sheumais' (Charles son of James) his 'Oran nam Fineachan Gaidhealach' (The Song of the Clans), and in Rob Donn MacKay's 'Oran nan Casagan Dubha (The song of the black coats), are made in collective reference to general Jacobite support in Great Britain and Ireland.[105] Any mention of contact between Irish and Scottish Gaels was retrospective, of necessity, and usually referred back to the Golden Age of their joint involvement in the Royalist cause in the civil war. It is probably for this reason that the historical framework for Jacobitism of one of the most vocal Gaelic Jacobite apologists, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, begins with the civil war. Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, thus, makes reference to "Alasdair

euchdach" (mighty Alasdair) or Alasdair MacColla, a warrior esteemed in both Ireland and the Isles, in 'Teàrlach Mac Sheumais,' using MacColla's heroism at the battles of Inverlochy and Auldearn, in February and May 1645 respectively, and the death of Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers at the latter, to demean the Campbells. As well as further mention of MacColla and Montrose, there is one direct incitement to the men and Earl of Antrim, in Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's 'Oran luaidh no fùcaidh' (A waulking song), probably composed in 1746/7. The song was allegedly composed to "graceful Morag," Morag being the name which Prince Charles acquired during his period of disguise as a woman. Those expected to join the young sweetheart, if 'she' returned, included men from Antrim:

"Dh'èireadh leat a nall o'n Rùta	(And from the Route would come brave Antrim
Aontrom lùth-chleasach nan seang-each."	Of the slim steeds, to rise for thee.)[106]

Yet, though the prospect of native Irishmen rising continued to be referred to in Jacobite plots after the '45, any possibility of their doing so was confined to the poetic imagination.[107]

It can thus be seen that political invective appears to have been more intensively developed in Scotland than in Ireland from the 1640s. However, along with comment on broader political issues runs more localised commentary related to inter-clan feuds. The poetry of the civil war period, particularly, evinces continuity of contact between the Irish and Scottish Gaels, mainly through the MacDonalds, but much is made within that of the Campbell/MacDonald power struggle. As the vernacular tradition progresses into the eighteenth century, the political, even nationalist theme continues within the poetry of, for example, Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, a MacDonald who also continues to pour scorn upon the Campbells.[108] However, it is clear from the corpus of poetry that remains, that Scottish Gaelic vernacular poetry of the eighteenth century was no longer fettered to the narrow mythological allusion or any idea of Irish cultural superiority, but had created a poetic Gaelic vitality which was exclusively Scottish.

Conclusion

In cultural terms, the situation in 1760 has been aptly described by the Irish poet Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair as "tonnbhriseadh an tseanghnáthaimh" (the final cataclysm of the old order). By this time, indeed, largely by the end of the seventeenth century, all the classically trained members of the traditional learned orders of Gaeldom have gone. In both Ireland and Scotland there was a redeployment of literate labour into those institutions still able to support it. In both countries, the Church was one of the major employers of redundant *literati*, who not only went into orders but worked as lay scribes and translators of the scriptures and other religious works. In Ireland there

was yet a further dimension inasmuch as the Church almost assumed the abandoned role of patron, at least of the literary arts, in a country where love of Catholicism pervaded the Gaelic cultural tradition. Neither was it a totally ineffective patronage, for it provided some sort of backbone against both the English political oppression, and the equally dangerous black pessimism of the Gaels under threat, 'which sought relief in the 'Charley-over-the-waterism' of the Aislings or in useless repining.' To a large degree the preservation of Irish culture and the Catholic religion became synonymous.[109] In Gaelic Scotland, in the absence of such a pervasive ecclesiastical patronage, the literary bent inclined more, though not exclusively, to the political, though evangelical presbyterianism increasingly became a subject for poetry after 1745. The ideas of Gaelic solidarity which the vernacular bards expressed in the face of the many assaults on Gaelic society at this time, have more correctly been described as a conceptual unity than anything which existed in reality. Throughout this period, any exposition of pan-Gaelic unity in the poetry was developed by the MacDonalds, undoubtedly reflecting an anachronistic identification with the role of the Lordship of the Isles. This whole tradition is absent in Campbell poetry, and it is significant, in terms of the main thesis that it is mainly the MacDonald view that survives in the concepts of Scottish Gaelic history.[110]

NOTES

1. W. Gillies, 'Gaelic: the Classical Tradition,' in R. D. S. Jack (editor), *The History of Scottish Literature,* I, (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 245.
2. John MacKechnie (editor), *The Dewar Manuscripts,* I, (Glasgow, 1963), pp. 144-45, 317-18. The tale deals with an attempt by the King, in 1685, to take possession of the land charters of the forfeited ninth Earl of Argyll whose lands had been given to the Marquess of Atholl. According to the tale, the charters had been given to a forester of the Campbells of Skipness, called Rob an Roibein, who was subsequently imprisoned when a band of soldiers were sent from Edinburgh and he refused to reveal their whereabouts. Tiring of prison life, Rob an Robein indicated that he would write a letter in Gaelic to a man in Glendaruel who knew where the charters were hidden. He addressed the letter to the Baron of Cùl an dìrich at Cill Naoghuis, Cul-an-dìrich being a brook between Conachro and Duileter and Cill Naoghuis or Kill-angus, a place of worship at the time of the Culdees. This man was a MacLugash (a variant of MacLucas) whom Rob had taught the Irish script. The tale states, in translation, that: "There was none else at that time in the shire of Argyll that could read the Gaelic corra-litir or write it but the two of themselves." When the messengers arrived with their message written in English, MacLugash is said to have pretended ignorance of the message in classical Gaelic script which was written from right to left, stating that he did not know where the charters were. However, the Gaelic message told him to go to the cave in which the charters were hidden in a cask, to break it open, take the charters and put others in their place, which he is said to have done and so averted their capture.
3. Roderick Watson, *The Literature of Scotland,* (London, 1984), p. 192.
4. W. Gillies, 'The Classical Irish Poetic Tradition,' in D. Ellis Evans, John D. Griffith and E. M. Jope (editors), *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies,* (Oxford, 1983), p. 112.
5. Thomson, 'Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: the Breaking of the Mould,' in Andrew Hook (editor), *The History of Scottish Literature,* II, (Aberdeen, 1987), p. 177.
6. A. J. Hughes, 'The seventeenth-century Ulster/Scottish contention of the Red Hand: background and significance,' in Derick S. Thomson (editor), *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony,* (Glasgow, 1988), pp. 83-85, and Watson, p. 192. For brief reference to the continuance of the professional poet in Ireland in the seventeenth century, see *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 538-39.
7. 'Gaelic: the Classical Tradition,' p. 260.
8. For Cathal, see Chapter 16, section II A. The MacMhuirichs, a Scottish bardic family par excellence.
9. Derick S. Thomson, 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic poets,' in A. J. Aitken, M. P. McDiarmid and D. S. Thomson (editors), *Bards and Makars,* (Glasgow, 1977), pp. 223, 245-46; 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family,' *TGSI*, 43, (1966), pp. 299-300; 'The Poetry of Niall MacMhuirich,' *TGSI*, 46, (1970), pp. 281, 283; *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry,* (London, 1974), p. 155. Niall's Mss. survive in the Red Book of Clanranald in the NLS and the Royal Irish Academy. Some of Niall's vernacular repertoire further survives in the oral tradition. ('The MacMhuirich Bardic Family,' p. 299.)
10. *Reliquiae Celticae*, II, pp. 200-03.
11. Rev. Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae,* II, (Inverness, 1894), pp. 176-77.

12. 'The Poetry of Niall MacMhuirich,' pp. 286, 289-90; *Reliquiae Celticae*, II, p. 249; *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*, p. 155.
13. 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets,' pp. 228-30; 'The Poetry of Niall MacMhuirich,' p. 301.
14. 'The Poetry of Niall MacMhuirich,' pp. 288, 291.
15. Hughes, pp. 85-90; *Reliquiae Celticae,* II, pp. 291-99; 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic poets,' pp. 230, 233. I am grateful for the assistance of Mr. James Gleasure, Lecturer in the Celtic Department, University of Glasgow, for help with translation of some of these first lines. I am also grateful to Mr. Kenneth MacDonald, Senior Lecturer in Celtic, University of Glasgow, for suggesting a translation of the problematic first line of Niall MacMhuirich's poem 'Nar lém choisnes tu clu chuin' as it appears in *Reliquiae Celticae*. He has suggested that the line is more readily understandable if 'chuin' is read 'dhuin' - for us - but acknowledges that the translation is tentative.
16. *Reliquiae Celticae,* II, pp. 280-83; *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,* p. 186; Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement,* II, (London, 1950), pp. 22-23.
17. 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family,' p. 301; 'Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: the Breaking of the Mould,' p. 175.
18. He was probably the son of the Eóin Ó Muirgheasáin who composed the elegy for Ruaidhrì Mòr, according to the patronymic mentioned in Chapter 16.
19. See Chapter 16, section II A. The MacMhuirichs, a Scottish bardic family par excellence: Case study.
20. R. Black, 'Poems by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirghéasain (I),' *SGS*, 12, part 2, (1976), pp. 194, 196-98, 207; *The Beatons,* p. 19.
21. 'Poems by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirghéasain (I),' pp. 196, 200-02.
22. Ronald I. Black, 'Poems by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin (III),' *SGS*, 13, part 2, (Summer 1981), pp. 289-90, 292-93.
23. R. Black, 'Poems by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin (II),' *SGS*, 13, part 1, (Autumn 1978), p. 46.
24. Pádraig Ó Riain, 'A Poem on Séafraidh Ó Donnchadha an Ghleanna,' *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 3, (1970), pp. 48-49.
25. Thomas F. O'Rahilly, 'A Hiberno-Scottish family (Ó Muirgheasáin, Morrison),' *SGS,* 5, (1938-42), p. 103; Padraic H. Pearse, *Songs of the Irish Rebels and specimens from an Irish Anthology,* (Dublin and London, 1918), footnote to p. 84. Feiritár was hanged in 1653 on the orders of the Cromwellian Brigadier Nelson while allegedly under safe conduct. (Pearse, footnote to p. 84.) For this poem see T. F. O'Rahilly, 'A poem by Piaras Feiritéar,' *Ériu*, 13, (1942), pp. 113-18. I am grateful to James Gleasure for translating this first line for me.
26. Ó Riain, p. 49.
27. Nicholas MacLean-Bristol, 'The O'Muirgheasain Bardic Family,' *Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland and Island Historical Research*, no. 6, (March 1978), p. 3.
28. Ó Riain, pp. 50-51.
29. I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods, The History of a Clan,* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 176, 188, 191-93, 203, 213, 215, 225; *RPCS*, 1613-1616, p. 634; *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland,* p. 220.

30. Ó Riain, p. 53.
31. 'Gaelic: the Classical Tradition,' p. 248.
32. See Chapter 16, sections I. Extent of Scottish bardic links with Ireland, and IV. Poetic evidence from the plantation to the civil war.
33. Colm J. Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall Mac Mharcuis,' *SGS*, 12, (1971-76), pp. 185-86.
34. Ó Baoill, p. 188 quoting SRO CH2/557/3, fols. 827-28, 860. On 7 June 1700, the stated duties of three catechists appointed in the Synod's bounds were "to read the Scripture & pray with the Sick, and in ther families & to instruct the people in the grounds of relligion par(ticular)lie to Learn thame the assemblies shorter catechism." (fol. 860.)
35. Ó Baoill, p. 191. Colm Ó Baoill points out that 'gan' in this sentence probably represents the form 'dhe'n,' 'from the.'
36. 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets,' pp. 245-46; *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry,* p. 115.
37. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 402; *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry,* pp. 180-81, 194-95.
38. Nicholas Canny, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1680-1750,' *Past and Present*, no. 95, (May 1982), p. 92.
39. Brendan Bradshaw, 'Native reaction to the Westward Enterprise: a case-study in Gaelic ideology,' in K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair (editors), *The Westward Enterprise*, (Liverpool, 1978), p. 71.
40. Bradshaw, p. 71; Ann Dooley, 'Literature and Society in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The Evaluation of Change,' in Cyril J. Byrne, Margaret Harry and Pádraig Ó Siadhail (editors), *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples,* Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies, (Halifax (Nova Scotia), 1992), p. 514.
41. T. J. Dunne, 'The Gaelic Response to Conquest and Colonisation: The Evidence of the Poetry,' *Studia Hibernica*, 20, (1980), pp. 21-22; Dooley, p. 514.
42. Dooley, pp. 513-34.
43. Dunne, p. 16.
44. A. I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651: The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' in John Dwyer, Rogert A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (editors), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 68; W. M. Currie of Balilone, *With Sword and Harp,* (Milngavie, 1977), pp. 71, 81.
45. See Chapter 4.
46. Dunne, pp. 11-13.
47. Pearse, pp. 12-15; Bradshaw, p. 77, footnote 5.
48. For more on this topic see Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.
49. Canny, pp. 94-99; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 539. For the poems of the 'Contention of the poets,' see Lambert McKenna, S.J., *Aithdioghluim Dána,* I & II, Irish Texts Society, 37 & 40, (Dublin, 1939 & 1940).
50. Canny, pp. 103-04.
51. Dunne, p. 20.
52. Dunne, p. 17; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 540.

53. Canny, p. 100; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 531.

54. Dunne, p. 19.

55. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 540.

56. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 535-36.

57. Rev. John C. MacErlean, S.J., *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair,* 3 vols., Irish Texts Society, 11, 13, 18, (London 1910, 1913, 1917), III, pp. 12-13; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 534.

58. Dunne, pp. 20-23, 28-29; *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 542-44.

59. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 544.

60. MacErlean, III, pp. 76, 96 footnote 3, 97 footnote 8, 128-29, 140-41.

61. MacErlean, III, pp. 164-65.

62. MacErlean, III, pp. 180-81; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 544.

63. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 542. This is a collection of the work of non-professional poets by Cecile O'Rahilly, entitled *Five seventeenth-century poems* whose poems reflect contemporary views of the period from 1640-1660. (Dunne, pp. 19-20.)

64. Dunne, p. 15. Little is known about this poet, but he can probably be identified with the Seán mac Ruaidhrí Oig Uí Uiginn who wrote a poem to Cúchonnacht Mág Uidhir. (Seán Mac Airt, *Leabhar Branach: The Book of the O'Byrnes,* (Dublin, 1944), p. 435.)

65. As the bardic poet Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh had earlier expressed it in classical Gaelic:

"Ní leigeann eagla an ghallsmaicht (Fear of the foreign law does not
damh a hanstaid do nochtadh." permit me to tell her sore plight.)
(Osburn Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry,* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 115, 264.)

66. For the same metaphor, see the Jacobite poetry of Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille below.

67. For more of whom see immediately below.

68. Dunne, pp. 20-01, 24, 28-29; *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 542 and footnote to p. 542.

69. Neither were the Scottish Gaelic poets, as a whole, vocal in their condemnation of intruders at points of political conflict in Scotland. For instance, opposition to William of Orange and the Revolution government was very restrained in all but the case of the highly politicised Iain Lom. (J. A. MacLean, 'The Sources, particularly the Celtic sources, for the history of the Highlands in the seventeenth century,' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Aberdeen, 1939), p. 258. Instead, the Scottish poets concentrated on the retrospective idealism of a Celtic Golden Age to be revivified under the Stewarts just as the Irish did, and on a fair amount of Campbell-bashing.

70. Canny, pp. 105-12; Dunne, pp. 10-11.

71. Brian Ó Cuív, 'A Poem on the Second Earl of Antrim,' *SGS,* 13, part 2, (Summer 1981), pp. 302-04; 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' p. 78.

72. The name appears amidst some scribbling on the back of the manuscript and may be that of the author.

73. Robin Flower, 'An Irish-Gaelic poem on the Montrose Wars', *SGS,* 1, (1926), pp. 113-14; 116-18.

74. MacErlean, III, pp. 84-85.

75. Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War,* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 95.

76. Canny, p. 111; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 403-04.

77. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 405.

78. Dunne, pp. 25-26; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, p. 405; Rev. Patrick S. Dinneen, *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille,* Irish Texts Society, 3, (London, 1900), pp. 6-7, 126-27.

79. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 406-07.

80. Dunne, p. 27; *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 405-06.

81. Dinneen, pp. 158-61, 190-91, 206-07, 258-59.

82. Dunne, pp. 27-28.

83. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. 395-98.

84. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' p. 91, footnote 15, p. 63.

85. *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry,* pp. 58, 106, 108.

86. Donald A. Fergusson, *From the Farthest Hebrides,* (London, 1978), p. 81.

87. Fergusson, pp. 68, 84-87.

88. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' p. 68.

89. *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, pp. 193, 213; Allan I. Macinnes, 'Seventeenth-Century Scotland: The Undervalued Gaelic Perspective,' in Cyril J. Byrne, Margaret Harry, Pádraig Ó Siadhail (editors), *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples,* Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies, (Halifax, (Nova Scotia), 1992), p. 540.

90. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' pp. 76-77, 89-90.

91. Lom has been translated as either 'scathing' or possibly, in a physical sense, 'bald.'

92. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' pp. 77-79, 83-84; W. J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry - III,' *SGS*, 2, (1927), pp. 75-77, 80-85.

93. MacLean, pp. 24-27. Interestingly, there is an oral tradition in the MacMhuirich or modern Currie family, that after the rout at the battle of Inverlochy, Donald MacMhuirich (the son of Cathal who had been involved in the 1615 Islay rebellion) and his three sons went in pursuit of seven Highland gentlemen, it still being traditional for men of a certain social status to engage others of the same status. Although they were outnumbered, tradition states that they succeeded in killing them all and that one of the dying number pointed out that the group were all members of one family. It seems likely, therefore, that it was the MacMhuirichs who cut down the Campbells of Glenfeochan. Donald and his eldest son, Iain, had joined Colla Ciotach in his attempt to raise more men in Islay. Alasdair MacColla then landed a force near Dunaverty in an attempt to relieve the MacDonald force in the castle. The attempt failed and many were killed by Leslie, but the two MacMhuirichs escaped to Ireland. Donald's youngest son, Murdoch Roy MacMhuirich, was not so fortunate, being one of those killed after the surrender of Dunaverty Castle to General Leslie in 1647. Donald MacMhuirich remained on his lands in Balilone, Ireland, until his death in 1665. (Currie, pp. 89, 91-93. The obvious connection between the MacMhuirich tradition relating to Inverlochy and the lament written by the widow of Campbell of Glenfeochan was only noted in the 1970s at the writing of W. M. Currie's book.)

94. MacLean, pp. 28-29; 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' p. 78.

95. MacLean, pp. 28-30.

96. MacLean, pp. 63-67. For other anti-Campbell sentiments and Antrim's attempts to ship supplies into Scotland in the previous years, see section II. The Vernacular period in Ireland.

97. 'The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic,' pp. 86-87. The poem, however, has no specific reference to Ireland or Irishmen and therefore its content has not been dealt with here in detail. For a full exposition of the poem, see Allan I. Macinnes, 'Notes and Comments - the first Scottish Tories?,' *SHR*, 67, (April 1988), pp. 56-66. Also see Alison Ann Whyte, 'Scottish Gaelic Folksong 1500-1800,' (unpublished B.Litt dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1971), pp. 205-07, who first connected this song with the Engagement of 1648.

98. MacLean, pp. 68-69, 78-79, 113-18.

99. He was a descendant of the Ardgour branch of the MacLeans, a direct great-grandson of Ewen MacLean or Eoghan na h-Iteige, sixth of Ardgour, and lived in Mull near Aros. (Rev. A. MacLean Sinclair, *Na Baird Leathanach: The MacLean Bards,* I, (Charlottetown, 1898), p. 82.)

100. Sinclair, pp. 106-08; *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry,* p. 146, from which the Irish reference was first noted.

101. MacLean, pp. 301-03.

102. Malcolm MacFarlane, *Dorlach Laoidhean, The Fernaig Manuscript,* (Dundee, 1923), p. 205; *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry,* p. 154, from which the stanza was noted.

103. MacLean, pp. 323-26.

104. See Chapter 4.

105. John Lorne Campbell (editor), *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five,* The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 15, (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 54-55, 74-75, 242-43.

106. *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five,* pp. 58-59, 145, 150-51; Derick S. Thomson, 'Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's Political Poetry,' *TGSI*, 56, (1988-90), pp. 210-11.

107. See Chapter 4.

108. For an extended exposition, see Thomson's 'Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's Political Poetry,' pp. 185-213.

109. R. A. Breatnach, 'The End of a Tradition: A Survey of Eighteenth Century Gaelic Literature,' *Studia Hibernica*, 1, (1961), pp. 128, 132-33.

110. John MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry and its Historical Background,' *TGSI*, 50, (1979), pp. 493-94, 496.

CONCLUSION

The basis of the connection between the Irish and Scottish *Gaidhealtachds* between 1560 and 1760, as at any other time, was geographic. At its shortest point, the crossing between Antrim and Kintyre is only 12 miles in distance. This was short enough for open boats to be used across the North Channel both for smuggling and for legitimate social and commercial activity. There had been interaction between the Gaelic Scots and Irish since the establishment of the Dalriadic settlement in Scotland in the early sixth century. During the medieval period, their relationship was mainly military, and from the thirteenth century there was significant movement of Highland mercenaries to Ireland, some of whom remained and became institutionalised as houses of hereditary *gallóglaigh.* The Bruces had attempted to establish a permanent connection between the two by invading Ireland in 1315, but had failed. Nonetheless, governments in both Ireland and Scotland were obliged to keep a close watch on each other's country and affairs to obviate its use as a bridgehead by hostile powers.[1]

While it could not readily be said that a united Gaelic political province had ever existed among the Gaelic peoples of two different countries, more justifiable claims have been made that they comprised a united cultural province. It must also be conceded that there were clear similarities in their political organisation. In 1560, the politics of both Gaelic Ulster and the Highlands and Islands was characterised by feuding, waging war, and forging alliances between the chiefs of different lordships and clans. Their societies and culture, as reflected in their social and learned institutions were distinct from those espoused by their respective governments. Neither was part of a unified Scottish or Irish political unit or nation state, and there was a constant struggle in both countries between the centralizing governments and the local independence of the Gaelic lords and chiefs. Fundamentally, the Gaels did not seek to defy central authority in either Dublin or Edinburgh, as a matter of policy, they simply sought the right to ignore it when it suited them, though ultimately this amounted to the same thing.[2] Gaelic chiefs of the sixteenth century were basically self-serving. It is difficult to speak in terms of fighting for a unified Gaeldom when they were more interested in their own clans and lordships. Late sixteenth-century Irish and Scottish Gaelic societies were still very militaristic in outlook but Gaelic warfare had little to do with national politics with the exception of the Ulster rebellion. The mercenary trade conducted between them was the fulcrum of their interaction.[3] This one-way movement of Highland redshanks to Ireland further raised the profile of social, cultural, and economic interaction between Scots and Irish Gaels, resulting in a growth in civil traffic. Yet, increasingly between 1560 and the end of the sixteenth century both Gaelic societies were placed under tighter restraint, through the policies of Elizabeth I in Ireland, and James VI in the Highlands and Islands.

Government action in both countries, in the late sixteenth century, aimed at destroying the independent authority of the Gaelic areas, and reducing military cooperation between the Gaels. Since the main bastions of Gaelic society were its group ownership of land and its militarism, both of which were bound together by kinship and service to the lord or chief, these were the areas which were attacked first. They had to be undermined and weakened before any success was likely in the economic, cultural and religious spheres.[4] In Ireland, the policy which historians have labelled 'surrender and regrant' was dropped in about 1560, and replaced by one of 'conquest and colonisation.' In a sense, the Scottish government's promulgation of the General Band in 1587, which ordered Highland chiefs to take oaths for the good behaviour of their clansmen, and a further act of 1597 which required them to produce their title deeds and provided the basis for plantation towns in Kintyre, Lewis and Lochaber (though the latter was not realised)[5] were but a mutant form of the Irish policies of surrender and regrant and conquest and colonisation. Both aimed at the settlement of loyal subjects in unruly areas and the encouragement of local industry, and were essentially means of undermining the indigenous culture. Military intervention by the government in the Highlands was pursued by commissioning Lowlanders to undertake expeditions to subdue recalcitrant clans, and by granting lieutenancies to powerful clans such as the Campbells of Argyll, the MacKenzies of Seaforth and the Gordons to suppress disorder.

When James VI and I acceded to the English throne in 1603, as sovereign of all three kingdoms, he was given a unique opportunity to pursue a unified policy to contain Gaelic independence. Scotland maintained its own political framework and administration, but the presence of James VI in London increased cooperation between Dublin and Edinburgh. Both countries also experienced a growing degree of integration, from this point, into the political and economic spheres surrounding London.[6] The early years of the seventeenth century marked a change in the coordination of centralised political strategies relating to the *Gaidhealtachds*, and James now had the scope to employ Irish forces in Scotland and vice-versa. As Angus MacDonald of Dunyveg called on Hugh O'Neill's help against Lachlan Mòr MacLean of Duart in 1596, so an Irish military force under the command of Sir Oliver Lambert, a Cavan planter, was called upon to support Campbell of Cawdor's expedition to suppress rebellion in Islay in 1614.[7] As the Dublin government negotiated in the 1590s with Donald Gorm MacDonald of Sleat and MacLean of Duart to check the mercenaries of the Clan Donald South, so the Scottish Privy Council sent 200 men to subdue O'Dogherty's rebellion in 1608, and Lord Ochiltree captured some fugitives from Ireland while on an expedition to Islay in August.[8] If the Union of the Crowns had not happened at the same time as the completion of the Tudor conquest of Ireland, it would probably not have had the same impact, but Hugh O'Neill's submission to Mountjoy at Mellifont, rendered Dublin authority effective throughout the entire country for the first time.[9] The native Irish had capitulated, it remained only to curb the independent authority of the Highlanders. With the opportunity provided by the flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell in September 1607 to forfeit a large area of Ulster

to the Crown, the Ulster Irish were subjected to the plantation of Ulster in which a small number of natives received vastly reduced proportions, often not in the areas to which they had a hereditary claim. At the same time, the Highlands were placed under the legislative restrictions of the Statutes of Iona. While the two do not merit any comparison in long-term consequences, it can be seen that they were part and parcel of a similar policy. In Ireland, the problem of the independent authority of the greater Gaelic lords was almost eradicated in one fell swoop, in the Highlands and Islands the power of the chiefs was subject to steady and increasing pressure from the late sixteenth through to the mid-eighteenth century.[10]

The Union of the Crowns also contributed to the undermining of the MacDonald settlement of Antrim as a Gaelic colony. James's accession to the English throne, coming as it did when the Clan Donald South was riven with internal difficulties and just prior to their loss of Kintyre and Islay, led to the final split between the MacDonalds of Dunyveg and the MacDonnells of Antrim, who were recognised by James in their claims to the Glens of Antrim and the Route in May 1603.[11] The colony was permitted to remain but only at the cost of the cultural integrity of the MacDonnells of Antrim who underwent a political metamorphosis from Gaelic lords to loyalist planters.[12] The undermining of Gaelic society in Ireland during this period appears more rapid and to that extent more brutal, but it had been under threat for longer, in effect since the late medieval period. Nonetheless, by 1700, neither Highland society nor what was left of native Irish society, living a fairly marginalised existence in Connacht and Munster, had become an integrated part of the Irish or Scottish nation state.[13]

Although opportunities for Scots mercenary engagement lessened after the battle of Kinsale in 1601 and the collapse of native Irish resistance in Ulster, pan-Gaelic military links were rejuvenated in the shared Royalism of the Irish and Scots Gaels during the civil war of the 1640s. In a sense, the driving of the wedge between the Gaels in the first decade of the century forced them to enter a larger sphere of contest. The Gaels were drawn into the national political arena in the conflict between Charles I and his subjects in the three kingdoms.[14] Alasdair MacColla MacDonald and a company of Colonsay men fought with the native Irish for almost three years after the outbreak of the Irish rising in October 1641. Native Irish formed the greater part of the force of 2,000 men who went with MacColla to join the Marquess of Montrose in July 1644, and made a significant contribution to the string of victories which the Royalists won over the following year. At the same time, there was a substantial Protestant Campbell presence in Ulster which constituted part of the Covenanting army sent to protect the settlers there. This military support gave the Scottish community in Ulster, Lowland and Highland, a political importance which it would not have had otherwise.[15] However, this period not only marks the last extensive military involvement between the Gaels - 'the last flowering of the old military culture'[16] - but the defeat of Charles I resulted in a further weakening of the Gaelic cause in both countries. Many of

the Highland clan élite who had taken up arms under the Royalist banner were obliged to take refuge in Ireland, while those who remained in Scotland were plagued for decades by crippling debts which they had incurred. In Ireland, some of the few remaining Gaelic territorial lords, notably Randal MacDonnell, first Marquis of Antrim, were forfeited for their Royalism, and though Antrim was fortunate enough to be reinstated after the Restoration, in 1665, he also was saddled with debt.[17]

The Catholicism of the later Stewarts endeared them to the Gaels as political figureheads, because the Catholic faith had been bound to Gaelic nationalism early in the native Irish struggle against the English. In a similar but less developed fashion, Catholicism can often be seen, in the early seventeenth century, as a statement of Gaelic cultural solidarity with the pre-Reformation order in the Highlands. However, as the century progresses and Protestantism established itself more firmly in Scotland, it became a matter of political necessity for many clan chiefs to conform. Thus, the presence, in the train of James VII and II in Ireland, of the Protestant Donald MacDonald, younger of Sleat, Alexander MacLean of Otter, and Kenneth MacKenzie, fourth Earl of Seaforth, can hardly be seen as part of a Highland Catholic confederacy but rather as part of a Gaelic nationalist stance against a Dutch usurper. The Scots Gaelic presence in Ireland in 1689 was not numerically significant, but unfortunately the chiefs' absence in Scotland did have adverse consequences on the mobilisation of the MacDonalds and MacKenzies in Scotland. Due to the Jacobites' indecision and failure to reinforce the Highlands, only 300 Irish Gaels - MacDonnells from Rathlin who had kinship connections in Scotland - joined the Highland clansmen to fight at the battle of Killiecrankie on 27 July 1689, and remained in Scotland until the end of the rebellion. For their part, the native Irish, engaged in a formidable display of support for James from 1689 to 1690.

Militarily, Ireland ceased to be a threat after the 'war of the two Kings', but the Highlands, on the other hand, remained a military threat until after the battle of Culloden in 1746.[18] The dissolution of the Scottish Privy Council in 1708 and the political vacuum which it created provided opportunities, fuelled by economic discontent and fomented by nationalism within Scotland, for the flourishing of Jacobitism. However, the entry of the Highlanders into the national arena, on this occasion, ultimately resulted in the eradication of the clans and the authority of the chiefs.[19] It has even been said that: 'Jacobitism was where Ireland began and Scotland ended between 1679 and 1745.' In many ways, loyalty to the Stewarts had its most natural foundation in the Catholic Ireland of 1689, and yet, ironically, the ebbing of the Jacobite cause there, helped briefly to ease extreme religious tension in Ireland, which permitted the growth of Irish nationalism. Conversely, in Scotland, nationalism was negatively associated with Jacobitism in the early eighteenth century, and was regarded with extreme suspicion.[20] The native Irish never again actively rose as a country to join the Scots in either the 1715 or 1745 rebellions, though there was much scheming and plotting behind the scenes. There was marginal involvement in the '45, which was substantially

financed by Irish *émigrés* on the continent and was masterminded, in part, by John William O'Sullivan, from County Kerry, one of the Seven Men of Moidart, and an ex-Catholic priest in the anti-English mould. Men of the Irish brigade also fought at the battles of Falkirk and Culloden. It has even been suggested that one reason for Ireland's quiescence during the '45 was the channelling of Irish efforts to Scotland. However, this is an over-simplification of the issue, since the quiescent stance had been established long before this.[21] Nonetheless, by 1760, the military element which had been the most prominent aspect of the interaction between Scots and Irish Gaels in 1560 was non-existent.

By 1760, it is clear that Scotland was a 'plural society,' that is, it comprised two co-existing cultural sectors with essentially different political structures, brought together in one political unit or nation state. By the end of the period under view, the Highlands had been incorporated into the centralised political organisation of Scotland. Though there has been considerable revision in recent decades, beginning with seminal articles by Eric Cregeen,[22] of the view that the decline of the clan system was mainly a phenomenon which occurred with the repressive measures after Culloden, there is some justification in stating that this was the time by which these changes were recognised as irreversible. Moreover, the relative pacification of the Highlands further entrenched commercialisation, thereby facilitating the growth of the trade in black cattle and of extensive sheep-farming. In 1560, the clan system was underwritten by the feudal tenure of wardholding and by the Gaelic learned institutions. These had both been destroyed by 1760.[23] Gaelic lordship had been destroyed much earlier in Ireland, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, when government authority had been established throughout the country and the province of Ulster was finally subjected to English laws of land-holding. The major change in land-holding in Ireland from 1560 to 1760 extended far beyond alteration in the type of tenure, as in Scotland, and amounted to an almost wholesale transfer of land into the hands of landlords who were members of the established Church of Ireland. The proportion of Catholic landowners fell from 59% in 1641 to 22% after the Restoration land settlement when the Protestants consolidated into the 'Anglo-Irish Ascendancy.'[24] In 1760, most, though not all, Roman Catholic, native Irish had tenant status which obviously limited their economic and commercial potential, and further encouraged the decay of Irish with the growth of the English-speaking merchant class. Mid-eighteenth century Ireland also consisted of two co-existing cultural sectors but, unlike the situation in Scotland, they in no sense comprised one political unit. On the contrary, the Catholics were broken and politically unrepresented. The Revolution of 1690 had created a Protestant kingdom in which only Protestants had parliamentary seats, could hold Crown office or participate in local government. Catholics, who comprised the greater part of the Irish-speaking population, and those married to Catholics, were disenfranchised.[25] The irrevocable trend towards culturally-alien, commercial landlordism in Irish and Scottish Gaelic communities, resulted in poverty-stricken peasantries in both countries

who struggled to survive the manifold deficiencies of the smallholding system which were substantially exacerbated by famines, evictions and emigrations.[26]

The political, military and religious policies with which the Dublin and Edinburgh governments subdued the *Gaidhealtachds* were accompanied by a general assault against the Irish and Gaelic languages. Both languages were associated with barbarity and bringing the Irish and Scottish Gaelic peoples into the body politic involved their ultimate anglicisation. Certainly, there were schemes in both the Irish and Scottish *Gaidhealtachds* to introduce religious conformity by using Gaelic to ensure the Protestant evangelisation of the natives, but more as a short-term measure in an attempt to 'civilise' them.[27] The ultimate aim seems to have been anglicisation which was a powerful weapon in inducing cultural and social change. Anglicisation was effected, in the first instance, through the cultural assimilation of the élite in Gaelic society. The process was certainly slowed by the residual legacy of the Gaelic institutions and had not proved entirely effective in Gaelic society, as a whole, by 1760, but the thin end of the wedge was in place.[28] Once the Irish and Scottish *Gaidhealtachds* had been militarily neutralised, they were regarded as safer areas, and a spate of published visits and tours of both countries abounded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With the obliteration of the clan system in Scotland, clanship henceforth became a source of romantic interest. This lead to such shams as the publication, in 1760, of James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language,* which were alleged translations of epic Gaelic poetry. The most distinctive aspects of Gaelic society remaining in 1760, the musical and poetic culture, thus became a source of interest to outsiders.[29]

In the early seventeenth century, emigration of Catholics to the continent, in order to preserve a faith which was proscribed in both countries, was a shared aspect of both Irish and Scottish Gaelic communities. Gaels went abroad not only to further their general education, but also to train for the priesthood, though Scottish Gaels were less successful in finding seminary places than the Irish because of a bias against them on the part of the Lowlanders who ran the Scots Colleges. The presence of Gaels on the continent also had more secular aspects. Gaelic-speaking merchants engaged themselves in commercial enterprise throughout the period. Exiled mercenaries sought employment in the armies of almost every European state - in Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, France and Spain - from the time of the decline of the redshank trade in 1601 and the Flight of the Earls in 1607, through the Thirty Years' War, to the exodus of 'the wild geese' from Ireland, when Jacobite soldiers left the country *en masse* after the Treaty of Limerick in 1691.[30] Traditional Irish society, more than Scottish, looked to Catholic Europe to bolster their fairly localised sense of Gaelic identity. Counter-Reformation ideas filtered to Ireland through the exiled Irish clerics and scholars on the continent, who formulated most of the Irish nationalist ideology. Irish resistance to the foreign government which was occupying its soil was intellectually honed and morally

reinforced by the dynamic of Counter-Reformation. Significantly, all the prominent confederate commanders during the 1640s had fought as soldiers on the continent.[31] In the Highlands, MacDonald of Clanranald also attempted to galvanise the military might of the Counter-Reformation behind him in 1626, to enhance his personal status in Scotland.[32] Though his letter to the Pope stressed the links of the Gaelic Scots with the Irish chieftains and emphasised their willingness to proceed against the Calvinist oppressors, it is more likely that Clanranald was motivated more by the political encroachments of central government on the western seaboard than religious issues. By that time, the lands of four clans had been appropriated, the last of which, in 1624, was his near neighbours, the MacIains of Ardnamurchan.

The deployment of Irish regulars to the Highland mission throughout the seventeenth century should be seen not simply as an attempt to restore Catholicism in a marginal area of Scotland but as an arm of the Counter-Reformation. In many ways, those clans who chose to adhere to Catholicism did so to make a statement against the politics and culture of the Edinburgh government, since rejection of Protestantism entailed an implicit rejection of the Establishment. In spite of sterling efforts, the Kirk, battling against enormous problems at the start of its mission to the Highlands, was unable to fill benefices over vast geographical areas. This left a window of opportunity for the clandestine reintroduction of Catholicism to these parts. Though a few Scots regulars based on the continent made occasional trips to the Highlands in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, visits from Irish-speaking Jesuits from across the North Channel were considered necessary to supplement the work of Scots Jesuits who had returned to the north-east of Scotland in 1582. The implications of the contact between Hugh O'Neill and the Earl of Huntly during the Ulster rebellion in the 1590s, the presence of Scottish Jesuits in O'Neill's camp, and the communication of both with Spain have generally been underestimated in Scottish historiography.[33] When the Catholic archbishop of Armagh, Peter Lombard (1601-1625), assumed the nominal headship of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, he probably sent a number of Irish-speaking priests on short trips to the southern Isles. However, the activity of only one of these, Fr. Galwey, who made at least three visits to Kintyre and other islands in the vicinity, remains in the historical record.[34]

Far more significant in its geographical extent, if not in manpower, was what has been labelled for posterity as the first Franciscan mission. This was a Catholic mission staffed in its entirety, from 1619 to 1637 and afterwards, by Irish-speaking priests.[35] There were never more than five Irishmen on the mission, though initial groundwork for the mission was carried out by a Scottish laybrother, John Stuart who remained in the north-east of Scotland, for at least two years after the mission's inception. The role of Sir Randal MacDonnell, first Earl of Antrim, in supporting and protecting the missionaries from the very beginning, is of prime importance. His motives may not have been exclusively spiritual since he probably saw this as an opportunity to extend his political

influence in the west of Scotland, by reviving contacts which could support his historic claim to the lands of the expropriated Clan Donald South. Certainly, the evidence provided by the earliest records for the mission, from 1624 to 1629, indicates that the Franciscans concentrated their labours in Kintyre and Islay and the surrounding islands. They also concentrated, to the same extent, on the lands of the MacDonalds of Clanranald, that is South Uist, the Small Isles, and Moidart, confining themselves mainly within the bounds of this territory after 1630 when the vigorous opposition of the Kirk in Argyll and the southern Isles became too dangerous to justify their labouring further south. Through their work, Catholicism was reintroduced to the islands and mainland of Scotland from Benbecula in the Outer Hebrides to Moidart in Inverness-shire. Though the Franciscans worked under tremendous disadvantages, and were constantly taxed by their low numbers in comparison with the extent of the territory they covered, the retention for Catholicism of many of the areas visited by these Franciscans is a testimony to the labour expended by just a small number of exceptional Irish-speaking missionaries.

Equally exceptional were the two Irish Vincentians, Dermot Duggan and Francis White, who came to the Highland mission in 1652. Duggan served on the mainland and in the Isles until his death in 1657, and White, who in 1664 was alleged to be the only Catholic priest on the mission, until 1679.[36] The Dominican George Fanning served in the Hebrides from 1663 to 1676 and then in Arisaig, and another Dominican may have worked on the mission as well.[37] The Franciscans also continued their connection in the Highlands with the presence of Francis and Mark MacDonnell from 1668. The death of Fr. Mark towards the end of 1671, after only four years on the mission is a revealing testament to the rigours of life as a Highland missionary. Fr. Francis left the mission in 1681, under a political cloud, having joined MacDonell of Glengarry's expedition against Argyll in the summer of 1679.[38] From this point, regulars operating as missionaries in the Highlands seem to have been subject to the secular head on the mission, the prefect-apostolic. The persistence of the Catholic faith in the Highlands and Islands was less a by-product of strong social and cultural links sustained from a previous period than of the calibre of the individuals involved. The number of Irish priests in the Highlands was at its height in 1687-88 under the Catholic monarch James VII who had ordered the return of all Catholic priests from the continent in the previous year. Though as many as 31 Irish priests worked on the mission between 1690 and 1746[39] when the last one left with the Pretender, many stayed only for short periods and were often badly trained. In general, the native priesthood took over the burdens of the mission in the early eighteenth century, and by 1733, there were only two Irish priests on the Highland mission. Native priests may have consolidated their gains for the faith in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but the foundation was undoubtedly laid by Irish regulars. It would probably also be fair to say that it was the work of the Irish priests that, by the end of the seventeenth century, reclaimed for Catholicism those areas of the Highlands and Islands which persist as Roman Catholic communities today.

Indeed, until the early nineteenth century, the Counter-Reformation was more successful in the Highlands than the Lowlands.[40]

One distinct addition to knowledge of the survival of Catholicism in the mid-eighteenth century has come to light, that is, the existence of a small community of Catholics in Lewis as late as the 1750s when MacKenzie of Kildun was accused of encouraging and harbouring Catholic priests.[41] Far from Catholicism being extinguished at the end of the seventeenth century, after Cornelius Coan's lapse from the priesthood, the Royal Bounty Committee expressed their fear of the growth of popery in Lewis in 1737 with reference to a 14-strong group of Catholics. They were sustained in the early eighteenth, as they had been in the late seventeenth, century by the MacKenzies of Kildun. There is clearly a great deal of scope for further work in a similar direction. The appearance of a modern, thematic and well-researched history of the Counter-Reformation in the Highlands and Islands to replace old and now inadequate texts, is long overdue.

Though the exposition of religious links between Irish and Scottish Gaels, both Catholic and Protestant, from 1560 to 1760, constitutes a significant part of this study, nevertheless, the corpus of extant documentation outweighs the numerical contribution by Gaels to either faith. For instance, it should probably be questioned whether the presence of ten Irish priests in the Highlands in the penultimate decade of the seventeenth century - the zenith of Irish manpower on the mission - was representative of anything more than just that, the personal inter-relation of ten men with the Highland communities which they served. But to what extent was it indicative of extensive Catholic links between Gaels at this time? Though their contribution was more than significant for the preservation of the Catholic faith in the Highlands, there seems to be little evidence of the latter. Archbishop Oliver Plunkett was technically head of the Highland and Island mission in the late seventeenth century, but this was a fairly nominal position, and there was little contact between Irish and Scottish Catholics at an institutional level. Undoubtedly, this was largely because Catholicism was proscribed in both countries, but is generally indicative of the fact that though the Irish revived Catholicism in the Highlands, it did not revive sufficiently to sustain the old political links between the Gaels whose independent authority their respective governments had too seriously eroded.

Similarly, from the Protestant angle, though the contribution of Highland ministers to the establishment of Protestantism in Ireland was historically significant, the numbers involved were relatively small. Initially, Scots ministers who were presbyterian in tendency had no problem serving in the Church of Ireland because though episcopal, it had a Calvinist tone and, in Ulster, many of the early bishops were Scots. Little attempt was made to impose the Act of Uniformity or to use of the Book of Common Prayer.[42] In spite of these favourable conditions, only three Gaelic-speakers are definitely known to have entered the Church of Ireland from 1560 to 1622. Yet,

considered in terms of the problem which the Kirk had in finding ministers for the Highlands in the first fifty years after the Reformation, and that there were only 19 ministers serving in the Isles in 1626, the Scottish Gaelic contribution to Ireland is greater than it might at first seem. The first Gaelic cleric to serve in Ireland was Denis Campbell, illegitimate son of the fifth Earl of Argyll, who was appointed dean of Limerick in 1587. He was employed in the service of the English government there to give advice on the clans of the western Isles, but also worked as an agent for the seventh Earl of Argyll. He was appointed to the Sees of Raphoe, Clogher and Derry just prior to his death in 1604. Another Campbell, the Gaelic-speaking Dugald Campbell from Argyll, was introduced by Bishop Knox into his plantation diocese of Raphoe. Campbell became the rector of Conwall in Donegal, in 1611, and later moved to Letterkenny. The third, John Ross, who worked as the assistant of William Cunningham of Tullaghfernan in Ramelton and Gartan, in Donegal, was in the diocese of Raphoe by 1622 but probably came a number of years earlier. Even so, this may be an underestimate of the Scottish Gaelic presence, for it is possible that the Hugh MacDonnell, rector of Donaghmore and Ardara, in Raphoe, and "Nellanus M'Callen," minister in the diocese of Raphoe, both mentioned in Bishop Montgomery of Clogher's survey of c. 1605, who had studied at Glasgow University and both spoke Irish, were a Highland MacDonald and Campbell, respectively. What is far more striking, is the exclusive connection of all the early Gaelic-speaking Protestant ministers in Ulster with Donegal, particularly the diocese of Raphoe.[43] This pleads for revision of Michael Perceval-Maxwell's explanation of the existence of substantial numbers of Campbells in Donegal in the early seventeenth century. Drawing a comparison with the plentiful numbers of Cunninghams, whose presence in Donegal can be explained by the existence of five Cunningham undertakers in the plantation, he states that:

> The reason for the emigration of large numbers of Campbells is less easy to find. Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, cannot have been responsible for their entry, for they were distributed among numerous proportions, not concentrated on church land. The most reasonable assumption is that they were not Argyllshire Campbells, but came from the Campbell country along the river Ayr.[44]

Certainly, this is the easiest assumption, but is probably very far from the accurate one. If these Campbells were predominantly Lowlanders, why was there a need to furnish them with Gaelic-speaking ministers? On the contrary, the evidence seems to argue for distinct communities of Highland Campbells from Argyll, who sought the spiritual sustenance of ministers from among their own kin and intermarried with Highlanders. Moreover, the drafting in of Andrew Knox, the ex-bishop of the Isles, to coordinate the evangelisation of the area, tends to suggest that his previous experience in the Highlands and Islands was regarded as a valuable training for his next post. An explanation for the presence of so many Campbells is more likely to be found in the fact that the Earls of Argyll were the main suppliers of mercenaries to the O'Neills of Tyrone and O'Donnells of Tirconnell both of whom, in the sixteenth century, paid an annual pension to the

house of Argyll to ensure a ready supply of soldiers. The long-standing connection between Donegal and the Campbells can be seen in the contract of 13 July 1555 between Archibald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyll and the Calbhach O'Donnell.[45] By the same token, their existence on numerous proportions in Donegal argues not only for an earlier settlement during the mercenary period, which makes their dispersion over a larger area by the early seventeenth century more understandable but, more importantly, implies a noteworthy Highland presence - even if not necessarily first-generation - on the plantation lands in Donegal. This is a valuable inference, given the inherent difficulty in tracing Highlanders when they were legally excluded from the plantation. Their presence would undoubtedly have encouraged further settlement from Argyll and the surrounding areas. Furthermore, the legal introduction of the one Highlander, John Colquhoun of Luss, who in around 1619 received a substantial grant in the plantation, in Corkagh in Portlough, in the barony of Raphoe, may not necessarily have been coincidental.[46] Colquhoun was a recognised enemy of the house of Argyll, and his permission to settle could be seen as an attempt to check the consolidation of Highland Campbells in that part of Ulster, by the introduction of one of their natural Scottish antagonists. Less insidiously, the predominance of so many Highlanders in the country might have made it less attractive to British settlers, which would have made it easier for Colquhoun to gain entry.

The number of Gaelic-speaking Scots entering the Church of Ireland between 1623 and 1637 was almost negligible.[47] Only one Highland minister entered the Church in Ulster during this period, in 1635, in an attempt to flee from a congregation with presbyterian tendencies. This is also consistent with the opportunities for settlement, for migration to Ulster appears to have slowed down in the 1620s, and though it increased again in the 1630s, it was never as enthusiastic as in the first decade of plantation. Moreover, though the minister's transfer coincides with Archbishop Laud's period of Arminianism, the Highland communities there, in which he perhaps felt more comfortable, were notoriously presbyterian in tendency. This might explain why this minister only stayed three years in Ireland, but ironically, returning to Scotland in 1638, there was more pressure on him to conform than in Ireland. Though two Gaelic-speaking episcopal non-conformists, both from Ross, fled to Ireland when presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland,[48] the National Covenant of 1638 resulted in a more significant deepening of the political and religious connections between Highland and Ulster presbyterians. To avoid taking the Black Oath, which forced them to deny the Covenant and pledge loyalty to Charles I, some Highland presbyterians fled from Ulster back to Argyll. On the outbreak of the Irish rising in October 1641 many more refugees crossed the North Channel, to Argyll and Bute as well as Lowland areas.[49] They so strained the local mechanisms of poor relief that the Privy Council passed legislation to relieve them at the national level.[50] The Campbells of Argyll, in particular, saw it as essential to send out ministers with the Scottish troops who were drafted to Ulster, in 1642, to maintain the Protestant faith among the settlers. Ulster was the Royalist front line into Argyll and the Campbells had to

defend it militarily at all costs. The chaplains who went with Argyll's regiment, under the command of Campbell of Auchinbreck, set up an army presbytery at Carrickfergus in June 1642, and presbyterianism seems to have been widely supported among the Scottish population in Ulster. There was a constant flow of Gaelic-speaking chaplains to Ulster between 1642 and 1648 which put strains upon the Highland communities left behind. The Synod of Argyll sent no fewer than eighteen ministers to Ulster in this period.[51] Not only were various Argyll and southern Isles parishes left vacant, which were only served every second sabbath in the ministers' absence, but parishes in noted Royalist areas, such as the parish of Kilmallie in Inverness-shire, had not yet been filled. This situation can have done little to promote presbyterian solidarity in the Highlands and Islands, and perhaps contributed to the significant number of ministers cited before west Highland presbyteries, and ultimately before the Synod of Argyll, for collaboration with the Royalists under the Marquis of Montrose and Alasdair MacColla MacDonald.[52] At the same time, it refutes claims held by Protestant contemporaries and later secondary writers that Royalism was the preserve of Highland papists in alliance with the savage Irish.

Presbyterian ministers continued to go to Ireland in the late seventeenth century though in markedly fewer numbers than had gone in the 1640s. There was one Royalist refugee in the person of Murdo MacKenzie, ex-minister of Suddie, in the presbytery of Dingwall, who had acted as the Earl of Seaforth's agent in negotiations with the Earl of Antrim.[53] He was employed as a missionary to the Irish in Leinster in the 1650s. Following the entrenchment of presbyterianism in the 1640s, the envigorated presbyterian community in Ulster was regarded as a threat by both the Scottish and Irish governments. However, Ulster was the destination for only one presbyterian refugee of conscience and relatively late on in 1681, when he refused to take the Test Act, though two probationers were called by Ulster congregations in the mid-1670s, one of whom stayed and was later ordained. Another minister went in 1684.[54] Certainly, the Duke of Lauderdale had exercised a more conciliatory policy towards the presbyterians during his rule in Scotland, as expressed in the first and second indulgences, and it is perhaps significant that this minister departed in the year after Lauderdale's fall from power. A similar policy was effected in Ulster by Sir Arthur Forbes, marshal of the army in Ireland, who was responsible for setting up the *regium donum.* The only Irish minister who came to the Highlands between the civil war and the Revolution did so as a result of discipline from his own presbytery and not persecution from the government. As a general rule (to which there seem to be only two exceptions between 1560 and 1760)[55] if Protestants were displaced from Ulster they did not go to the Highlands.

The spate of migration by Gaelic-speaking episcopal non-conformists to Ireland between 1688 and 1700 was a phenomenon precipitated by the Revolution.[56] As in the 1640s, so to an extent in the 1690s, the presbyterian pulpit was considered (though did not always function as) a front line against Jacobitism. Those most clearly seen to breach it were deprived and some went to Ulster to

minister to Gaelic-speaking Highland communities where the fear of their Jacobitism was obviously outweighed by the extreme want of Gaelic speakers. Though certain episcopal ministers continued to operate in the Highlands well into the eighteenth century, the flight of seven non-conforming ministers at the Revolution was a loss which the Kirk could ill afford. Nonetheless, between the Revolution and the beginning of the non-subscribing controversy in Ireland, at least four and maybe five Highland ministers and a probationer entered the presbyterian church in Ulster, and another probationer fled there from ecclesiastical discipline.[57] Only one Irish clergyman made the journey in the opposite direction. During this period, presbyterians dissenters in Ulster experienced a degree of assimilation in to the broader Protestant community which ultimately lead to a decline in links with the old community in Scotland. Though there was concern about the reaction of Ulster Scots to the Union of 1707, by 1715, when they rejected the sacramental test imposed on them in 1704 and entered the militia to defend the Protestant succession, the presbyterians had ceased to embody an independent political interest.[58] However, their unification against a common Jacobite enemy encouraged them to promote a Gaelic-speaking mission to the native Irish, mainly staffed by Highlanders. This mission also served the notable congregation of Gaelic-speaking Scots in Dublin at this time.

The Rev. Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle's publication of the Irish Bible, in Roman rather than Irish script, and its distribution to Gaelic-speaking Scots in the last decade of the seventeenth century, with assistance from the Rev. James Kirkwood and the Hon. Robert Boyle, son of the Earl of Cork, has been well documented in secondary literature by Victor Durkacz.[59] Yet, the infiltration of Ireland by Highland ministers who did much to nurture an embryonic Protestant faith predates this and, other than the role of the military chaplains in Ulster, has not been given the emphasis it merits. The value of Scottish Gaelic ministers in Irish-speaking areas of Ulster, particularly in the early seventeenth century when so few Irish-speakers were conforming to Protestantism, and the educational standard of those who did was low, should not be underestimated. The Scots, on the other hand, had university degrees. The 'prescopalianism' of these early Highland ministers reinforced the Calvinist tradition in Ulster. Not only did they understand the indigenous language of the country, but in terms of sustaining the Protestant plantation of Ulster, they played a useful part in bolstering the morale of Scots communities already established there, especially in Donegal and Antrim. However, the attraction of Gaelic presbyterians to Ulster exacerbated the Kirk's own inability to furnish the requisite number of Gaelic-speaking ministers for the Highlands and Islands, and provides a fresh angle on the difficulties created by the short supply of Gaelic-speaking ministers as expressed in William Ferguson's 'The problems of the Established Church in the West Highlands and Islands in the Eighteenth Century,' (1969). The few probationers attracted to Ireland in the early eighteenth century appear to have preferred to assume dissenting status in Ulster than to take the chance of being assigned to unpopular parishes in areas such as Lochaber. This is in marked distinction to the operation of Irish Catholic missionaries on the Highland mission one of

whose major difficulties in re-establishing the faith there was that most of them constantly moved from community to community in order to take the ministrations of the few missioners to as many people as possible. The growth of priests in fixed locations largely coincided with the growth of the native priesthood.

Economic interaction between the two communities had initially been encouraged by Gaelic contacts of the mercenary trade, because the native Irish patronised Scottish suppliers to furnish them with the ammunition, hardware and powder which they needed to do battle against their English oppressors.[60] A good deal of this contraband trade was conducted through the Down ports and Lough Foyle, and merchant traders often acted as agents in the employ of various chiefs. In the early seventeenth century, the repressive policy pursued by the government, and the general unrest in Kintyre and surrounding areas in 1607 as the power of the Clan Donald South was broken, produced the incentive for some Highlanders to settle on the escheated lands in Ulster. Though they were prohibited from being major landholders, nonetheless, significant numbers worked as labourers or servants, especially on the Antrim estates. The kinship connections between those who settled on Ulster lands and their relatives in the western Highlands encouraged and partially sustained the economic link. Traffic across the North Channel increased in both directions as a result of the plantation.[61] The needs of numerous British settlers in the plantation of Ulster, after 1610, inevitably boosted trade with Scotland, including the Highlands and Islands. West Highland ships provided fish, and took cloth, iron pots and kettles to the plantation settlers. They often returned to Scotland with some of the grain surplus produced by the improved agricultural practices employed in the plantation settlements. Since Irish grain could usually undercut prices in the Scottish market, legislation was passed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 'anent the import of Irish victual.'[62] Not only was its shipment a profitable arm of the smuggling trade,[63] but in years of dearth and famine it kept the inhabitants of the less cultivable areas of the Highlands and Islands, particularly the Hebrides and the north-west Highlands, alive. A variety of studies over the past few decades has elucidated many aspects of trade between Ireland and Scotland across the North Channel, and recent work by Frances Wilkins[64] has expanded knowledge but there is still room for more specific work on smuggling from a Highland and Island perspective. The trade in smuggling between the west Highlands and Islands and the north of Ireland especially, not simply Argyll and the southern Isles but also the Hebrides, must have been substantial and research in this area would certainly be welcome. Although, by its very nature, much of it remains unrecorded, there is still sufficient material in government papers, family muniments, judicial papers and later customs records to allow for such an account.

Commercial contacts take on a greater significance with the decline of military contact between Irish and Scottish Gaels, after the civil war. Commercial activity across the North Channel was

more the preserve of the Protestant Gaelic culture which dominated economic interests and urban activity. Though not all of the commercial interaction between the west coast of Scotland and Ulster was between Protestant families, they appear to have had a substantial stake in it. The interaction between kingroups of the McNeills of Ugadale and relatives who had settled in Antrim is a case in point.[65] There was also activity between the Stewarts of Bute and their kinsmen the Stewarts of Ballintoy who had settled in east Ulster as administrators to MacDonnell of Antrim.[66] Catholic communities probably had a greater stake in the fishing industry. In many ways, commerce brought the Highland and Ulster élite together, encouraging the forging and maintenance of contacts between a Gaelic landed class who, in the case of the MacDonalds, even secured each others debts, but religion often divided them.

In Scotland, the tremendous forces for change which operated at almost every level in Gaelic society throughout this period led to the assimilation of the clan *fine* into a commercial, Lowland-oriented class. This trend was mirrored among conforming Gaels in Ulster such as the Earl of Antrim who, by the late 1630s, had built up substantial debts of between £40,000 and £42,000 sterling through expensive living at Court, in gambling, in buying and furnishing properties in Ireland and England and in the payment of taxes.[67] Increasingly over the period, clan chiefs assumed, in their own persons, customs and rights of access which had traditionally been held collectively by the clan - for example, fishing rights, and the right to cut wood for construction. By the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries these rights were often farmed out commercially, in a number of instances to Irishmen from across the North Channel. In one instance, in 1687, Donald MacDonald of Benbecula, acting on behalf of the young Allan MacDonald of Clanranald, sold the rights of salmon fishing in Loch Sett to two merchants in Dunluce, County Antrim for seven years.[68] In another instance, in late 1726, the tacksmen of Muckairn complained to Campbell of Lossit that Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell was enclosing woods and planned to sell the rights to them to a company of Irishmen.[69] They wished to establish whether they still had rights of tree-felling for repair of their houses and mills. The rapid economic expansion in both Ireland and Scotland in the eighteenth century had much to do with the centralisation of power and wealth in London and these countries being brought within that sphere politically. This had peripheral effects in the *Gaidhealtachd*s where economic reorientation also played its part in the transformation of Gaelic society and culture.[70] Gaelic society was undoubtedly still kin-based in 1760, but the traditional bonds of military service and land tenure had been weakened and replaced by commercial ones. Overall there was a general trend from 'kin to cash' which began in the late 1600s and continued throughout the period of this study. The trend towards rising rents and the adoption of leases was funded by the proceeds of the cattle trade. Ward-holding which had been the main form of land tenure in Scotland in 1560 was banned by the Annexing Act of 1752, and was replaced by a system of 41-year leases. Thus, the military power and general authority of the chief and tacksmen were reduced.[71]

General social movement occurred throughout the period, though it was sometimes restricted during times of war. In the sixteenth century, large numbers of Scots migrated annually to Ulster, and occasionally to Connacht, on a seasonal basis, to fulfil mercenary contracts, some of whom, at various junctures, chose to settle there. The Clan Donald South's territorial holdings in east Ulster facilitated permanent settlement in Ireland[72] both for themselves and for those clans who worked in alliance with them such as the MacDonalds of Clanranald and of Sleat, the MacIains of Ardnamurchan, the MacLeods of Lewis, the McNeills of Gigha, the MacAllisters of Loup and the MacPhees of Colonsay. These were, first, the Glens of Antrim, which they had held since the end of the fourteenth century, and second, the Route, which they acquired by the sword in the late sixteenth century. Other Highlanders settled in Down in the wooded area of the Dufferin, probably in order to supervise the felling of wood for the mercenary galleys. All of the above names appear in Ulster in significant numbers in the 1659 Census of Ireland and the County Antrim Hearth Money Roll of 1669. The Highland infiltration of Ulster also had linguistic implications, because a dialect known as 'Highland Irish' was still spoken in County Antrim well into the eighteenth century.[73] Migration incidental to the mercenary trade was, like the warriors, mainly directed from Scotland to Ireland, but did result in some movement in the opposite direction when the Scots made marriage alliances in Ireland and brought their brides back to Scotland. Thus, the O'Hanleys of South Uist and and the MacKiegans of North Uist are thought to have come to the Hebrides in the marriage train of Fionnsgoth Burke, a daughter of the Burkes of Connacht, at her marriage to Raghnaill mac Ailein MacDonald, first of Benbecula in about 1600.

Whenever there was rebellion or unrest in the *Gaidhealtachds,* the Privy Councils in Ireland and Scotland wrote to their counterparts both to avert cooperation between the Gaels and to prevent their mutual resetting of rebels. Ireland was also looked upon as a place of refuge for Highlanders when they were in trouble with the Lowland government, with clan chiefs, or when they were fleeing from judicial sanction or in anticipation of it. During the sixteenth century this usually occurred as a result of some military skirmish or rebellion which had involved bloodshed, but in the seventeenth century, as Highland society became less overtly military, the weight of evidence highlights those escaping from Kirk discipline or forms of social censure. There is some evidence for movement in the opposite direction, but it appears to be less in volume. However, there was a substantial traffic in Irish beggars and vagrants to the west Highlands who took advantage of the better provision for poor relief there.[74] There were attempts throughout the seventeenth century to introduce a passport system across the North Channel, in order to stem the flow of vagrants, fugitives and priests, but they failed repeatedly.[75] Nonetheless, stringent controls were successfully enforced in periods when national security was threatened, as when the Jacobite rebellions were in progress.

In the early part of the period, there was also significant cultural interchange between the Irish and Scottish Gaelic communities. Movement for education and training in bardic and medical schools occurred more from Scotland to Ireland than in the reverse direction, so that it is easy to come to a conclusion that Ireland was still very much the motherland.[76] In a sense, this meant that there was more opportunity for Scottish Gaeldom to break the mould of tradition and innovate and, on occasion, as in poetic form, it is seen doing this very clearly. *Pìobaireachd* was also a distinctly Highland art form of which there was no Irish equivalent.[77] However, the assault on Gaelic autonomy, in Scotland and Ireland, ultimately resulted in the destruction of the Gaelic system, both its political and social structures, and the land-holding system. By 1760, the tripartite social structure of chief, *fine,* and tenants was in transition in both countries to landlords and a 'stratified peasantry.' The Gaels' poetic response is one of the few documented forms of reaction to the immense changes, cultural and otherwise, which occurred in Gaelic society. The privileged position of the Gaelic learned classes and their schools of traditional knowledge was affected by the break down of Gaelic society, which deprived a whole class of hereditary poets, *seanchaidhean,* and medical men of their patrons, and threw them on the mercy of a society which feared their incitatory elements and did not recognise the roles they fulfilled. The bards, in particular, became embroiled in a vigorous defence of their culture throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, though perhaps not vigorously enough.[78] There were, however, means of merging the old order and the new. In Scotland, the Kirk as a means of assimilating the Gaelic learned class into a Protestant order, when there were few other opportunities for employment, has been written of but, on occasion, underestimated. Gaelic society survived in the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries more in the form of social customs than social structures, that is, it survived more in the recognition of cultural tendencies and characteristics than as intact cultural institutions.[79] Gaelic culture was perhaps most distinctively preserved in its languages - Irish and Scottish Gaelic - in the continued prestige given to the oral tradition and to the storyteller, the poet, the harper, the scholar and the priest, in its pastimes, and its marriage patterns.[80]

The decline of Gaelic society has been examined very perceptively in Irish studies which probably benefit from the obvious divisions between the foreign settler and native Irish culture. Daniel Corkery's *The Hidden Ireland,* (1925), made reference to eighteenth-century Irish poetry in order to outline a concept of an Irish Gaelic society which was oppressed and down trodden. Though subsequently criticised for a contrived interpretation of the poetry and its views substantially revised, it nonetheless provided a basis for discussion of nationalist identity and the nature of the Gaelic outlook which scholars continue today.[81] The Irish were attacking an alien landed class and culture, an alien Church and an alien government, that is, an English one. In Scotland, on the other hand, all these things were actually Scottish, at least until the dissolution of the Privy Council in 1708. In Scotland, the clan chiefs were Scottish, they simply came under the influences of Lowland society or became anglicised, a trend which has been described as 'cultural capitulation.'[82]

Similarly, the evangelical tradition which developed in eighteenth-century Scottish Gaelic poetry, which was a Protestant phenomenon, did not develop in Ireland because of Catholicism. Nonetheless, socio-political studies of Scottish Gaelic culture based on detailed analyses of the poetry, in the vein of the work done in Ireland in the last two decades, would make a substantial contribution to the historical debate.

In summary, in the late sixteenth century, the mercenary trade played a pivotal role in Scoto-Irish relations which were dominated by pan-Gaelic politics. In the seventeenth century, there is a redefinition of these relationships, especially after the Union of the Crowns in 1603. The plantation of Ulster introduced a Lowland element to Scoto-Irish relations, and different values were allocated to all aspects of Gaelic interaction. This century generally saw a decline in military interaction, apart from the substantial contact during the 1640s and the last redshank raid of 1648. From the mid-century there was therefore greater emphasis on commercial and social interaction sustained by the continued presence of Highlanders and Islanders among the plantation settlers. The seventeenth century also witnessed the decline of Gaelic culture in both countries. A major factor in this decline was the disappearance of the institutions of traditional Gaelic learning early in the century, so that Scottish Gaels no longer had the opportunity to be trained in Irish schools. In religious terms, the seventeenth century marks the greatest pan-Gaelic religious cooperation, in both Protestant and Catholic fields. Though the number of ministers and priests involved was relatively small, their contribution to each other's religious heritage was enormous. Furthermore, the existence of the countervailing trends - Irish priests in the Highlands and Highland ministers in Ulster - is both interesting and ironic. In each case, it reveals the importance of religion as a political force. After the Revolution and into the eighteenth century, the most vital links between Irish and Scottish Gaels were social and economic. Ecclesiastical links in both the Catholic and Protestant spheres tailed off in the early eighteenth century. There was no trace, by this time, of the strong political relationship between the Gaels which had effectively been extinguished as early as the mid-seventeenth century. The expression of Gaelic music and verse did not require a formal setting and the cultural link between the *Gaidhealtachds* in the form of itinerant musicians continued to be vital. In terms of documented interaction, however, only the record of the visits of a handful of harpers to Scotland survive. A good deal more is probably unrecorded, but might lead us to question whether the cultural traffic was as significant as historians and Celtic scholars have led us to believe.

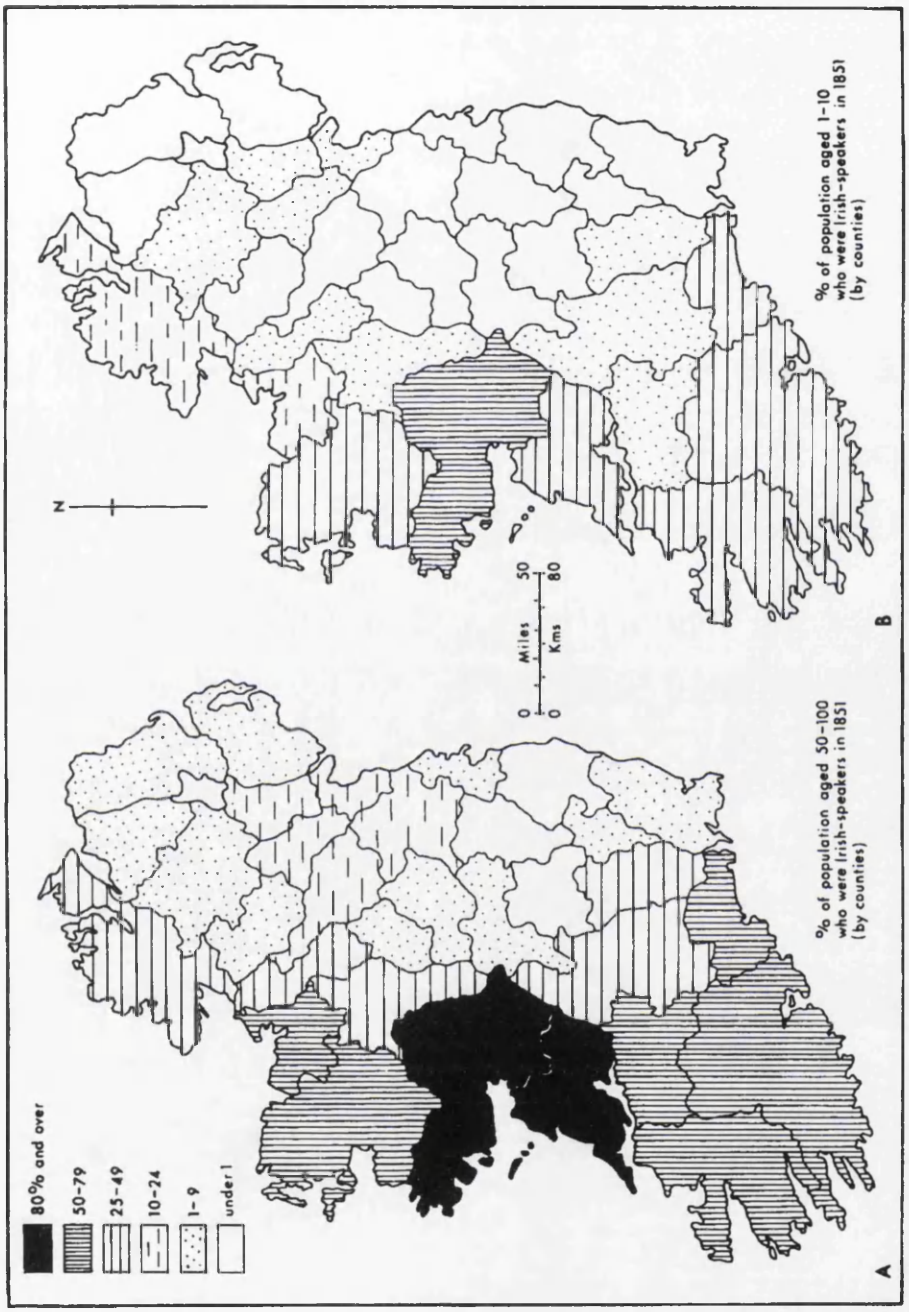
In the fairly comprehensive study of Highland links with Gaelic Ireland encompassed within this thesis, the geographical area which emerges as most closely connected with the west of Scotland in most types of pan-Gaelic interaction, is Ulster. In 1560, as indeed in the first years of the seventeenth century, it was still regarded as the most Gaelic region of Ireland, in its reflection of Gaelic society and culture in general, and more specifically in the retention of Gaelic forms of land

tenure. Though English authority was beginning to impinge upon it in a variety of forms, Ulster was still, to a large extent, effectively beyond Royal control. It is therefore ironic, on re-assessment of the situation at the end of the period in 1760, to discover that, after Leinster - the area of most enduring English settlement - Ulster was the least traditionally Irish province in the country, though approximately half of the population was still native Irish. Due to a variety of loyalist plantations which had uprooted the native Irish from Ulster and other areas, transferred their lands into the hands of Protestants, and resettled them in the west, not only were the vast majority of Irish-speakers in 1760 located in Connacht and Munster, but Irish was by this time almost confined to the peasantry.[83] (See fig. C.1, Irish speakers c. 1800, which gives an indication of the distribution of Irish-speakers born between 1750 and 1800.) In comparison, by the early nineteenth century, the extent of the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd* had not significantly altered from its position at the end of the seventeenth century, though it had suffered some erosion on the eastern peripheries. (See fig. C.2, The Scottish Gaidhealtachd in 1806. This can be compared with fig. 6.1, The Scottish Gaidhealtachd in 1698.) Connacht was, of course, the other province with which Scottish Gaels had a good deal of contact from 1560, both in terms of mercenary and social connection, and where the presence of the MacNeills of Barra occurs most frequently. Nonetheless, the contact was by no means to the same extent as in Ulster which, both because of its geographical proximity and because of the existence of kinship ties there with established Scottish settlers, always featured more prominently in Highland connections.

In the long term, there is evidence of continued contact between Irish and Gaelic speakers in most of the areas in which links between them were still vital in the early eighteenth century. In religious terms, the direction of movement was similar to that established in earlier centuries. Calls for the use of Irish to bring in converts to the Church of Ireland resulted in the London Hibernian Society (founded in 1806), importing Gaelic-speaking missionaries from Scotland, though by this time, they were no longer easily understood by Irish speakers and the Society was forced to employ Irishmen instead. Nonetheless, the Gaelic-speaking Scot, Christopher Anderson, remained one of the staunchest supporters of the use of Irish in the teaching of the gospel. He travelled in various parts of Ireland, in the early nineteenth century, to promote the opinions published in his books *Memorial on behalf of the native Irish,* (Dublin, 1815); *A brief sketch of various attempts which have been made to diffuse a knowledge of the holy scriptures through the medium of the Irish language,* (Dublin, 1818); and *Historical sketches of the ancient native Irish,* (London, 1828).[84] On the other hand, Irish Catholic priests went on a mission to the Hebridean Islands in the early twentieth century. The reforging of the ancient link in the 1920s was the initiative of Bishop Donald Martin of Argyll and the Isles who, in 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1930, invited Irish Redemptorists to preach to the Gaelic-speaking congregations in his diocese. In a three month tour in 1930, they visited Eigg, Canna, Barra, Eriskay, South Uist and Benbecula. One of these missionary priests, the Rev. Seán Mac Guaire, also attested to continued contact between

Fig. C.1

IRISH SPEAKERS c. 1800

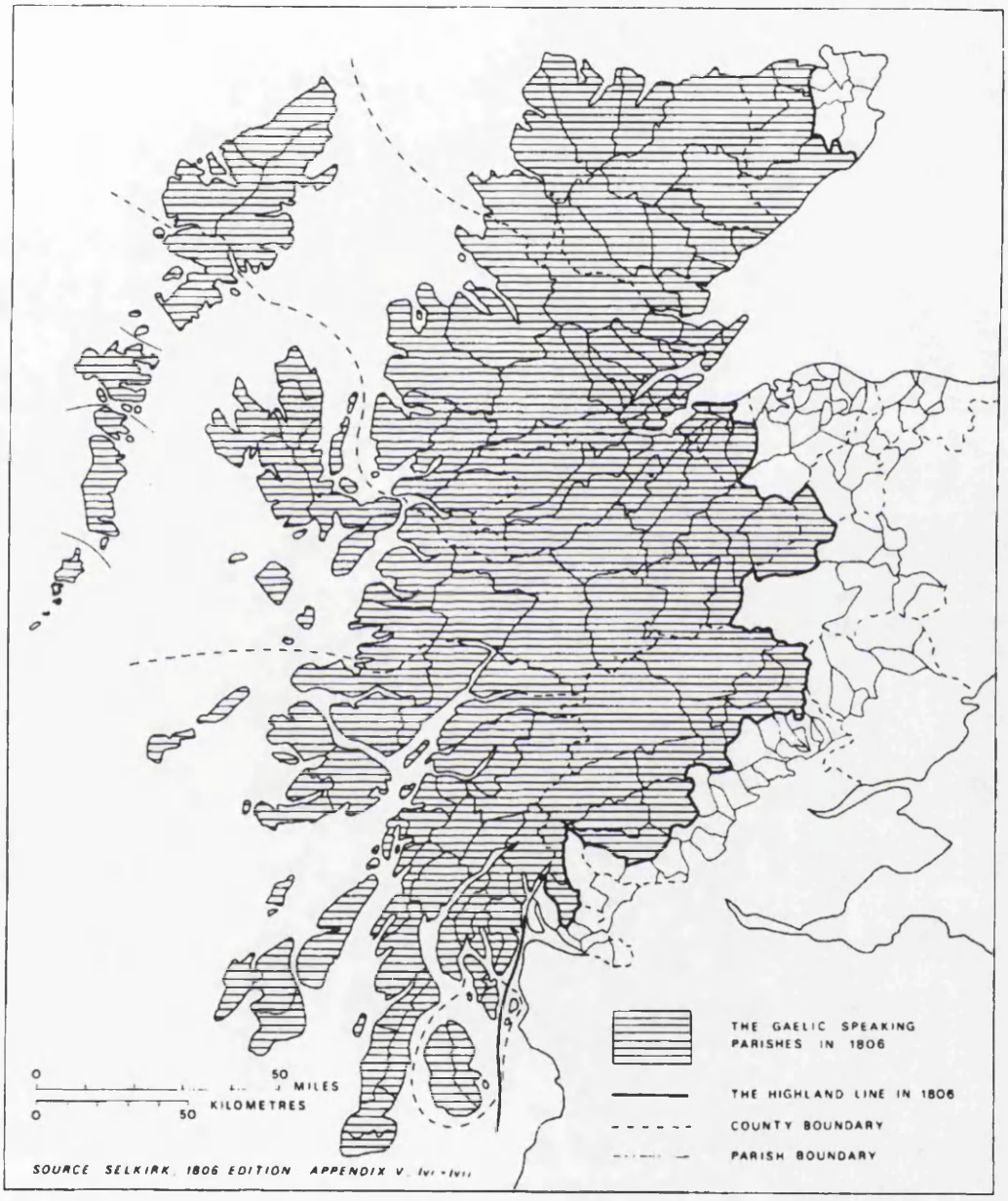


IRISH-SPEAKERS, *c.* 1800, by Brian Ó Cuív

Census Ire., 1851. **(A) indicates the distribution of Irish-speakers among those born between 1750 and 1800. (B) is included for comparison.**

Reproduced from
T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (editors),
A New History of Ireland, IV,
(Oxford, 1986), p. 386.

Fig. C.2
THE SCOTTISH GAIDHEALTACHD IN 1806



Reproduced from
Charles W. J. Withers,
Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981
(Edinburgh, 1984), p. 81.

the Gaelic-speaking fishing communities, noting in 1933, that Highlanders still put in to Killybegs in Donegal and Kilronan in the Isles of Aran, off the south coast of Connacht, where they would pick up some Irish Gaelic.[85]

There was even a brief revival of political interaction between the Gaels over the land reform in both countries in the late nineteenth century. The mainly Gaelic-speaking peasantries which inhabited the west coast of Ireland and the north-western seaboard of Scotland both subsisted on small plots of land held from English-speaking landlords with little legal security of tenure. The land agitation in the Braes area of Skye in 1886 was said to have been fuelled by the return of fishermen from Kinsale in the south of Ireland.[86] John Murdoch, editor of the newspaper the *Highlander*, spoke in January 1880, in tones curiously reminiscent of James VI and I's policy of the early seventeenth century, "of the work of England in keeping Irishmen and Highlanders separate."[87]

Socially, there was still evidence of contact between descendants of the Scots who colonised Antrim and their ancestors in the western Isles in the late nineteenth century. Writing of County Antrim in 1870, Robert MacAdam said that: 'The people are evidently the same as those of Argyll, as indicated by their names and for centuries intercourse has been kept up between them. Even yet the Glensmen of Antrim go regularly to the Highland Fairs and communicate without difficulty with the Highlanders.'[88] Between the 1840s (after the potato famine) and 1930s, many Irish went as migrant workers to Scotland, most of them from the 1890s from counties Mayo and Donegal. Donegal men and women from northwestern crofting communities such as the Rosses and Gweedore, went to supplement their income from subsistence farming and knitting, the men to industrial work in the Scottish grain harvest, the women in large groups or squads organized by local men, to work in the Scottish potato harvest as 'tattie-hokers' or to cure fish. Some areas, such as the fishing community of Tory island, off the west coast of Donegal, did not take part in the annual migrations to the harvest, but during the First World War, the men began to go to Scotland to take employment on public works programmes in order to earn enough capital for boats and equipment. This often necessitated several years away from home, after which they would return and marry. Increasingly, from the 1930s Irish workers tended to emigrate permanently if the men were fortunate enough to secure non-seasonal work in the Scottish and English industrial centres.[89] In the last two to three decades, links in the musical tradition have been significantly reinvigorated. Irish and Scots Gaels both go on tour and take part in festivals in each others' countries, and there has been similar involvement by poets. In the final decade of the twentieth century, it is the cultural link between Irish and Scottish Gaels which remains most vital.

NOTES

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2. Charles W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region,* (London and New York, 1988), p. 75; Beckett, p. 1.
3. See Chapter 1, The Redshanks: Highland mercenaries in Ireland, 1560-1603.
4. Hiram Morgan, 'The end of Gaelic Ulster: a thematic interpretation of events between 1534 and 1610,' *Irish Historical Studies,* 26, No. 101, (1988), p. 10.
5. *Gaelic Scotland,* p. 89.
6. L. M. Cullen, 'Scotland and Ireland 1600-1800: Their role in the evolution of British society,' in R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte (editors), *Scottish Society 1500-1800,* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 226.
7. See Chapter 2, section II A. Internal dissension and external assault, and section II B. Islay rebellion 1614-15.
8. See Chapter 1, sections III B. The kinship factor in the contracting of mercenaries in Ulster 1560-1593, and III D. The Ulster rebellion, 1594 to 1603; Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.
9. Beckett, p. 27.
10. *Gaelic Scotland,* pp. 73, 76, 88-89, 175.
11. See Chapter 2, The decline and expropriation of the Clan Donald South, 1597-1615.
12. See Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.
13. Ian Carter, 'Economic Models and the Recent History of the Highlands,' *Scottish Studies,* 15, (1971), p. 112.
14. See Chapter 3, section IV. Covenanting period.
15. Beckett, p. 32.
16. J. C. D. Clark, 'English History's forgotten context: Scotland, Ireland and Wales,' *The Historical Journal,* 32, 1, (1989), p. 227.
17. See Chapter 11, section II. Case study: economic inter-relation and financial solidarity of the Irish MacDonnells and Scots MacDonalds during the latter part of the seventeenth century.
18. See Chapter 4, Jacobite links between the Gaels, 1689-1760.
19. *Gaelic Scotland,* pp. 75-76.
20. Daniel Szechi and David Hayton, 'John Bull's Other Kingdoms: The English Government of Scotland and Ireland,' in Clyve Jones (editor), *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750,* (London and Ronceverte, 1987), pp. 277-78.
21. Clark, p. 220.
22. See Eric Cregeen, 'The Tacksmen and Their Successors: A study of Tenurial Reorganisation in Mull, Morvern and Tiree in the Early Eighteenth Century,' *Scottish Studies,* 13, pp. 93-144; Eric Cregeen, 'The

Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish Highlands,' in I. Lewis (editor), *History and Social Anthropology,'* (London, 1967), pp. 153-92.

23. Carter, pp. 109, 112-13.
24. Szechi and Hayton, p. 260.
25. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. 140; IV, pp. ixl-xl, lvii, 74.
26. James Hunter, 'The Gaelic connection: the Highlands, Ireland and nationalism, 1873-1922,' *SHR,* 54, (1975), p. 180.
27. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections; Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster; Chapter 9, introduction, section V. A. Shared resources, and V B. Highland presbyterian missionary work among the native Irish.
28. *Gaelic Scotland,* p. 112; Morgan, p. 25.
29. *Gaelic Scotland,* pp. 58, 66-67; Malcolm Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture,* (Montreal, 1978), p. 38.
30. See Chapter 3, section III C. Mercenary service in Protestant nations on the continent; Chapter 4, section II B. Irish Jacobite views of the war.
31. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. li-lii.
32. See Chapter 6, section III A. Interaction of the Irish missionaries with the Scottish *fine.*
33. See Chapter 1, section III D. The Ulster rebellion, 1594 to 1603.
34. See Chapter 5, The Jesuit missions.
35. See Chapter 6, section III. The first Franciscan mission to the Highlands.
36. See Chapter 8, section III A. The Vincentian mission to the Highlands and Islands.
37. See Chapter 8, section III B. The Dominican mission to the Highlands and Islands
38. See Chapter 8, section III C. The second Franciscan initiative in the Highlands and Islands.
39. See Chapter 10, Catholic links between Irish and Scottish Gaels, 1690-1760.
40. Rev. Mark Dilworth, 'The Counter-Reformation in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography,' *RSCHS,* 22, (1984), pp. 91-92.
41. See Chapter 10, section III C. Presbyterian counter-attack.
42. Beckett, p. 31.
43. See Chapter 5, section III. Effect of the plantation of Ulster on religious connections; Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.
44. M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the reign of James I,* (London, 1973), p. 288.
45. See Chapter 1, section III A. Operation, contracting and maintenance of redshanks within the Irish system.
46. See Chapter 3, section II. The extent of Highland involvement in the plantation of Ulster.
47. See Chapter 6, section I B. Ulster.
48. See Chapter 7, section III A. Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism.
49. See Chapter 3, section IV. Covenanting period.
50. See Chapter 15, section IV. Pauper contact.

51. See Chapter 7, section III B. Presbyterian ministers during the Irish campaign, 1642-1648.
52. See Chapter 7, section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.
53. See Chapter 7, section II B. Ministerial collaborators in Scotland.
54. See Chapter 7, section III C. Highland ministers in Ireland from the Cromwellian occupation to the Revolution, 1650-1689.
55. See Chapter 7, section II C. Irish ministers in Scotland from the civil war to the Restoration; Chapter 9, section II. Highland ministers of Irish congregations.
56. See Chapter 9, section III A. Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism.
57. See Chapter 9, section II B. Highland presbyterian ministers in Ireland: Case studies.
58. Beckett, p. 45; Szechi and Hayton, p. 270.
59. See 'The source of the language problem in Scottish education, 1688-1709,' (1978); 'The Church of Scotland's Eighteenth-Century attitudes to Gaelic preaching,' (1981). For full references, see bibliography.
60. See Chapter 12, section II. Mercenary contraband.
61. See Chapter 12, section III. General trade with Ulster from the plantation to the Revolution.
62. See Chapter 12, section IV. Grain trade; Chapter 13, section III. Grain trade in the eighteenth century.
63. See Chapter 13, section VI. Smuggling.
64. *The Isle of Man in Smuggling History,* (1992), and *Strathclyde's Smuggling Story,* (1992). For full references, see bibliography.
65. See Chapter 13, section I. General trade links.
66. See Chapter 12, section VI. Commercial connections of the Gaelic *fine.*
67. Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms: The career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683,* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 61-62.
68. See Chapter 11, section II. Case study: economic inter-relation and financial solidarity of the Irish MacDonnells and Scots MacDonalds during the latter part of the seventeenth century.
69. See Chapter 13, section IV. Timber and charcoal-iron industry.
70 *Gaelic Scotland,* pp. 78, 95-96; Cullen, p. 226.
71 *Gaelic Scotland,* pp. 77, 83, 178.
72. See Chapter 14, Social and Demographic trends: The commonalty 1560-1760 - 1 Migration and permanent settlement.
73. Ohlmeyer, p. 7.
74. For all these aspects, see Chapter 15, Social and demographic trends: The commonalty 1560-1760 - 2 Seasonal and occasional social interaction.
75. Beckett, p. 27.
76. See Chapter 16, Cultural inter-relations, 1560 - c. 1640: Classical Gaelic period - the bardic tradition.
77. See Chapter 17, section II. From Gaelic exclusivity: music.
78. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. l-li; *Gaelic Scotland,* p. 409.

79. See Chapter 17, Cultural links 1560-1760: other professional families; Chapter 18, Cultural inter-relations 1640-1760: Vernacular Gaelic period.

80. *A New History of Ireland,* III, p. li.

81. L. M. Cullen, 'The Hidden Ireland: Re-Assessment of a Concept,' *Studia Hibernica,* 9, (1969), pp. 7-47.

82. Clark, p. 213.

83. *A New History of Ireland,* IV, pp. lxi, 385. Note that Brian Ó Cuiv's map of Irish-speakers c. 1800 is the earliest enumeration of the geographical extent of the Irish *Gaeltacht*, based on statistical data. Although this map takes account of Irish-speakers born between 1750 and 1800, the extent of the *Gaeltacht* in 1760 would obviously have been greater rather than less.

84. *A New History of Ireland,* III, pp. 376-77.

85. Rev. Seán Mac Guaire, 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* fifth series, 42, (1933), pp. 350, 499-507.

86. J. P. D. Dunbabin, *Rural Discontent in Nineteenth Century Britain,* (London, 1974), pp. 181, 185.

87. 'The Gaelic connection,' p. 179.

88. Rev. John MacKechnie (editor), *The Dewar Manuscripts,* I, (Glasgow, 1963), p. 314.

89. Jonathan Bell, 'Donegal Women as Migrant Workers in Scotland,' *Review of Scottish Culture,* 7, (1991), pp. 73-75, 78; Robin Fox, *The Tory Islanders: A people of the Celtic fringe,* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 25.

APPENDIX I

Itinerary of the priests of the first Franciscan mission

Sources: *IFM*; *RPCS*, 1630-32, p. 391; J. L. Campbell, 'North and South Uist and Barra in Prefect Ballantine's Report,' *Innes Review*, 9, (1958), p. 215.

1619

Patrick Brady	Arrived in Scotland about the middle of March 1619, but may have been there before. [Hegarty, writing at the end of 1624, said that Brady had been on the mission for 7 years.] Laboured from the beginning on his own, with little contact with his fellow missionaries. Worked in the north of Scotland near the Highlands for 18 years, location unspecified, but probably on the north-east coast, perhaps Aberdeenshire. [Giblin says he laboured in Sutherland but there is no direct evidence to support this.] Seems to have resided in the house of one of the gentry which he used as a centre in his evangelisation.
Edmund McCann	Of the 4 missionaries, least is known of his activities. Went to the Hebrides because he had the best knowledge of Scottish Gaelic. Said to have baptised 360. Same Propaganda account said that Calvinist ministers decided to persecute him, and in order to avoid persecution he retired to Ireland now and again.
John Stuart	Scottish laybrother. Propaganda account said that he went with Brady.

1620

Patrick Brady	On the mission, in same place.
Edmund McCann	Arrested towards end of 1620, taken with hands and feet tied to Aberdeen, and imprisoned for two years. Released on intercession of French ambassador, then banished. Broke his leg trying to escape from prison. Was not fit for work on the mission any more and died in a Franciscan house in Ireland. In 1624 the islanders of Sanda told Hegarty that they had been instructed in the rudiments of the faith by another Irish Franciscan (i.e. in 1620), most likely to have been McCann.
John Stuart	On the mission.

1621

Patrick Brady	On mission, in same place.
Edmund McCann	In prison, in Aberdeen.
John Stuart	On the mission.

1622

Patrick Brady	On the mission, in same place.

Edmund McCann In prison most of year, then banished.

John Stuart On the mission.

1623

Patrick Brady On the mission, in same place.

John Stuart On the mission.

1624

Patrick Brady On the mission, in same place.

Patrick Hegarty Arrived on the mission in this year, leaving Ireland 14 July 1624, landing on Isle of Sanda on the 15th. [Ward said the 21st.] 40 went to confession and received communion. That evening all three missionaries went to Kintyre. Hegarty stayed 6 weeks in Kintyre, and reconciled 260. Then went to Arran, where he stayed 8 days, and reconciled 18. Compelled to fly to Gigha, where he had little success because of the minister, but converted the minister's assistant and his son. Then went to Islay for 14 days, and reconciled 119. Next he fled to Jura, where stayed 12 days, and reconciled 102. Then went to Colonsay, where he converted 133. Claimed more than 600 conversions from this trip.

Paul O'Neill
(or James O'Neill) Arrived on the mission in this year, leaving Ireland 14 July 1624, landing on the Isle of Sanda. The day after the missionaries' arrival in Kintyre he left Hegarty and went with Ward to prepare for journey to the Hebrides. *Stayed another day in a Kintyre village with Ward, administered penance and eucharist to 40. Had to flee to Cara, 6 miles off coast of Kintyre, stayed a day and reconciled all 14 inhabitants and 6 oarsmen. Went on to Oronsay, stayed 2 days and reconciled 40. Then went to Colonsay, stayed 2 days, and reconciled 19. Proceeded to Mull, reconciled 9 and MacLean of Lochbuie, his wife and one other family member.* Here he parted from Ward and went to the Outer Hebrides. Although only 2 years on the mission, he spent 20 months on Skye where he preached and instructed allegedly with the approval of MacLeod of Harris. Converted Iain Muideartach, chief of Clanranald during this year, therefore was presumably somewhere in his territory.

Cornelius Ward Arrived on the mission in this year, leaving Ireland 14 July 1624, landing on Isle of Sanda 15/21 July. Proceeded to Kintyre and journeyed as from * to * above with O'Neill. Then went to Muckairn, Cawdor's territory on mainland, and converted him. Then set out to visit Patrick Brady in the north, location unspecified. Stayed with Brady a month, converted two of most important lairds and their wives and gave eucharist to a great number. On his return, he laboured in Glengarry, on the Isles of Mull and Ulva,

and in Kintyre, where he reconciled 287 collectively. Total number reconciled by him said to be 387. Some time after this he must have returned to Ireland for his next report indicated that he returned from Ireland in June 1625.

John Stuart — Captured at Drogheda in 1624 when on a visit to Ireland, and imprisoned. Released on direction of King James VI and I and ordered back to Belgium - year unspecified, might have been 1625. Propaganda report said that he was betrayed on one occasion and brought captive to London where he spent 4 months in prison.

1625

Patrick Brady — Met up with Ward and O'Neill in South Uist on 1 November 1625. Left with O'Neill after a few days to visit MacLeod of Harris, that is, on Skye. Reconciled 260 in this year.

Patrick Hegarty — The mission report of August 1626 details the locations in which he worked - no dates given, but presumably run consecutively. First place documented is Kintyre, where he visited 21 villages, reconciled 426. Then visited Gigha, where there was opposition from minister, and he reconciled 3. Proceeded to Jura, where he reconciled 110. Visited Islay, where he reconciled 518, including John Campbell of Cawdor, chief of the isle, 2 of his sons and 50 relatives. Next visited Oronsay, where he reconciled 50. Went on to Colonsay, where he reconciled 34 heretics who remained on the island. Went to Mull, where he reconciled 266, including Gillean MacLean, brother of the Protestant laird of the island. Visited Mull probably c. August or September, because he visited it shortly after Ward. Proceeded to Iona, where he reconciled 3. Stated since his mission report in 1624 that he had converted 1410 and baptised 155. On his return to Ireland, he reconciled a non-Catholic minister and 60 Scots in the Route promontory.

Paul O'Neill — Met up with Ward on Eigg, date unspecified but probably late August, early September. O'Neill had not seen a priest for 10 months. Left Eigg, probably after a few weeks, destination unspecified. Met up with Brady and Ward in South Uist on 1 November 1625, stayed a few days and went with Brady to MacLeod of Harris in Skye, where reconciled 'many.' Reconciled 390 and baptised 412 in this year, as well as administering the sacraments to a great many.

Cornelius Ward — Crossed from Ireland to Kintyre on 28 June 1625, reconciled 106 there and administered sacraments of penance and eucharist to the 188 he and his companions had reconciled in the previous year. Met Hegarty. On 18 July he went to Arran, where he reconciled 14. Returned to Kintyre on 22 July, spending a few days there. Then went to Islay, where he reconciled 28. On 1 August he crossed to the Isle of Texa, where he reconciled 6. Passed on to Jura for just one day. From thence he went to Colonsay, Coll Ciotach's isle, where he spent 3 days, with the bishop on his track.

Went to Mull, but had to move on because of MacLean of Duart and the presence of the fleet. After five days journeying through wild and treacherous country he was welcomed by Clanranald, where he reconciled 28. Went to Eigg on 28 August, stayed 8 days, and reconciled 198, including all the chief men and their families, except one related to the minister. Met up with O'Neill on Eigg, - they had not seen each other for a year. Ward had not seen a priest for 6 months. Both missionaries then left Eigg, Ward went to Rhum where he reconciled 17. Left Rhum on 14 October for Canna, stayed almost a fortnight because of adverse winds. Proceeded to South Uist, arriving 27 October. All chief men and some others said to have embraced Catholicism, 28 October. From 30 October to 1 November, he reconciled 41. On 1 November 1625 he met Paul O'Neill and Patrick Brady at Ranald MacDonald, Clanranald's uncle's residence. Reconciled 25, including MacDonald, his wife, eldest son and his household and made subsequent reconciliations in the next few days in other places. Then went to Barra, stayed on there until 21 November, and reconciled 101, including the sister of MacNeill of Barra. Proceeded to the Isle of Fuday, where he reconciled 2. Returned to South Uist, remained over a month with one of the gentry because of bad weather, and reconciled 430. Arrived in North Uist, 29 December 1625, spent 14 days there, converted 768, allegedly leaving only 14 loyal to the minister.

John Stuart — Died at Louvain, September 1625.

1626

Patrick Brady — Said by nuncio in Brussels, May 1626, to be residing in the house of one of the Scottish Catholic gentry, but no further details. Did not get missionary faculties until this year.

Patrick Hegarty — In Dublin on 20 March 1626, where he met Ward and O'Neill.

Paul O'Neill — Withdrew from the mission field at the beginning of 1626. An undated Propaganda document, probably from c. 1626-27, issuing instructions for the missionaries, indicated that the friar chosen to fill his place was to be notified, to ensure that there would always be 4 friars on the mission in accordance with the last decree of the Congregation.

Cornelius Ward — Spent 2 weeks at the beginning of the year in North Uist. On 18 January 1626 he returned to South Uist, reconciled 36 including Ronald MacDonald and his two brothers. He alleged that Ronald MacDonald was the minister of the island, but there seems little evidence to back this up. Delayed from returning to Kintyre by adverse winds, he spent another month in South Uist. Visited Barra again, reconciled 116, including the heir to the island. Visited Canna on 26 February. Called at Mull, 27 February. Then went to Jura and on to Islay (where almost all the inhabitants had

been earlier converted by himself and Hegarty). On 6 March he reached Kintyre, where he stayed 3 weeks, and left on 6 March for Dublin. Met up in Dublin with O'Neill and Hegarty. Left Ireland on 3 June and travelled through France to Belgium. Wrote from Louvain, 17 August 1626.

1627

Patrick Brady — According to a statement of the activities of the 4 missionaries which internal evidence dates to 1627,* Brady was in a district bordering on the Highlands, where he stayed permanently. He had not gone to Ireland or England during the past 7 years.

Patrick Hegarty — According to the document above,* Hegarty spent some of his time with Ward and sometimes made short visits to the Isles. They had jointly reconciled some 100s.

Paul O'Neill — According to the document above,* he went to Ireland from Scotland in the previous year and it was not known whether he was returning to the mission field. He had asked to be freed from the mission.

Cornelius Ward — According to the report for 1629 he administered the sacraments to those Catholics who had previously been reconciled and reconciled 321 more. Allegedly compelled to flee to Bonamargy on the Irish coast because of persecution. A testimonial letter of 1634 attested to his attendance at the intermediate chapter held in Waterford in this year, and to his meeting with Richard Stafford (guardian of St. Isidore's college in Rome in 1634), to whom he had gone to give an account of the work done on the mission.

1628

Patrick Brady — On the mission, in same district, bordering on the Highlands.

Patrick Hegarty — With Ward, he administered to the Scots who flocked to see them from Ireland and Scotland. Hegarty reconciled about 200 Scots from the Hebrides. Among those converted by Hegarty and Ward were a minister and an Englishman called Thomas Norton, brother-in-law of the Earl of Antrim.

Paul O'Neill — Francis MacDonnell was appointed to take his place, but he did not arrive owing to intervention from his father, the Earl of Antrim.

Cornelius Ward — Worked with Hegarty administering to Scots from Ireland and Scotland who came to Bonamargy. He reconciled 12. [According to introduction to *IFM* he visited Skye some time before 1629, but there appears to be no evidence of this in the document transcriptions.]

1629

Patrick Brady — Mentioned in a letter of August 1629 as recently having been appointed superior of the mission. The other missionaries, however, request that the provincial of the Franciscans in Ireland be appointed superior, since Brady labours so far away from the other missionaries that they find it difficult to get access to him.

Cornelius Ward — Left Ireland on 15 February 1629, accompanied by 2 attendants, to go to Scotland. Visited Islay, Oronsay, Colonsay and Bute. Spent Holy week in the latter, but the place was stated to be occupied by heretics. Then proceeded to Kintyre, where he reconciled 327 in all, and administered the sacraments to 1,200 Catholics. From there he went to England and on to Belgium - no dates given. O'Duierma of the Irish College in Rome stated in 1634 that he saw Ward in Dublin when he last came over from Scotland. Ward was then on his way to Belgium with testimonial letters. When Ward had finished his business in Belgium O'Duierma saw him again in Ghent setting out for Scotland again, but Ward was captured in England, imprisoned in London and held for 2 years.

1630

Patrick Brady — On the mission, in same place.

[*Cornelius Ward* — Still in prison in London.]

Patrick Hegarty — In South Uist in September 1630 where he had gone from Ireland. The bishop of the Isles and his company had gone to South Uist to arrest him, but Hegarty was forcibly rescued from them by 30 tenants of Clanranald.

1631

Patrick Brady — According to Hegarty's letter of May 1631, Brady had just come to Ireland because of persecution in Scotland - probably in c. April 1631, therefore - having not been out of Scotland since he first went on the mission. He brought over to Ireland a member of the gentry, Alexander Gordon of Cluny, who allegedly disposed of his goods and went into exile rather than allow his faith to be undermined at home. Both Hegarty and Brady expressed their intention to return to Scotland as soon as the persecution became less severe.

Patrick Hegarty — In his letter of 6 May 1631 he stated that he had come to Ireland from Scotland very recently.

[*Cornelius Ward* — In prison.]

1632

Patrick Hegarty — In Barra from 6 February to 29 March 1632, though suffering from a serious fever for part of the time. Reconciled MacNeill of Barra, his wife and 30 of his household, and baptised 14.

[Cornelius Ward — Released from prison at some point during this year on the intervention of the Polish ambassador. He was immediately put on a boat for Danzig. From Poland he tried to make his way to Rome, but was prevented by wars in Germany. He proceeded to Lisbon to meet the Father-General of the Franciscans, but he was in Italy. He, therefore, went to Rome.]

1633

[In an undated Propaganda document, probably dating from c. 1633, Ward claimed a total reconciliation of 9,637 by himself and the other missionaries to the Highlands and Islands, between 1624 and 1633. The provincial of the Irish Dominicans was prepared to testify that Ward and his companions had reconciled c. 4,000.]

Patrick Hegarty — A testimonial letter of c. 1634 mentioned that within the year just past the writer had seen Louis Macallea and 33 Scots in County Donegal, all of whom had been reconciled by Hegarty. They had come to Ireland to see other Catholic nobles.

1634

Patrick Brady — Still on the mission, in same place, according to Ward.

Patrick Hegarty — Still on the mission, according to Ward.

[*Cornelius Ward* — Arrived in Madrid, 24 June 1634.]

1635

Patrick Brady — Still on the mission, in same place.

Cornelius Ward — [Travelled through Spain on his return journey from Rome to Ireland.] Set out, with the blessing of the bishop of Down and Connor and his superiors in Ireland, for Scotland in November 1635. In the last 2 months of 1635 he was labouring in Skye where he reconciled 50 and also instructed another 116 Catholics.

1636

Patrick Brady — Still on the mission, in same place.

Cornelius Ward — No date given for his departure from Skye. He then went to Uist where he visited 20 townships. He proceeded to Benbecula, where he reconciled 203, including a non-Catholic minister and administered to 208 Catholics whom he and Hegarty had previously reconciled. In this year he spent a month working in the Isles of Barra,

Fiaray and Berneray where he reconciled 50 and administered to 207 Catholics. Fled when a minister was sent after him by the Protestant bishop of the Isles. Continued to labour in Moidart and Arisaig for c. 2 months where he reconciled 206 and administered to 200 Catholics. When he ran short of hosts and wine he went on a long and arduous journey to Edinburgh to get them. He fell ill on his return, recovered and began working again. From 8 September to 25 December he laboured in Lochaber, Moidart, Sleat and Glenelg where he reconciled 139 and administered to 120 Catholics.

1637

Patrick Brady — Had been labouring on the mission for 18 years, still in same place. Left mission field in this year.

Patrick Hegarty — Ward stated that all the missionaries abandoned the mission in this year except Hegarty, who continued to serve from Bonamargy.

Cornelius Ward — This was the last year in which he laboured on the mission, by which time he had been working there for 13 years, including breaks on the continent and 2 years in prison. From 25 December 1636 to April 1637 he continued working in Lochaber, Moidart, Sleat and Glenelg, as in the latter part of 1636, where he reconciled 102 and administered to 118 Catholics. He carried on working in the same areas from 1 April to 20 July 1637, with the addition of the Small Isles, in all of which he reconciled 324 and administered to them, as well as to 553 Catholics who had been previously reconciled by Ward and his companions. He was the last of the 4 Franciscan priests to leave the mission field. He returned to Ireland about the beginning of August 1637.

[Follow up:

1640

Patrick Brady — At Cavan friary.

Edmund McCann — At Armagh friary.

Patrick Hegarty — At Bonamargy friary acting as head of the mission, but without missionaries.

Cornelius Ward — At Donegal friary. By the time of Hegarty's letter of June 1641 he had died.]

1646

Daniel McNeill — Stated to be working on the mission in August 1646 according to Hegarty's letter from Waterford. Probably a chaplain to Alasdair MacColla's forces on the western seaboard. He was one of the missionaries proposed for the reconstituted mission in January 1647.

David Laertius	Also stated to be working on the mission in August 1646 according to the above source, probably in the same capacity of chaplain. Not re-proposed for mission in January 1647, and had, therefore, probably returned to Ireland already.

APPENDIX II

Itinerary of the priests of the Vincentian mission

Sources: Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622- 1878,* (Montrose, 1970); Cathaldus Giblin, 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' *Franciscan College Annual*, (Multyfarnham, 1954), pp. 12-13; 'The "Acta" of Propaganda Archives and the Scottish Mission 1623-1670,' *Innes Review*, 5, (1954), footnote to p. 64; Dom Odo Blundell, 'St. Vincent of Paul and the Highlands of Scotland,' *Dublin Review*, 149, (July and October 1911), pp. 304-20; Mary Purcell, *The Story of the Vincentians,* (Dublin, 1973); David McRoberts, 'The Death of Father Francis White,' *Innes Review*, 17, (1966), Miscellany, pp. 186-88; SCA CC1/8-15, Canon William Clapperton, '*Memoirs of Missionary Priests,*' pp, 49-57; Duncan C. MacTavish (editor), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661,* SHS, 3rd series, 38, (Edinburgh, 1944.)

1651

Francis White
(Francois Le Blanc) — Sent to the mission by St. Vincent de Paul. He was Scottish, according to Clapperton, but no details are given. *Met young Glengarry in Holland, returning from Spain, and was in Scotland by 1 March 1651. They landed at Edinburgh and walked the 200 miles north.* Stayed with Glengarry and made some conversions (details below in Duggan's section.) Seems to have made his H.Q. at Invergarry Castle on Loch Oich. His labours were confined to the mainland.

Dermot Duggan
(Germain de Guy or
Dermit Ó Duigin) — A native of Limerick, he was sent by St. Vincent de Paul. He had recently returned to France from Ireland in 1651. Travelled as above, * to *, with White to Scotland. On 28 October 1651 he wrote that they had converted Glengarry's father (though this seems to have been an elderly relative rather than his real father) and many of his friends and servants. He seems, ultimately, to have crossed the Minch to some of the Outer Hebridean Isles. [He mentions 2 companions in his letter to St. Vincent who may have been lay helpers.]

1652

Francis White — Still on the mission, probably in Glengarry.

Dermot Duggan — Wrote a letter to St. Vincent on 28 October 1652 outlining the areas in which he had worked since he arrived. Stated that he left his companions in the Highlands and set out for the Hebrides. Visited South Uist. Hearing of him there, MacNeill of Barra sent a gentleman to ask him to come to Barra. The laird of "Capaga" (possibly Scalpay, off Skye) also made similar approaches, which he hoped to accede to as soon as possible. From Barra he went to Eigg, Canna and Islay.

1653

Francis White Still on the mission. Appears to have made his way slowly up the Great Glen from Glengarry to Inverness.

Dermot Duggan Still on the mission, probably visiting some of those places mentioned below, in his letter of April 1654, though no chronological dating is indicated, which makes it impossible to identify when he visited them.

Gerald Brin (O'Brien?) Sent by St. Vincent de Paul. Approved of by Propaganda on 1 April 1653 and went to the Hebridean mission. St. Vincent tried to send him to the mission twice between 1655 and 1660, but to no avail. [There is no other information on him, but see below.]

John Ennery Sent by St. Vincent de Paul. Approved of by Propaganda on 1 April 1653 and went to the Hebridean mission.

[*Thomas Lumsden* A Scot of the same Congregation, he also came on the mission at same time. A native of Aberdeenshire, he spoke no Gaelic. He is known to have worked in the northern Highlands. Hence, he operated in the north-east. He was probably the first priest to visit Orkney in the seventeenth century, in the following year, in Easter 1654. Gave communion to 50 people of whom 20 were his converts. This, therefore, begs the question by whom were the others converted? By one of the other Vincentians or perhaps by a Jesuit?]

1654

Francis White Was at Gordon Castle at the end of 1653 and early 1654 at the bedside of the dying Marquis of Huntly.

Dermot Duggan In April 1654 he wrote that the chief places he frequented were Uist, Eigg and Skye, and the mainland of Moidart, Morar, Knoydart and Glengarry. In Uist he claimed to have reconciled all in Clanranald's portion except 2 (i.e. in South Uist), or about 1,000 or 1,200, and in MacDonald's portion, (ie. North Uist), a minister corresponded with him, though he did not visit the island. In Eigg he effected a partial conversion. In Skye he reconciled 2 of the 3 lairds who held land in Skye - perhaps MacLeod of Dunvegan and MacKinnon of Strath. In Moidart, Morar, Knoydart and Glengarry nearly all were allegedly reconciled, a figure amounting to 6 or 7,000 souls. Went to Barra in the Spring where he reconciled the young laird and his brothers and sisters, as well as a minister's son. Also visited Canna where there was said to have been nearly a complete reconciliation.

1655

Francis White Was captured on Ash Wednesday 1655 with Fr. Grant S.J. and imprisoned in Aberdeen for 6 months. On his release he probably resumed missionary work in the Highlands and Western Isles, working mainly in and around Glengarry until his death.

Dermot Duggan On the mission.

1656

Francis White On the mission.

Dermot Duggan On the mission.

1657

Francis White On the mission.

Dermot Duggan Fell sick and died in South Uist on 17 May 1657.

1658

Francis White On the mission.

[1659

All the Vincentians who had come on the mission (except for Duggan who had died in 1657) had gone back to France. These missionaries had been supported by a group of Frenchmen in Paris but by 1661 the financial backing from Paris failed and they had to abandon the mission. There was only one secular priest left in the Highlands - Charles Horan. The prefect of the mission, William Ballantyne, appealed to Rome asking Propaganda to persuade some of those who had previously been there to return - mentioning Fr. Francis White and his brother John, both Vincentians, Fr. John de Burgo, and a Fr. MacSweeney. No trace remains of the latter two having been on the mission, though according to this it would appear that they were. Only White seems to have returned in 1662 - see below. At a meeting of Propaganda on 20 April 1665 it was decided to ask White's brother, John, to return to the mission so he had obviously been there before, but apparently John White was not bound by oath to go on the mission and could not be forced to do so.]

1660

Francis White Was in France in September 1660 giving account to his house in Paris. A letter from Mr. Ballantyne, writing to the nuncio in Paris, said that he had laboured for 8 years by June 1660. Owing to lack of funds he stayed in France for some time.

1662

Francis White Returned to Scotland in about this year to labour in the same field. Visited Knoydart.

1663

Francis White On the mission.

1664

Francis White In this year he was the only priest working on the mission. Dunbar, the prefect, was desperate, writing in a letter of 28 March 1664 that White had threatened to leave the mission unless someone was sent to help him and appears to have done so. He is said to have been delicate and in ill-health. This was, thus, his second retreat from Scotland. [Dunbar lamented that there were far more Jesuits on the mission than secular priests, though this undoubtedly refers to the Scottish mission as a whole.]

1665

Francis White Had returned to the mission. Visited South Uist.

1666-1671

Francis White On the mission.

1672

Francis White In Glengarry and also visited Lochaber.

1673-1677

Francis White On the mission.

1678

Francis White A letter of 12 September 1678 from Gordon Castle stated that he spent a month there over the summer.

1679

Francis White Died on 7 February 1679. He had been on the mission 29 years.

APPENDIX III

Itinerary of the priests of the second Franciscan mission

Sources: Cathaldus Giblin, 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' *Franciscan College Annual*, (Multyfarnham, 1954), pp. 13-20; Cathaldus Giblin, 'St. Oliver Plunkett, Francis MacDonnell, O.F.M., and the Mission to the Hebrides,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, 17, (1974-75), pp. 74-83; Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622-1878*, (Montrose, 1970.)

[Although ample faculties were granted for a revival of the Franciscan mission in 1647, no details of the mission survive, and it seems that the 4 friars chosen did not reach Scotland. The Irish Friars Minor resumed their missionary work in the Highlands and Islands later in 1668.]

1667

Francis MacDonnell — From the Franciscan college of St. Isidore's in Rome. Left Paris with his brother, Fr. Mark MacDonnell, in August 1667. *Their ship was wrecked on the east coast of England. They lost all their possessions and were stranded at Newcastle where they were befriended by a Friar Minor missionary, Fr. John Smithson, who was working as a missionary on the borders of England and Scotland without the formal approval of Propaganda.*

Mark MacDonnell — From the Franciscan college of St. Isidore's in Rome. Left Paris in August 1667. As above * to *, and below, from * to **.

1668

[At a meeting of Congregation on 23 January 1668, it was suggested that Fr. Cusack, an Irish priest in Paris who was willing to go on Highland mission, be asked to go and join Fr. White. There is no evidence that he arrived.]

Francis MacDonnell — *Reached Edinburgh where he was met by Mr. Dunbar, the prefect, who wrote on 17 March 1668 to Propaganda appealing for their support.** Moved on to the Highlands. Seems to have entered active mission work at the end of March. According to the report of Archbishop Oliver Plunkett of Armagh sent to Propaganda on 2 September 1671, which was taken mainly from MacDonnell's information, his base was the island of Uist. [The island was said to be 30 miles long and 8 broad, with a population of 12,000, half Catholic and the other half Protestant. This is a useful census of the population. If the population of South Uist was approximately half of this, that is 6,000, this is pertinent, because the reports of the first Franciscan mission did not mention the reconciliation of more than 6-700 people, and Duggan in 1654 stated that 1,000-1,200 had been brought back to the church. Therefore, not all can have been reconciled to Catholicism.]

Mark MacDonnell — Too ill to carry on to the Highlands and had to join his brother later.

1669

Francis MacDonnell Still working on mission in the Highlands, according to a letter of Dunbar's.

Mark MacDonnell Still working on mission in the Highlands, according to Dunbar, who also added that neither of the brothers was likely to continue long on the mission as they were in very bad health.

1670

Francis MacDonnell In Uist. Hearing of the appointment of Oliver Plunkett, the archbishop designate of Armagh, as prefect of the Highlands and Islands, soon after Plunkett reached Ireland in 1670, he sailed from Scotland to Ireland in the summer.

Mark MacDonnell Still on mission.

1671

Francis MacDonnell Still in Ireland on 10 July 1671. Returned to Ireland some time before Plunkett's report of September 1671. Was anxious that Plunkett should not go to the Hebrides but also warned the archbishop against sending any Irish missionaries there in the summer of 1671 because of the political interpretation which might be given to their arrival in the Highlands by the enemies of the Catholic religion. He was worried about French aid to Highlands at this time. In Plunkett's report of 2 September 1671 he was said to be the only priest in Uist when the report was compiled, which must have been in 1670, since MacDonnell had been in Ireland for a year. He also referred to the Isles of Canna, Rhum, Eigg and Muck which belonged to Clanranald and had a population of 1,000 which implies that he had probably been there too, though this is not specified. Clanranald was said to be a non-Catholic but disposed to Catholics, though his wife had been reconciled to Catholicism as well as 500 others.

Mark MacDonnell Seems to have died some time towards the end of 1671.

[On 15 February 1672, Fr. Peter McGlaghlin of St. Isidore's Rome petitioned Propaganda to be approved as a missionary to the Highlands to replace Fr. Mark MacDonnell who had died on the mission some months previously. Congregation granted him letters of approval, but there is no evidence to suggest that he arrived in Scotland.]

1672

Francis MacDonnell According to a report to Propaganda by Dunbar who toured the north of Scotland in the summer, MacDonnell was then active in Uist. Sometimes he worked in Moidart, where, according to Dunbar there were more Catholics than could be satisfactorily cared for by six priests. Relatively little is known of his activities for the next 7 years.

1674

Francis MacDonnell Still on the mission. [Frs. Peter Laughnin and Michael Ginily from St. Isidore's applied to help him on 9 January 1674. Congregation asked for further information about them, but there is no evidence that they went.]

1677

Francis MacDonnell One of those listed by David Burnet, then vice-principal of the Scots College in Paris in a letter to Rome on 20 May 1677, as labouring among the Catholics of the Highlands and Isles. Said to have been there for 10 years which accords with his first mention in 1667.

1679

Francis MacDonnell Had to leave the mission at some time during this year and retire to a Franciscan convent in Ireland allegedly due to ill-health. However, the real reason was that he and Robert Munro, the Scot, had joined MacDonnell of Glengarry's expedition against Argyll in the early summer of 1679, not as chaplains but in a military capacity. He, therefore, had to flee to Ireland, two months later, for reasons of political expediency.

[1680

Francis MacDonnell Still in Ireland.]

1681

Francis MacDonnell Back in the Highlands, working in Glengarry, according to the Protestant record. This is the last time he is definitely mentioned in Scotland. He appears to have returned to Ireland again in this year.

[Follow-up:

1683 to 1686

Francis MacDonnell At a meeting of Propaganda on 16 March 1683 at which a petition from Fr. Francis was discussed, it was stated that he had spent more than 12 years working as a missionary in the Highlands of Scotland which qualified him for the title 'Father of the Province,' a meritorious service award. In 1684 an application was made on his behalf, apparently drawn up by himself, that he be made a bishop, the dioceses of Kilmore, Derry and Down being vacant at the time. (See figure - Church of Ireland dioceses, c. 1570.) The application stated that he was a member of the MacDonnell family of Antrim and that the Earl would provide him with sufficient funds to maintain himself as a bishop. The application was rejected. In 1686 he petitioned Propaganda again to return as a missionary to the Highlands and Islands where he had previously spent 14 years. Since he had come on the mission in 1667 this would tend to confirm that he left the

mission in 1681. According to Giblin, MacDonnell succeeded in returning to Scotland, in relative old age, 'but his second term there as a missionary awaits further investigation.' It must, however, be stated that he is not mentioned in any of the mission reports for the 1680s which either refutes this, or suggests that he only returned for a cursory visit.]

APPENDIX IV

Itinerary of the priests of the Dominican mission

Sources: Daphne D. C. Pochin Mould, *The Irish Dominicans,* (Dublin, 1957); Anthony Ross, 'Dominicans and Scotland in the Seventeenth Century,' *Innes Review*, 23, (1972), pp. 40-75; the Rev. Seân Mac Guaire, 'Ireland and the Catholic Hebrides,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 42, (1933), p. 357.

[At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Irish Dominicans were organised as a Congregation under their own Vicar-General, and studied chiefly in Spain. They set up a community in Lisbon in 1615 and one in Louvain in 1624. Since there was no Scottish Dominican house in Paris, Scots were members either of the English or Irish Provinces.]

[1633

On 16 September 1633, 4 Dominicans, Fr. Dominic de Burgo, O.P., and 3 companions, were approved by Propaganda to go to the Scottish mission and were granted an annual allowance of 30 scudi. It was mentioned in the original petition that Fr. de Burgo was acquainted with both languages, that is, English and Gaelic.

1635

On 25 June 1635 Propaganda approved 4 Irish Dominicans for the mission - probably the same individuals as in 1633. They were to go to the Gaelic-speaking parts of the Highlands where the Franciscans were not working, and each would get 30 scudi a year for 3 years. There was also discussion with the Master-General about appointing a prefect for their mission and faculties for the missionaries were to be got from the Holy Office. If they did come to Scotland, it would seem likely, therefore, that they served on the mainland, but no evidence remains to indicate that they arrived on the mission.]

1637

Theodore de

Pietate O'Connell Having been a student in Spain in 1629 in the priory of Lerida, he was given a grant of 20 scudi by Propaganda on 14 November 1637 and declared a missionary in Scotland. His mission area is unknown, but it seems possible, as an O'Connell that he would have spoken Gaelic. He certainly wrote to Propaganda from London in 1641. Said he was unable to go to Scotland because of the hostility between England and Scotland. A reply from Rome called him a missionary in Scotland. Other than this, the first definite mention of Dominicans in Scotland is not until the 1650s.

[1647

In this year, 5 Irish Dominican volunteers for Scotland were not accepted for the work, as other priests had lately been chosen for the mission. The 5 were to have been led

by Fr. John Fitzgerald. This was apparently because there were 4 Franciscans already there, though nothing survives in relation to the Franciscan mission after this year.]

[1650

Patrick Primrose On 20 September Propaganda approved his request for faculties as a missionary in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. On 8 November he was appointed Vicar-General of the province of Scotland by the Master-General. [Primrose had been described in 1649 in the *Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum IV* - in the priory of Santa Sabine Rome - as a Scot and a member of the Irish province assigned to the priory of Minverva in Rome. Had studied at Edinburgh University. He may have been a member of what later became the Rosebery family. He was a convert to Catholicism.].]

1658

Vincent Marianus Though an Irish Dominican, his name may have been a pious adaptation of some Scottish name in order to express devotion to Mary - Mair, Murison or Morrison, as eg. in *Mac Gille Mhuire* - 'the son of the servant of Mary.' [The inscription on the base of Primrose's chalice shows that he was known as Fr. Patrick Primrose of the Rosary - devotion to Our Lady and to the rosary being characteristic of members of the Irish Dominican province. Moreover, the seventeenth century was a period of intense Marian devotion.] The Dominican chalice preserved in Morar with his name on it was inscribed during this year 'For the use of Vincentius Marianus of the Order of Preachers, missionary in Scotland.' If he himself visited Morar he was undoubtedly a Gaelic speaker. [If not, it seems likely that another Dominican was there. Certainly George Fanning died in that area later in around 1671.] Evidence for his being on the mission is provided by a copy of *Tracatus mysteriorum Missae* by Francis Titelmann, published at Lyons in 1549. The title page carries an inscription 'Ad usum P F Vincentii Mari (ani) Ord Praed 1658' and was later in the century in the possession of a secular priest in Aberdeen, Robert Francis Strachan. Moreover, since Primrose was located there, this seems likely.]

1663

George Fanning An Irishman, and not simply a Scot in the Irish province, he seems to have begun his mission in this year. [Francis MacDonnell's 1671 report says "he has not received a sixpence from the Sacred Congregation for the past eight years, although he has laboured much and with great fruit."]

1668

[The Annual List notes 3 Dominicans in Scotland in this year - who were probably Patrick Primrose, Vincent Marianus and George Fanning.]

[*Patrick Primrose* One of 3 Dominicans in Scotland.]

George Fanning In Barra. A second of 3 Dominicans in Scotland.

Vincent Marianus A third of 3 Dominicans?

1669

[3 Dominicans were reported in Scotland.]

[*Patrick Primrose* One of above-mentioned 3. He was by this time definitely established in the north-east in the comparative security offered by the Gordon family and the various recusant lairds in the shires of Aberdeen and Banff.]

George Fanning Still on the mission.

Vincent Marianus ?

1670

[*Patrick Primrose* On the mission. Active in Banffshire. In August 1670 the Privy Council considered reports that he had been saying mass in 'the house of Kinnairdie in the paroch of Aberchardour, within the shyre of Banff.' On 10 November the Council discussed the report of his capture. He was placed in the tolbooth of Banff. On 22 December the Privy Council decided to free him as long as he departed the kingdom on pain of death.]

George Fanning Still on the mission.

1671

[*Patrick Primrose* Released by 5 January. The Privy Council agreed to his remaining in the country until 5 February, due to illness. He did not leave Scotland again. Some time later that year he died. His body was carried to the pre-Reformation chapel of St. Peter beside the River Deveron, in the parish of Botary, and buried. [He seems not to have died in prison like Bishop Geddes and Gordon thought.].]

George Fanning When Fr. Francis MacDonnell went to the Isles from Armagh he found Fanning labouring "with good results," although he was said to have had no faculties from Propaganda. [His grounds for staying were either the privileges of his Order or the sheer necessity of the people having someone to serve them.] He lived with the laird of Barra who supported him.

1672

[*Patrick Primrose* The cross erected on his grave annoyed the Privy Council sufficiently to write to the Sheriff in 1672: "Whereas we are informed that there is a superstitious monument

erected upon the grave of the late Mr. Patrick Primrose, priest, in St. Peter's Chapel, in the parish of Botarie, we authorize you to cause demolish the same."]

George Fanning Still on the mission.

1678

George Fanning When Alexander Leslie was in Scotland reporting to Propaganda on the state of religion in Scotland, the people of Arisaig were said to be distressed by the death of George Fanning and bitterly disappointed that Robert Munro was not to be left to replace him. He seems, therefore, to have been active for at least 15 years in Gaelic-speaking Scotland.

SECOND DOMINICAN MISSION

There were Irish Dominicans in Scotland in the eighteenth century and possibly an occasional Scottish Dominican, but the prospects of restoring the Scottish province became increasingly remote. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Irish Dominicans were no longer working in Scotland. There appears to have been no regular Dominican work in the country again until the twentieth century.

Those Dominicans who came on the mission in the early eighteenth century did so as nominal seculars working under the auspices of the secular superior of the Scottish mission. Thus, the Dominicans Peter Cluan, Bernard McHenry, Dominic Brullaghan, Michael O'Mulrian and Dominic Colgan are listed in the secular itinerary 2. A Christopher Dillon is also mentioned as a Dominican in Scotland in c. 1716, but it is not known whether he worked on the Lowland or Highland mission and he has, therefore, not been included in the secular itinerary. It should also be noted that Brullaghan is not mentioned in mission correspondence, but is known from Irish sources to have worked on the Highland mission.

APPENDIX V

Itinerary of the priests operating as secular clergy in the later seventeenth century - secular intinerary 1.

Sources: T. and A. Constable, *Inverness and Dingwall Presbytery Records*, SHS, 1st series, 24, (Edinburgh, 1896); SCA Blairs Letters; SCA CC1/8-15, Canon William Clapperton 'Memoirs of Missionary priests;' Cathaldus Giblin 'The Mission to the Highlands and the Isles c. 1670,' *Franciscan College Annual*, (Multyfarnham, 1954), pp. 7-20; Very Rev. Alexander Canon MacWilliam, 'A Highland Mission: Strathglass, 1671-1777,' *Innes Review*, 24, (1973), p. 83; the Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, *Journal and Appendix to Scotichronicon and Monasticon,* I, (Glasgow, 1867), pp. 627-33; Alasdair Roberts, 'Highland Catholicism at the Margin: Skye, Lewis and Ardnamurchan,' *West Highland and Island Historical Society*, (1994), forthcoming - Skye section.

The denominations of the priests are given, in brackets, where known.

1655

Charles Horan (Irish secular) A native of the diocese of Elphin in Connacht. [According to prefect William Ballantyne, writing in 1665, after Francis White returned to the mission in 1662, Fr. Horan went to Ireland in 1664 having spent nine years on the mission in Scotland - therefore he must have come in 1655.]

1661

Charles Horan According to Ballantyne, he was the only priest in the Highlands and Islands, after the withdrawal of the Vincentians in 1659.

1663

Charles Horan Said by Mr. Dunbar, the second prefect-apostolic, to be the only priest operating in the Gaelic-speaking part of Scotland except Mr. White. No area was specified, but it was probably in the Isles, since White tended to work on the mainland.

1664

Charles Horan In 1665 he is said to have returned to Ireland a year earlier, after 9 years' missionary work in Hebrides. Ballantyne praised him highly for his diligence and hard work in the Highlands. [In 1665, he was said to be forty years of age.]

1679

James MacDonnell (Irish secular) According to Leslie's report, shortly before Francis MacDonnell left Scotland another secular priest from Ireland, James MacDonnell, had presented himself on the mission, and Leslie asked Congregation to grant him faculties.

1680

Hugh Ryan
(Rian) (Clerk Regular of St Paul in Paris, popularly known as the Barnabites) Native of Ireland. Came to Scotland in the company of David Burnet in July of 1680 - disembarked at Bo'ness. He was so ill by 21 March 1681 that it was feared that he would have to go back to Paris.

Alexander O'Neill In the castle of Inverness from 25 December of this year.

1681

Hugh Ryan Recovering soon after the letter of 21 March 1681, he was sent to the Highlands. He wrote, on 23 June, to MacDonald of Glenaladale's son that he was going with Glenaladale's uncle, Kenloch, to Uist the next day, which was the first sea voyage of his mission. Glenaladale's parents are said to have taken care of him during his illness which, possibly, indicates that he was in Moidart. He is said in Protestant record to be residing in "Chissolmes Country" in this year, that is, Glen Affric, Strathglass and the Aird, in the guise of a physician. Mr. Munro was helping him.

Alexander O'Neill In the castle of Inverness until Easter. [Though no connection has been drawn between the two from primary or in secondary sources, it seems likely that this is the priest shown in this itinerary in 1687 and 1694.]

James Devoyer (Vincentian) Subsidised by Mr. Talon. Arrived in Scotland in August 1681, with James Cahassy, from Paris. He and Cahassy continued to work in close association till Mr. Devoyer's death in 1693. They came into the country with Mr. Leslie and accompanied him to Gordon Castle, where they rested briefly. One of them went to the west Highland mainland and the other to the Islands.

John Cahassy (Vincentian) Subsidised by Mr. Talon. Sometimes referred to as 'Chatty.' Arrived in Scotland in August 1681 with Devoyer. Went to Gordon Castle. Proceeded to the Highland mainland or the Isles. [In a letter of 1685, he wrote that when he and Devoyer first arrived, the Hebrides or 'Innse Gall' had but 2 priests to serve them. Ryan certainly visited the Isles in June of this year and might be one of the two referred to, though the Isles was not his permanent place of operation. Therefore, was James MacDonnell, who came in 1679, still on the mission in the Isles?]

1683

Mr. Hegarty (Franciscan) Probably sent by Mr. Talon. Arrived in Leith on 8 July from Paris. He immediately left for the Highlands. After a short time he went over to Ireland and never returned to Scotland.

Hugh Ryan On the mission.

James Devoyer	On the mission.
John Cahassy	On the mission.
1684	
Hugh Ryan	On the mission.
James Devoyer	Both Devoyer and Cahassy had promised to stay 3 years. This term expiring in 1684 they reached Gordon Castle, on 10 July 1684, to prepare to go back to Paris with Mr. Mahon who was a schoolmaster in the west. They were persuaded to stay.
John Cahassy	At Gordon Castle on 10 July 1684.
1685	
Hugh Ryan	On the mission.
James Devoyer	Continued another year as requested in 1684, and left Scotland, reaching Paris in August 1685.
John Cahassy	Left Scotland, reaching Paris August 1685, from where he wrote on 8 November.
1686	
Hugh Ryan	On the mission.
James Devoyer	Returned to Scotland in July 1686. Devoyer and Lea stated that they began work, in the latter part of the year, by visiting the 5 maritime districts of the mainland - Moidart, Arisaig, the 2 Morars (Morar vic Conille and Morar vic Alester) and Knoydart - spending c. 2 months in each place, and returning to Arisaig for Christmas. Worked in Arisaig from 26 December 1686.
John Cahassy	Returned, via Ireland, in July 1686 with Devoyer, Lea and Coan.
James Lea	(From community of St. Nicholas du Gard.) Probably sent by Mr. Talon. Arrived with Mr. Devoyer and Mr. Cahassy who were returning from Paris, probably in July 1686, but was definitely in Scotland in November.
Cornelius Coan	(From community of St. Nicholas du Gard.) Probably sent by Mr. Talon. Arrived with Mr. Devoyer and Mr. Cahassy, in July 1686, from Paris. Went to Uist and Barra with Cahassy in November 1686.
1687	
Hugh Ryan	Visited the Lowlands for occasional meetings of the clergy. Mr. Munro shared his mission which was probably in Glengarry at this time. Was present at a meeting in Gordon Castle, on 25 April 1687, for 8 days. On his departure, he found Mr. Munro sick at Inverness, so decided to serve the Catholics in Strathglass till he recovered. Continued to serve this area, since a number of Irish had come in the previous few

years and reduced the extensive boundaries of his mission. Left Inverness, after receiving his salary, with Mr. Munro. Both of them were in Glengarry at the end of June, where they met up with Devoyer and Cahassy who were travelling through. He was serving in Strathglass in early October.

James Devoyer

*Worked with Lea in Arisaig from the beginning of the year until 24 February 1687, and then wrote of their intention to go on to "Morar vic Ouil" and on to other districts. Received a call to Sleat where the islanders wanted a visit. They planned to go from Morar, expecting to reach there around Easter. Both of them were to go to a general meeting at Gordon Castle in the week before Ascension (Thursday 5 May in 1687). They intended to go via Strathglass. This trip would postpone their intended visits to other districts until summer. According to plan, they went to Sleat after Easter, where they found 50 Catholics and converted 10 Protestants. Devoyer left, 1 April, and headed for the meeting at Gordon Castle on the 25 April to which he was to accompany Mr. Munro. Lea accompanied him as far as Strathglass. Devoyer went to Inverness where he found Munro in the house of a Catholic lady. Devoyer spent five days in Inverness, then left for Gordon Castle on 20 April, where he arrived on 23 April. He was at Gordon Castle for 8 days. After this, Devoyer returned to Inverness where he met all the Highland missionaries apart Mr. Cahassy, that is 5 Highland missionaries, and distributed some money to them. He gave money to Devoyer, Ryan, Coan, Munro and Lea. In a letter dated 30 May, he was awaiting the return of Mr. Cahassy, at Inverness. He was still there on 25 June. Both left the next day, travelling through Glengarry, calling there on Mr. Munro and Mr. Ryan. 8 days later, they were on the coast at Knoydart, where they stayed for 3 weeks, then set sail for Skye with Cahassy. Spent some days with the younger brother of a laird - probably Archibald MacDonald, *An Ciaran Mabach* - in Trotternish, then went to Sleat for 3 days. They were back in Knoydart at the end of July. In October he separated from Cahassy and went to Trotternish. Was expected to leave Trotternish and go to Sleat about All Saints (end of October), weather permitting. When Cahassy fell ill in November, he was supposed to go with him to Inverness, serving some districts on the way, but he stayed in Skye for 4 months because of the inclement weather, that is, until January 1688. Though the people were said to find his doctrine more sensible than that put forward by the ministers, he only converted 3.

John Cahassy

According to Devoyer and Lea's letter of 24 February 1687, Cahassy and Coan were said to have gone to Uist and Barra and had been there since November 1686. They probably went from Clanranald's mainland territory, leaving Devoyer and Lea there. Cahassy was chosen, with Devoyer, to accompany Munro to the Gordon Castle meeting but could not leave Uist. He obviously came across to Inverness after this, because he was there in April. He went to somewhere unspecified from there because

Devoyer was awaiting his return at Inverness. He was in Inverness on 25 June because he signed a letter. He accompanied Devoyer through Glengarry (as above) where they called on Munro and Ryan. From thence, he went to Knoydart on the coast and then to Skye - probably Trotternish - where he went to instruct a gentleman inclined to become a Catholic (probably *An Ciaran Mabach*) who was reconciled. There were said to be few Catholics in the island. He went on to Sleat for 3 days, visiting Catholics there, and was back in Knoydart at the end of July. Either he or Devoyer (the record simply states one of them) went from here for visits into the outlying districts. By the end of August he had reconciled only 10 or 12, as well as the Skye gentleman and 2 of his domestics, 2 in Sleat, and another 2 gentlemen who had lost their faith at Protestant schools. In early October he was summoned to a deathbed in Moidart where no priest had been since their last visit in September 1686. He received a gentleman who had come to reside in the district. He fell ill, and was advised to go to Inverness to get medical aid and winter clothing. In a letter of 12 November Cahassy stated that Devoyer was to accompany him, serving some districts on the way, probably Strathglass or Glengarry. He had married 3 couples and baptised 10 children. He never quite recovered from consumption and did not take a prominent part on the mission after this.

James Lea

Wrote with Devoyer from Arisaig, on 24 February 1687, as above. He was with Devoyer as from * above. He accompanied Devoyer to Strathglass when the former was on his way to Gordon Castle in April. Strathglass was said not to have seen a priest for 2 years then. He was to wait there for Devoyer to return from the meeting. On 10 May 1687 he started for Ireland with the prefect's leave to visit his friends. A letter of 25 June from Inverness says that he had still not returned. He arrived from Ireland in Glengarry about 9 October, where he joined Mr. Munro. He joined Mr. Cahassy about 4 November. [Through the interest of friends at Rome and the favour of the primate of Ireland he was installed dean of Down ["Doune"] by a papal brief, with 4 parishes attached, but was given permission to stay in Scotland if the primate consented. The Vicar-General would not allow him any of the emoluments of his office. A condition attached to his promotion was that he had to take the degree of Doctor of Theology, but there was no university at which to take this in Britain. He asked for special dispensation and said that he would share his emoluments with the mission and support himself if it were granted.] He had one 'reception,' i.e. reconciliation. [He had been expected to bring back Mr. Hegarty who had served in Scotland for a short time and returned to Ireland, but it appears that Hegarty never returned.] Lea was to be left to supply all the Moidart area when Devoyer accompanied Cahassy to Inverness (see above). In his letter of 12 November, Cahassy stated that Lea had reconciled just one person and baptised 10 children.

[The Annual List mentions that Mr. Thomas Nicolson (future Bishop) and Mr. (or Dr.) Jamieson arrived as missioners in December. With them came 4 Irish churchmen, one of whom was called Coan. From the information below, the others would appear to have been Trener, Carolan and Hannat.]

Cornelius Coan — Still in Uist and Barra with Cahassy in February 1687. He left Cahassy in Uist, about the end of February, to go to Lewis. [An uncle of the Earl of Seaforth - i.e. George MacKenzie of Kildun - had heard of priests in Uist and had begged them to visit him. Seaforth himself was also a convert, married to an English Catholic.] He stayed about 5 weeks, and reconciled c. 60. In April he was in Inverness with Munro, waiting to go to the Gordon Castle meeting, although he had not been summoned. The meeting lasted 8 days. He returned to Inverness. He set out for Lewis after the meeting and was there when Cahassy and Devoyer wrote to Mr. Talon on 15 June. From Lewis he was to go to Uist and work by himself until Lea's return. [This indicates that Lea was supposed to return to Uist.] In a letter of 26 June, he was said to be serving in Lewis. Towards the middle of August he returned to Uist, meaning to spend the winter there in the house of the laird of Kildonan. A letter of 20 August said that he was in Uist, but was about to spend October and the rest of the winter in Lewis. Nonetheless, he spent October in Uist, complaining of the fatigue of his mission, probably because Lea had not yet returned, and made a new plan to go to Lewis in December where he was to spend the winter with the laird of Kildun's sister and her family.

Patrick Carolan (de Carolan) — (Franciscan?) Entered the mission in this year. Subsidised by Mr. Talon. He came with Thomas Nicolson and Dr. Jamieson from Paris in November. He wrote on 22 December, stating that Nicolson's party had been placed in a boarding house in Edinburgh by Mr. Dunbar, where they had been since 20 November. They were soon to leave for the mission with Mr. Trener. He served chiefly in Strathdon and various parts of the Highlands for some years. [Clapperton says he was brought by Bishop Nicolson in 1688, but he seems already to have been on the mission.]

John Trener — Alias "Bayers." Entered the mission in 1687, arriving in London on 10 October with Hannat. Subsidised by Mr. Talon. [They had been received by the Jesuit, Warner, the papal nuncio, who had received letters from the cardinal of Paris. They had given other letters to their bishops in order to get leave.] Trener planned to go straight to Scotland taking Hannat's letters of commission to the Isles to Mr. Dunbar. According to plan he went to Scotland where he signed a letter written by Carolan, in Edinburgh, on 22 December, and was said to have been in Edinburgh for two weeks, having come from London on foot! Not surprisingly, he was said to be indisposed. He served chiefly in Braemar and Glengairn for some years.

Jacques Hannat (Franciscan?) Arrived in London on 10 October. Subsidised by Mr. Talon to whom he wrote from London on 28 October 1687. Came across with Trener who left London for Scotland before him. The letter indicates, in speaking of taking Trener's letter to his bishop, that Hannat went to Ireland before he crossed to Scotland.

Alexander McNeill (Neill) Came to Scotland in about this year - no exact date ascertained. He was not one of those who came with Dr. Nicolson in 1687, but he did come about that time. (See below 1694.)

1688

[In this year there were 26 secular clergy in Scotland, besides the prefect - 11 of these were in Highlands - and an amazing percentage, 10 out of 11 were Irish. The only Scottish priest was Munro. The prefect and vice-prefect were said to be much dissatisfied with the Irish missionaries, because they came unprovided with utensils and partly because an "esprit de corps" was creeping in amongst them. This was hardly surprising with so many Irish under a Scottish superior. At the end of 1688 persecution heightened with the Edinburgh riots and the sacking of Holyrood Chapel Royal. However, not much of this impinged upon the Highlands and no priests were imprisoned. Correspondence, ceased to a great extent and there is little material after this for a few years.]

Hugh Ryan In Strathglass.

James Devoyer In the Spring of 1688, he was with the convalescing Cahassy in Inverness on 17 March 1688 from where he wrote to Mr Burnet. He left Inverness on the Low Sunday following Easter week. He is said, sometime in this year, to have been in "Sir Donald's country about Sleat."

John Cahassy Sickly at Inverness.

James Lea In Devoyer's letter of 17 March Lea was said to be then lying sick in Sleat. After his return from Ireland in the latter part of 1687 he laboured chiefly on the mainland until his health gave way and he left Scotland for good - see below. In a letter of 18 July 1688, Cahassy stated that he had reconciled 16 since his return from Ireland.

Cornelius Coan In Devoyer's letter of 17 March, Coan was still labouring in Uist. He was summoned to a second meeting of the clergy at Gordon Castle in late June 1688. [He bore mandates from Mr. Devoyer and Mr. Lea, the latter of whom could not attend and both of whom were unwilling to do so because of the retention of part of Mr. Talon's subsidy. He failed to provide an account of their mission.] He later went to Lewis where he apostatised and married towards the end of this year.

[The Annual List mentions 'the other 3 Irish Churchmen,' who had been on the mission for one year from 1687. These must be Carolan, Trener and Hannat.]

Patrick Carolan — One of the only two Irishmen at a meeting of the clergy held at Gordon Castle in April 1688. He served in Strathdon with John Trener (below). It was planned, at the time of the meeting at Gordon Castle, in June, for Carolan to accompany Burnet, the vice-prefect, on his visit to the Isles. Burnet proposed to conduct him through Uist and Barra, until October, then bring him to Lewis and place him there for some time. After this, he was in Lewis.

John Trener — As above, in Strathdon and Glenlivet. He was present at both meetings in Gordon Castle in 1688, that is in April and June. [During part of his years on the mission he had charge of Strathdon - no date given.]

Jacques Hannat — In Uist. He was also in the maritime districts for a while, with Lea. [He continued to labour for some years.]

Richard Hamet — (Franciscan?) Sent and subsidised by Mr. Talon. In August Burnet referred to two Irish "just now landed." Harnet was one of these, Mongan was the other. They went first to London and spent some time in attendance on the court at Windsor, but received no help there. They proceeded to Edinburgh, from whence they were sent to the Highlands.

Anthony Mongan — A protégé of Mr. Talon. Arrived in London with Harnet in August 1688, both coming as a result of the King's edict which called back to Scotland all missionaries who were abroad. He was attached to the Islands on the west coast, and resided chiefly in Skye.

1689

Hugh Ryan — Still on the mission, probably in Strathglass.

James Devoyer — Still on the mission.

John Cahassy — Still on the mission.

James Lea — Presumably still on the mission. [He returned from Ireland in October 1687. There is no information to indicate that he left again and he was in Scotland in the following year, but he never appears in the Annual List.]

Cornelius Coan — Suspended by the prefect, Alexander Dunbar, in a document dated 22 March 1689. [Some years later, the imprisoned Earl of Seaforth was accused of having killed Coan. However, he was simply holding him prisoner.]

[The unnamed 'extras' on the Annual List are reduced to '2 Irish Churchmen' from the 3 in 1688. They are said to have served 2 years by then - so 2 out of the 3 of the Trener, Carolan and Hannat group must still have been on the mission. There are details as to

who was not, though it must be said that for the next year the Annual List mentions '3 Irish Churchmen' who had been on the mission 3 years, which seems to indicate that all 3 had stayed. Perhaps only 2 were mentioned in the sources. This is the first of several instances where only 2 out of 3 of these are mentioned. Working on the basis that both Carolan and Hannat were still on the mission in 1694 and both signed the 'Irish missionary letter,' it would be fair to surmise that where only 2 are mentioned, perhaps at least up until 1694, it was these 2. However, Trener was also still on the mission in 1699, when he is said to have left it. Carolan was on the mission in 1698, when he was ill. He was also in Barra in 1701. He is not mentioned again. Owing to the inaccuracy of the Annual List on several occasions, it is just as likely that all 3 actually remained, but since Trener had a mainland district in his care and could easily get to meetings, it is unlikely he would not have signed the letter in 1694 had he been on the mission.]

John Trener

Patrick Carolan

Jacques Hannat According to the Annual List, 2 out of 3 of these was on the mission, though which is not known and it may have been all 3.

Anthony Mongan Still on the mission.

Richard Hamet Still on the mission.

APPENDIX VI

Table of Highland Protestant ministers in Ireland arranged chronologically:

Sources: M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I*, (London, 1973), pp. 2, 255, 257-59; *Highland Papers III 1662-1677,* SHS, 2nd series, 20, p. 104; Duncan C. Mactavish (editor), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639-1651,* SHS, 3rd series, 37, (Edinburgh, 1943), pp. 36, 43, 118; Duncan C. Mactavish (editor), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1652-1661,* SHS, 3rd series, 38, (Edinburgh, 1944), p. 145; J. B. Craven (editor), Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles 1560-1860, (Kirkwall, 1907), pp. 35, 37, 42, 151, 166; O'Kane Papers, *Analecta Hibernica,* 12, (1943), pp. 102-05; Rev. Professor A. F. Scott Pearson, 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660,' I & II, and Rev. David Stewart, 'The History of the Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland, 1641-1760,' III, (unpublished typescript, 1948); The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, I, 1691-1720*, (Belfast, 1890), *II, 1721-1777*, (Belfast, 1897); A. F. Mitchell and J. Christie (editors), *General Assembly Commission Records, I, 1646-47,* SHS, 1st series, 11, (Edinburgh, 1892), pp. 68, 203, 265; Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, 9 vols., (Edinburgh, 1923), 4, 7; Rev. James McConnell and Rev. S. G. McConnell, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church*, (Belfast, 1937-50); Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, *History of the Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, (Belfast, 1982); James Seaton Reid, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, II, (London, Dublin and Belfast, 1837); J. B. Craven (editor), *Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles 1560-1860*, (Kirkwall, 1907), pp. 151, 166; John Bannerman, *The Beatons, a medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition*, (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 36-38, 127; J. M. Barkley, 'The History of the Ruling Eldership in Irish Presbyterianism,' II, extracts from Old Session Minute Books, p. 166; Presbyterian Historical Society record card index, (Belfast); William Ferguson, 'The problems of the Established Church in the West Highlands and Islands in the Eighteenth Century,' *RSCHS*, 17, (1969), p. 25; Alexander Fraser, *North Knapdale in the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries*, (Oban, 1964), p. 107; Duncan C. MacTavish (editor), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1652-1661*, SHS, 3rd series, 38, (Edinburgh, 1944), pp. 37, 145, 152; NRA (Scot)/1209, Argyll Survey, I, 28, bundle 547; SRO CH1/2/26/2, General Assembly Papers, fol. 181; SRO CH2/1153/1, 2 & 3, Presbytery of Kintyre, 1655-1706, fols. 35-38, 41-43, 70, 78-79, 82, 84, 94; 1707-1723, fols. 53, 280; 1724-1748, fols. 159, 207; SRO CH2/190/2, Presbytery of Inveraray, 1691-1702, fols. 89-90, 93, 98; SRO CH2/984/2, Presbytery of Lorn, 1707-1714, fols. 305, 307, 313, 316, 321-22, 329 347, 354-55, 358; SRO CH2/273/1, Mull presbytery, 1729-1762, fols 51-53, 61-62; SRO CH2/557/3 & 5, Synod of Argyll, 1687-1700, fols. 6, 10, 16, 753; 1708-1727, fols. 156, 163, 196-97; SRO CH2/111/2, Presbytery of Dunoon, 1639-1686, fols. 314, 320; PRONI D1759/1E/1, Presbytery of Lagan, 1672-1679, fols. 98, 170-199, 203, 245, 292-93, 303, 309-10, 319; PRONI D1759/1A/2, Minutes of the Antrim meeting, 1671-1691, fols. 397-98, 413, 416-17, 419, 425.

"Prescopalians":

Denis Campbell — Nephew of Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll. Appointed dean of Limerick in 1587. Elevated to the three Sees of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher in 1604, but died before he took up the

post. [Probably the *Dromitius* Campbell noted in sixth place in a list of the previous bishops of Clogher in Bishop Montgomery's Survey.]

The following 5 ministers are noted in Bishop Montgomery of Clogher's survey of c. 1605 as speaking Scots:

John O'Henny Minister of Banagher, diocese of Derry. Studied at Glasgow University and said to know Latin, Scots and Irish.

Hugh Donaldeus Rector of Donaghmore and Ardara in the diocese of Raphoe, but included among the clergy of Derry. The latter was probably, therefore, an absentee appointment. Studied at Glasgow University and knew the Irish, Latin and Scots tongues. Considered the "most learned and most worthy" in all the bishoprics at the time.

Donatus Maginnell Minister in the diocese of Raphoe, no parish specified, simply said to be "on this side of the mountains." If the other parishes are proximate to the above-mentioned Donaghmore and Ardara, this is probably to the north of the Blue Stack Mountains. Studied at Glasgow University, and was learned in Latin, Irish and Scots.

Nellanus M'Callen Minister in the diocese of Raphoe, no parish specified, but said to be "Beyond the mountains," that is, probably to the south of the Blue Stack Mountains. Studied at Glasgow University and spoke Irish, Latin and Scots.

Magonius M'Connell Minister in the diocese of Raphoe, no parish specified, but said to be "Beyond the mountains," that is, probably to the south of the Blue Stack Moutains. Studied at Glasgow University. Listed as only speaking Scots.

Dromitius Campbell Noted in sixth place in a list of the previous bishops of Clogher.

Andrew Knox Born 1559, graduated from Glasgow University in 1579, became minister of Lochwinnoch, then of Paisley, the latter of which he resigned on 12 November 1607, two years after his appointment as bishop. Had to do penance in his own church for assaulting his opponent in a lawsuit in court in 1604. Bishop of the Isles, 1605 to 1616. Appointed to the See of Raphoe in August 1610 in a concerted attempt to fill it someone who knew the Highlanders, and thus, to provide a bridgehead to the native Irish. James VI wrote to Chichester , Irish Lord Deputy, on 7 May 1610 that he had particularly chosen Knox because there had been a good deal of intercourse between the Scottish Isles and Raphoe and because Knox had already shown his worth in reducing the former to obedience. He visited Ulster by April 1611, after which he began to operate from Ireland, though he retained his Scottish See concomitantly until 1616. Received letters of denization for Ireland on 22 September 1619. In spite of his contacts in the Isles, he had difficulty in attracting tenants to settle in Donegal and

seems to have been obliged to grant more favourable terms of tenure, in blatant contravention of his patent. He was, thus, indicted for despoliation of his See in 1632. Died 25 March 1632, aged 74.

Dugald Campbell Rector of Conwal. Originally from Argyll. Probably a student at St. Andrew's University where someone of that name graduated in 1597. Brought to Ireland by Andrew Knox in his endeavour to introduce Gaelic-speaking ministers there. Ordained in Raphoe on 1 September 1611. His church in Conwall was subsequently moved to Letterkenny where he served as parson. Noted in the report of the Visitation of Raphoe in 1622. Father of an astoundingly large family, a significant number of whom married Argyll presbyterians. Returned to Scotland some time prior to 25 May 1653 when the Synod of Argyll allocated him the remainder of the allowance allotted to him at the previous Synod, out of the vacancies of the Isles of Jura and Islay. John Campbell, his son, who had begun studying with a view to entering the ministry was mentioned by the Synod in May 1657 and enrolled as a probationer.

The following reader is noted in the report of the Visitation of Raphoe in 1622 during the primacy of Andrew Knox, above:

John Ross Assistant to William Connyngham of Tullaghfernan in Ramelton and Gartan, in Donegal. May have studied at St. Andrews where a student of that name matriculated in 1612. Said to know Irish, he was a Gaelic-speaking Scot.

Episcopal refugees from presbyterianism:

Thomas MacKenzie Son of John MacKenzie of Inverlaul, minister of Killearnan in Ross. Admitted to the parish of Tarbat, in Ross, in 1633, but deserted his charge to go to Ireland in 1635 when his parishioners opposed his using a form of the liturgy. He ultimately returned to Scotland where he was admitted to his father's old parish of Killearnan in 1638. Elected to the Glasgow Assembly in 1638 but had charges brought against him. He was deposed and ordered to be excommunicated.

John MacKenzie Minister of Urray and Tarradale in the newly erected presbytery of Dingwall in Ross. Deposed for opposition to the Covenant in 1639. Fled first to England but then to Ireland which he also fled during the civil war. Reponed by the Synod of Argyll in April 1643, becoming minister in the parish of Suddie, presbytery of Dingwall, in 1644.

Civil war to Restoration:

Dugald Campbell Minister of the parish of Knapdale, and cousin of Mr. Dugald Campbell, parson of Letterkenny, above-mentioned minister in the Church of Ireland. Approved by the Synod of Argyll as a chaplain in Ireland to the Marquis of Argyll's Regiment on 26 May 1642. He was still there on 27 May 1643 when the appointment was extended until 1 September 1643. Probably stationed in the Route, in Antrim. Appointed to attend the Marquis of Argyll's Regiment again on 17 February 1647, and was still there on 11 October 1648. May have visited the Lagan region during his second appointment.

Murdoch MacKenzie Appointed in September 1653 to preach in Irish and English. Appears on a list of State clerical allowances for 1655 in the precinct of Athy, in County Kildare, Leinster, in the south of Ireland, on a salary of £80 for preaching in Irish. This may be Murdo MacKenzie, the late minister of Suddie, presbytery of Dingwall, the Royalist who negotiated with Antrim during the civil war period and was deposed in 1646.

Duncan Campbell Probationer. Son of Dugald Campbell, parson of Letterkenny. Probably a non-conformist presbyterian. Visited the bounds of the presbytery of Lagan during the early part of 1674 when he received a call to the parishes of Killybegs, Killachli and Inver. Refused the call, stating that he had to return to Scotland but agreed to visit such places as the presbytery of Antrim appointed while he was in Ireland, particularly around the parishes above-specified.

James Tailzeur First known minister of Enniskillen who came to Ireland from Morayshire. Came as a probationer in answer to a request by Mr. Robert Rule in the Lagan presbytery for someone to supply Fermanagh and other vacancies. Recommended by Mr. Thomas Hogge, the Covenanting minister of Kiltearn, who wrote in 1675 giving testimony about him and stating that his certificates were coming from the north of Scotland. Ordained on 15 September 1675 to the joint charge of Monea, Enniskillen and Derryvullen in Fermanagh. By 11 January 1676 he had returned to Scotland for a visit. He was back in Ulster by 28 November 1676 when he kept an appointment to supply Ballick. In the summer of 1677 he overheard information of a prospective foreign invasion, information later discovered by Titus Oates and revealed as the 'Popish Plot' in September 1678. On 27 March 1678 it appears from the minutes of the Lagan presbytery that Tailzeur had offended the ministers of the neighbouring County Tyrone by preaching outwith his own bounds and without permission of the presbytery of Tyrone. He was imprisoned at Enniskillen in April 1679 on pretence of lacking a written certificate that he was an ordained minister, and was fined £5. He received and accepted the call of Glendermott in County Londonderry. Appears to have left at some time after 1681.

John Darroch Born in Argyll, educated at Glasgow University and licensed by the presbytery of Dunoon. Ordained at Kilcalmonell and Kilberry in Argyll in 1669. Deprived in 1681 probably for failure to subscribe the Test Act. Where he was for the next six years is open to question. He may have been in Ireland for part of the time but this is unproven. He was in Southend on 9 November 1687 when the moderator of the presbytery of Kintyre commissioned a letter to be written to the heritors of the parishes of Kilcalmonell and Kilberry asking them to recall Darroch, their former minister, who had deserted prelacy and reasserted himself to the Protestant interest. On 14 December, he was appointed to supply the vacancy in Southend until further notice. However, on 7 March 1688 the parish informed of their inability to supply him maintenance and his ministry seems to have ended. Darroch announced his intention to the presbytery to leave for a visit to Ireland and asked, on 22 May 1688, that the process against him be suspended. He received a call to Glenarm and Cushendall in September 1688 which he pursued. He also received a call from Ballymena, recorded in the minutes of the Antrim meeting, 1 October 1688. On the said date he was on his way to Scotland to see his family. He requested a written certificate from the presbytery of Kintyre in October 1688 consenting to his employment in the parish of Glenarm, until there was an opening for him in Argyll. The Synod granted him a qualified certificate, on 6 February, retaining the interest that the Church of Scotland and the Synod of Argyll had in him. He returned to Ireland at end of 1688 where he supplied Glenarm and Cushendall. He was compelled to return to Scotland by the troubles at the Revolution and was back in his old parish on 2 October 1689. However, the financial situation in the said parish did not ease. By 21 January 1691 he had received a call from the parish of Southend which he refused. He did not return to Ireland to work as a minister though he was employed as an occasional itinerant evangelist in the remote, mainly Catholic, Gaelic-speaking areas of the Scottish Highlands in the summer months.

John Monro Ordained to the parish of Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich in 1683. Went to Ireland in 1684, becoming minister of Carnmoney in Antrim. He was recalled to his Scottish charge in August 1688. The Revolution precipitated his return. He left Ireland before March 1689 and was readmitted to his old parish at some time during this year. Transferred to Rothesay in March 1691.

Episcopal non-conformists at the Revolution:

Alexander Cameron Incumbent of Kilbride in the Isle of Arran, presbytery of Kintyre, at some time prior to 1688. Deprived at the Revolution and went to Ireland in 1691. Died there at some time between 1715 and 1719.

'Old Archdeacon MacLean' Settled at Kilbride subsequent to Cameron, above-mentioned, but he, too, left and went to Ireland.

John MacLean Second son of John MacLean of Greshepol, of the family of Coll. Parson of Kilmorie in the Isle of Arran, presbytery of Kintyre, at some time prior to 1688. Outed shortly afterwards and went to Ireland. Minister in Coleraine and in Antrim, where he was chaplain to the Protestant Lord Massereene and prebendary of Rosharkin.

James Campbell Received a testimonial for ordination on 5 May 1685 and became incumbent of the parish of Campbeltown, presbytery of Kintyre. Outed at the Revolution and went to Ireland where he died in 1694.

Patrick McLachlan He was probably the minister of Kilchoman in Islay, presbytery of Kintyre, who left that parish at the Revolution. He was offered a charge by William King, bishop of Derry, in 1692 but attempted to remain in Scotland after the Revolution. He was still in Scotland in 1693 when incumbent in the parish of Kildalton, in Islay. However, he left for Ireland after Whitsunday 1693 and his parish was declared vacant on 3 August 1693.

William MacLachlan Minister of Kilmartin, presbytery of Inveraray. Deserted his charge at the Revolution and was deprived by the Privy Council. Went to Ireland at some time after 15 August 1690 where he later died.

John Beaton A member of the famous Gaelic professional family of physicians, he was minister of Kilninian, presbytery of Mull, by 1668. He seems to have left or been ousted from his parish, supposedly for immoral conduct rather than non-conformity. He was in Ireland by 22 April 1700, taking with him many classical Gaelic manuscripts. He met Edward Lhyud, the Welsh scholar, in Coleraine in County Derry in 1700, who called him a "poor sojourning clergyman." He returned to Mull briefly in 1701 or 1702. Eventually returned there for good, possibly in 1710, for he died at Torrelock in the parish of Kilninian in 1714.

Presbyterians from the Revolution:

Archibald MacLean[1] Son of Alexander MacLean, minister of Kilmaglass in Argyll. Licensed in 1684 by the presbytery of Dunoon, and ordained in Dunoon and Kilmun, Argyll, on 4 February 1685. He resigned from Dunoon and Kilmun and was admitted to Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich in 1686. He resigned from that parish on 6 August 1690. He adhered to presbyterianism and was admitted into communion by the Synod on 16 October 1691. He was installed in Kilbride in Isle of Arran on 7 July 1692, but became generally dissatisfied with the state of affairs in his parish. He received a call on 23 October 1697 from the Rev. Mr. Thomas Kennedy, minister of Donaghmore, who had commission from the parishioners of the parish of Omagh in Ireland. By 22 October 1698 he had requested transportation owing to the lack of success in his labours in Kilbride. He translated to the parish of Killarrow in Islay, and appears shortly afterwards to have gone to Ireland for several months where he was in April 1699, visiting his father-in-law and friends. By January 1700 he had transferred to Markethill in Armagh, Ireland, and Killarrow was declared vacant. He remained in Ireland for the rest of his life. He was the first presbyterian minister to be prosecuted by the ecclesiastical courts of the Church of Ireland for celebrating the presbyterian form of marriage. His son, Daniel MacLean, was installed in his father's old charge of Kilbride in Arran in 1704. He was cited on 21 June 1710 as one of six ministers and three probationers who spoke Irish. He did a good deal of missionary work to the native Irish, in three month stints on a salary of 20s per week, while his charge was supplied by a locum. On 18 June 1717, he was appointed to preach in part of the Counties of Armagh, Monaghan and Tyrone, at Dungannon, Stewartstown, Cookstown, "Minterburn, Kinaird, Venicash," Loughgall, Keady and the town of Monaghan. He was appointed on 17 June 1718 to consolidate the mission work carried out by Mr. Abernethy in Killilagh, probably Killyleagh in County Down.

Archibald McLauchlan Probationer in the presbytery of Lorn. First mentioned on 28 January 1713 when he was asked to supply the parish of Mr. James Campbell who was ill. He neither did this nor did he appear at the presbytery diet of 15 April 1713. Ultimately the presbytery threatened to take action against him for his long absences and on 6 August 1713 he was to be called by formal execution of summons. By 21 October 1713 he had fled to Ireland where he was still, in January 1714. On 6 October 1714 the presbytery were informed that McLauchlan's friends indicated that he was to return shortly from Ireland. [Next presbytery book of Lorn wanting - no further details.]

Archibald MacLean[2] Probationer in Mull in the presbytery of Lorn. He was sent to Ireland in response to a letter commissioned by the General Synod of Ulster and received by the Synod of

Argyll on 11 August 1716. He was brought to Ireland as an itinerant preacher in Irish and was in Aghadoey, County Derry, by 7 January 1717. He seems to have stayed for one to two years but had returned to Scotland by June 1718. Most correspondence concerning him deals with his difficulties in extracting financial remuneration for his services.

[*Daniel Campbell* Probationer in the presbytery of Kintyre, sent to Ireland by the Synod of Argyll at the same time as Archibald MacLean, above. No evidence has been found, to date, that he went, though it may be lost.]

John Wilson Ordained minister of Dundalk and Carlingford in 1700 where he was predecessor of Patrick Simpson, below. He resigned the first in 1702 and retained the second as part of an obvious policy of rationalisation.

Patrick Simpson Born in the Isle of Islay in Argyll in 1682. Educated at Glasgow University from where he graduated M.A. in 1707. Nephew of the renowned John Simpson, professor of Divinity there, who was tried before the General Assembly in 1714, 1715 and 1716 for teaching Arminian and Pelagian errors. He was sent to Ireland as a probationer by the Synod of Argyll to preach in Irish to the 'poor deluded natives.' He was later ordained to the parish of Dundalk in County Louth on 30 December 1713. He married a sister of Malcolm and Archibald McNeill, officers in William III's army and pillars of the presbyterian community in Ulster. Like Archibald MacLean of Markethill, above-mentioned, he carried out a good deal of missionary work in Irish. He was appointed by the Synod of Ulster in June 1716 to preach in Irish in Dublin for three months, returning one Sunday a month to supply his own parish. A charity school was also to be set up in his parish for teaching the reading of Irish. He was to oversee the printing in Dublin of the Catechism in Irish with a short Irish grammar adjoined to it. He was appointed to go to Dublin in both June 1719 and June 1720, to spend three months preaching in Irish to the Highlanders and others that might join them there. He initially subscribed the Westminster Confession of Faith though he became a non-subscriber at a later date. He resigned from Dundalk in 1721 due to insufficiency of maintenance. He was induced to stay on but, nonetheless, received a call from the parish of Kilmartin in the presbytery of Inveraray by December 1722. He had still not replied to this call by 5 March 1723. Simpson remained in Ireland where he left the General Synod in 1726 and joined the non-subscribing presbytery of Antrim. He retired in 1761, 48 years after his ordination.

Lauchlan Campbell Resigned from the Highland parish of Campbeltown, presbytery of Kintyre, on 27 July 1707 after receiving a call from the presbyterian congregation of Capel St., Dublin, in June 1707, to join Mr. Iredell who was already minister there. The Synod of Argyll did not approve of the presbytery's declaring him transportable, and the Commission of the

General Assembly ordered Campbell to remain within the Kirk in August 1707 but Campbell had already gone to Ireland and did not return. He was installed in Capel St. on 16 September 1707. He returned to his brother's manse in Southend, Kintyre, where he died, unmarried, on 6 October 1708.

Social interaction in Ireland by ministers, probationers and students:

John Thomson Student at Glasgow University, studying for the ministry. The Synod of Argyll wished him to engage in the work of the Synod but Thomson appears not to have wanted to commit himself. On 27 May 1657 the Synod noted that he had gone to Ireland.

John Campbell Campbell of Knockamelie, said to be of the Ardkinglass family. Minister in parish of Kilchoman in Islay. He explained his absence from meetings of the presbytery since August 1718 by answering that he had been called necessarily to Ireland. He visited Ireland again in 1737.

James Barbour Missionary from the presbytery of Mull. He applied for and was given permission, on 20 April 1737, for leave to visit his friends in England and Ireland during the summer quarter.

John McCalman Ex-episcopal minister of Morvern in the presbytery of Lorn whose lengthy citations in a charge of adultery with Janet MacLean indicate his connections in Ireland. The case was first brought to the attention of the Kirk, on 30 January 1706, when it was noted that MacLean had fled to Ireland. This flight had been arranged by McCalman's relatives who had transacted with one Archibald McIlghlais in Coleraine in Ireland, a descendant of the Campbells of Dunstaffnage, and his wife Mary McCalman, and had paid for MacLean's removal to and board in Ireland. The transactors defaulted in their payment of maintenance and a legal action was taken out against them in Scotland. MacLean and the child crossed at least three times to Scotland on visits. On 28 December 1709, under process and threat of excommunication, McCalman confessed his adulteries with Janet MacLean. His public repentance in sackcloth continued for a whole year. On 6 December 1710, having given signs of serious repentance, he was to be received again, when his minister and the session saw fit.

Daniel McLachlan Ordained to the parish of Ardnamurchan on 18 September 1734. He soon proved his ineptitude for the ministry by publishing a "Scandalous Pamphlet in Defence of Fornication," though it has been suggested that this was simply a satire, by an episcopalian, on the carnal obsessions of the presbyterian Kirk. In the disturbance which ensued publication, he deserted his parish and travelled to Ireland and on to England without the consent of the presbytery of Mull. Subsequently imprisoned, he

ultimately renounced the pamphlet before the bishop of Rochester. Went to Jamaica on his release.

APPENDIX VII

Letter of Mr. David Burnet in Dublin, to Mr. Louis Innes, Principal of the Scots College in Paris, 27 May 1690

Transcript of SCA BL1/129/2.

Docketed: 27 May 1690 M. Burnet / Dublin.

Addressed: A Monsieur Innese Principall du Collège des Escossois A Paris.

(side 1:)

Dublin May 27 1690

Mon Très Cher frère Croman

Now that I have gott this lenth I may write to you and with some more assurance that it will come to your hands, the want of which where I was made me write litle or none at all, and you complaine of my silence. I sall then tell you that It was thought very fitt and a Duty incumbent on us both by our selves and by Gentlemen our freinds of our profession, that one of our number should be sent to present our humble duty to our great master at this place and to assure him of our most fervent prayers being most assiduously putt up to almighty God for his prosperity and safety or to doe as the Poet said of his Pompey tam mala Pompeii quam prospera mundus aderet. None was thought more proper for this then my selfe, nor was there any able to goe about it for want of money to beare the charges, but I had borrowed some money to live upon from my freinds and had only from Lochend £98 scots for the designe and with this viatique I hazarded upon it trusting to God's providence for the rest, and travelled on foot thorow Strathdaune, Strathspey, Badenoch, Lochaber to Inverlochy where I saw Major Generall Buchan who was shortly to goe with a party of the Highlanders to the feilds. I parted from him with his letters to our master on the 28 of march and came downe to the Ile of Mull to wait the occasion of transport for Ireland where having waited ten dayes more comes a Gentleman of the south countrey sent from his Majesties freinds there to assure him of their loyalty and to informe him of what they thought proper for his service at present. This Gentleman finding no better vessell for transport resolves to hazard in ane open boat and asks me if I would beare him company of which I was content and resolved. Wherefor the 8th of Aprill we parted from Mull and came downe in a litle boat betwixt Lorne and the Ilands Jura and Yla to a litle Iland betwixt the latter and Cantyre called Giga where a very loyall Gentleman master of the Iland named Mcneal of Cillochyle furnished us with a boat and four men to manage it with[is] we sett to sea the 18 of Aprill the wind blowing northerly and came over to Yla at night on the 19 the winding blowing from southwest quite contrary to us we were forced backwards betwixt Yla and Jura and came to a litle Iland on the west of Jura called Oroura on Easter day. On the tuesday thereafter we sett againe to sea and the wind blowing againe crosse to us drove us back within 14 myles of the place we had parted from in Mull where we lay in a creek under the stormy northwest wind two dayes and thrie nights after which the wind blowing more moderately we rowed two dayes along the coast under the shelter of the highe coast till we came on saterday to the Iland of Icolmekill famous for Saint Columba and the buriall of our ancient Scots Irish and Danish Kings and great men of the Highelands there

we waited till saterday thereafter for the wind which blowing faire we sett out and sailed till we were within view of the north coast of Ireland, when the wind changing

(side 2:)

contrary to us and blowing too rudely for our small open boat we were obliged to take downe our litle saile and lett her drive whether the wind listed all night and on the morrow Dominica inalbis we found ourselves in view of land which approaching we found to be the Iland of Tiri ten leagues to the northwest of Icolmekill here we lay againe waiting the wind and in the meane tyme the negligence of our boatmen in not drawing our boat up to the dry land above the flood mark made that the waves swelling extrairdinarly with a litle wind on that coast sheltered our boat on the shore which detained us longer till a minister Deane of the Iles called Mr John Frazer lent us his owne boat with which we sett out on wednesday 14 of May and arrived at Slego on the west coast of Ireland on saterday 17 and on monday 19 we took horse and on friday morning we came to the east coast to this city and that daye we kissed his Majestie's hands, and I delivered my commission. On sunday after vespers he called for me and askt me about our countrey affaires and particularly concerning Donald's giving up that place in which I find he has had such informations as has made him conceave so ill ane opinion of Donald that he will heare nothing to the contrary and so farr as ever I could heare from those who were about Donald in that place, these informations were very false for all I spoke with said he could not have keept it six weeks longer for want of provisions de bouche & de guerre (i.e. food and weaponry) and all they blamed in him was his rendring it on so dishonourable conditions and since that his going to doe homage to the Duke of Orange and by so doing acknowledging him King and consequently denying our souveraine which indeed makes that none who wished him weall can open their mouth to apologize for him. I am sorry I have beene a true prophet as to him in what I wrote to his sister [Ocrooly] fyve or six yeares agoe <u>that his wayes would render him despicable in the world</u>.

Now having given you ane accompt of my voyage and the cheefe designe of it I sall tell you in short in what state I left the countrey in. After I left Major Generall Buchan he drew together betwixt sicteene hunder and two thousand of the Highlanders with which he marched within thrie myles of Invernesse where the ennemies have the only garrison towne in all the countrey and that with a good number of men fortified within earthen walls made up since the last summer that Mackay came with but this garrison thought fitt to keep themselves within their walls so long as he was near them. From theare he drew towards Badenoch and Strathspey to give occasion and conveniency to any of the King's freinds in the Low Countrey to come and joyne him. Since we came here we are told there has betweene him and the ennemy beene some encounter or skirmish but who has the better is yet uncertaine, the circumstances and particulars related giving ground to conceave one [o]ne hand that we have the better on the other that the ennemies had the better. Be it how it will the losse is not considerable on any hand by all what we can conjecture for those who say Buchan had the worst and that his party was

(side 3:)

scattered and some prisoners made [s]ayd at the same tyme that he was gathering together againe, and that in the meane tyme of the bustle the McLeans did so vigorously resist the ennemie that they dreading ane ambush (it being under night) did retire themselves very quickly from the feild. This they tell who say that Buchan had

the worst and from the ennemies camp in this Kingdome deserters tell that they relate there that their party is waisted and that schomberg is to send a detachement hence into Scotland to asist them and from two yong men come more lately from Galloway then we came from the west Iles. We heare that all the foot and horse the ennemies had in the south parts were ordered to march northward, all which seemes to give ground to judge the advantage is not on the ennemies syde. But all our recovery I meane the Kingdome's restoration to his Majestie's obedience depends upon his sending some forraine help of modeld Disciplined forces, horse and foot which may be a standing body of ane army to which the King's freinds in the Low countrey may joyne and forme such ane army as may soone be master of the Kingdome at least be able to keep quarter in the winter tyme in the low countrey where horse and men can gett meat which they cannot gett in the Highlands in the winter tyme for the Highlanders alone may weall look downe from the hills upon the ennemie in the Low countrey but they cannot attaque them without horse nor can the ennemie's horse attaque them on the hills and besides the Highlanders are so mad upon plunder that how soone they are loade(n) they run all home with their prey and leaves the camp and in their plundering they make litle or no Distinction betwixt freinds and ennemies, which loses freinds to the King instead of gaining them. And the Low countrey men when the highlanders leaves them and retires home to their strong countrey, remaine exposed to the mercy of the ennemie as to their goods and their persons to be hunted as hares or seazed and imprisoned. And this is the reason why so few of the Low countrey have hitherto joyned the King's party in scotland, although I and others who know both south and north of the Countrey may confidently affirme that both of nobility and Gentry the King has thrie for him where the Duke of Orange has one and that 1500 horse with four thousand foot of Disciplind forraine forces once transported in good order to scotland in a monthis tyme should make ane army of more as fyfteene thousand good men which would cleane Scotland of the ennemies before october if tymously sent. His majestie is convinced of this and accordingly when he sent Major Generall Buchan he wrote to his freinds that how soone the season would furnish meat for horses and that he had the moyen to transport them he would send the Duke of Berwick with a competent body of horse and foot to Scotland. So now the season is come and

(side 4:)

the meanes of transport is dayly expected here from your countrey. While we were in Scotland we heard sometymes that the Duke of Berwick was to come on the head of these forces, sometymes that the Earl of Dumbartan was to come as their head. I found all generally glad at the newes of the Duke of Berwick's coming, and few or none but Dismayed and sad at the apprehension of the others coming in that quality. What might be their reasons I was not inquisitive because they are all one to me, so be the King's affaires goe weall I sall be weall and content. Ane thing more I shall tell you which you wilbe content of that our protestant clergy in Scotland have shamed the Churche of England who pretended so much loyalty for not to speak of our Bishops who are casheered by act of the convention which none of them countenanced nor were sought to countenance and now lately by act of Parliament we heare the Presbiterian governement is againe establisht in Scotland not to speak of the Bishops. I say more as two parts of the ministers are turned out for not owning the present usurper's authority and refusing to pray for King William and Queene Mary as they call them. This as to the state of the Countrey. As to my Comerads' condition you will sie it sett downe in the Homilist's letter herewith enclosed which I entreat you dispatch to him as soone as possible and send him a succinct accompt of the

present state of the Countrey as I have told you and presse him to send us some supply and to pity his brother Alex's particular necessities which are great by a particular releefe above the rest. Now as to myselfe I found my staying in the Countrey so litle usefull to it or to Catholicks for want of liberty and so burdensome to them if I had sought manteanance of them and so expensive to myselfe who was oblidged to borrow money for manteanence and run myselfe upwards of 120 crounes in debt and withall to suffer so much incommodity and tryle and cold and ill dyet that I was content to gett occasion to win out of the countrey. And againe considering my Comerads' Difficulties and miseries that my absence might not be unprofitable I resolved to turne begger for them in France and Italy hoping that God might move the opulent Ecclesiasticks of these Kingdoms to pity ther necessities when represented handsomely to them, and to allow them some supply. I hope you will begin yourselfe to pity us and represent our Condition to Mr Talon and other freinds to our Countrey and endeavour to sett them a work with the Clergy for our releefe and write as I have Done to Don Gulielmo to doe the like at his tourne with the Clergy there. I know no use his Majestie has for me here or in scotland. I proferred to employ my vigor and lyfe to doe him any service either in scotland, France or Italy I was capable of to which he gave me no answere

(side 5:)

but that he would think upon it so I must stay here till I gett his further pleasure, and if he have no use for me I will endeavour to gett your lenth and If nothing can be Done for my Comerads' releefe and the tymes continewill in my countrey I will turne pilgrim and beg a peice of bread, being by what I have suffered these eighteene monthis become much more humblehearted as I am much weakned in my bodily sheath then I was before. Thus farr as to my particular concernes. One thing yet I must not omitt. His Majesty when it pleases God to restore him which I hope shall be shortly is to have severall standing regiments in scotland, Buchan's regiment and Ratraye's Regiment and [Frendress are] provided with regulars and may be for ought I know moe regiments are likewise provided for with them for they have vigilant freinds at court and we have none. Pray write to Mr Neale to suggest to his Majestie not to neglect us totally in this since it's a thing he gives to others regularly in both nations a chaplaine for ever Regiment with an Ensigne's pay. My Comerad Nicol is already gott a commission for Sir William Wallace's Regiment. Mr Monro would have one for Glengary if he gett a standing Regiment. Dumfermeling it's like being a Brigadeer will have a Regiment. Some of the McLeans will have a Regiment, one of the Irish wilbe fitt for that. Litle Donaldson was very desirous to be Chaplaine in a Low Countrey Regiment. I conceave likewise George Innes of Denoone wold likewise accept of such a place. So I entreat you recommend the matter to Mr Neale. I have no more to say at present. Your mother and relations were weall when I left the Low Countrey. Achintoule was imprisoned as suspected favorable to the King's interest and severall Gentlemen North and South were seased and imprisoned on the newes of Major Generall Buchan's purpose to Draw to the feilds. I cannot bid you send me a returne to this place the occasions of the bearers being so uncertaine and my stay hither no lesse but if the occasion offer speedily after your recept of this you may hazard to write to me by Mr Neale ordering him to returne it to you in case I be gone, Adieu mon tres Chere frere Je suis

Tout a vous Dameus

My respects to all freinds with you particularly to [Spunis] to whom I have no tyme to write.

Put a cover abut Don Gulielmo's letter and seale & direct it.

Appendix VIII

Itinerary of the priests operating as secular clergy in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries - secular itinerary 2.

Sources: SCA Blair's Letters; SCA CC1/8-15, Canon William Clapperton, 'Memoirs of Missionary priests;' SCA SM3/1, Report of Nicolson's visitation in 1700; SRO CH1/2/29/6, General Assembly papers, fol. 569; SRO CH2/557/3, Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1687-1700, fols. 761, 777, 787, 812; Alasdair Roberts, 'Gregor McGregor (1681-1740) and the Highland problem in the Scottish Catholic Mission,' *Innes Review*, 39, no. 2, (Autumn 1988), pp. 90-93, 99; John Lorne Campbell (editor), *The Book of Barra,* (London, 1936), p. 298; Wendy J. Doran, 'Bishop Thomas Nicolson and the Roman Catholic Mission to Scotland 1694-1718,' (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, Glasgow University, 1986), p. 148; William Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVII and XVIII centuries,* 2 vols., (London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta, 1909), II, pp. 213-14; D. O. Blundell, *The Catholic Highlands of Scotland,* 2 vols., (Edinburgh, 1917), II, p. 104; Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622-1878*, (Montrose, 1970), footnote to p. 104; J. G. Simms (edited by D. W. Hayton and Gerard O'Brien), *War and Politics in Ireland 1649-1730*, (London and Ronceverte), p. 235; Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1987 facsimile reprint of second edition 1716), p. 83; Fiona A. Macdonald, 'Irish Priests in the Highlands: Judicial Evidence from Argyll,' *Innes Review*, forthcoming; Archives of Propaganda Fide, Congregazione Particolari, 76, di Scozia, 1736, fol. 55; Daphne D. C. Pochin Mould, *The Irish Dominicans,* (Dublin, 1957), pp. 179, 242; Very Rev. Alexander Canon MacWilliam, 'The Jesuit Mission in Upper Deeside 1671-1737,' *Innes Review*, 23, (1972), p. 31; Rev. James O'Laverty, *The Bishops of Down and Connor,* (Dublin, 1895), pp. 511-14; Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War,* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 233, 465-66; Donald MacLean, *The Counter-Reformation in Scotland 1560-1930,* (London, 1931), p. 308.

1690

Hugh Ryan	In the Isle of Eigg.
James Devoyer	In the mainland Highlands. All 4 priests mentioned as being on the mission in this year (see below), were said to be of diminished health and strength through inadequate nourishment.
John Cahassy	In the mainland Highlands.
[*James Lea*	Had laboured mainly on mainland since his return from Ireland in October 1687. Burnet in a letter of September 1690 from Paris said that he had, by this time, retired to Ireland in bad health. Therefore, he appears to have left the mission before September 1690.]
Anthony Mongan	Still on the mission, probably in Skye.
Richard Harnet	In the mainland Highlands.

[According to the Annual List the 3 Irish churchmen had now spent 3 years on the mission - i.e. Trener, Carolan and Hannat.]

John Trener — Said to be in that part of his mission nearest to the Lowlands. His mission was in Braemar and Glengairn, therefore he would probably have been in the Braemar region.

Patrick Carolan — In Barra.

Jacques Hannat — In the mainland Highlands.

[Owing to the upheaval of the Revolution there is not much information between what survives for 1690 and 1694 when the letter signed by all six Irish missionaries appears.]

[Cornelius Coan — Sent from Eilean Donan Castle, where he was imprisoned, to Lewis by the Earl of Seaforth.]

1691

Hugh Ryan — Still on the mission.

James Devoyer — Still on the mission.

John Cahassy — Was obviously in Skye for some time of year with Mongan. (See below.)

Anthony Mongan — Still in Skye. He and Cahassy wrote a letter to Mr. Talon which they sent via one of the King's vessels which was in Skye at the time.

Richard Harnet — Still on the mission.

[Once again the Annual List mentions "2 Irish churchmen" on the mission. No length of service is appended this time, but this presumably still refers to those who came in 1687, that is to 2 out of 3 of the group of Trener, Carolan and Hannat.]

John Trener
Patrick Carolan
Jacques Hannat — 2 out of 3 of these seem to have been on mission, though which is not known and it may also have been all 3 for very little is known about Hannat.

[*Cornelius Coan* — Still held captive.]

1692

Hugh Ryan — Not mentioned on the Annual List but had 12 years service in 1691 and 14 years in 1693, so, therefore, was probably on the mission in this year. [It should be noted, however, that even those known to be on the continent still had the years that they were away credited to them as service.]

James Devoyer — Not on the Annual List, but had 11 years service in 1691 and 13 in 1693, so was probably on the mission in this year.

John Cahassy — Not on the Annual List, but had 11 years service in 1691 and 13 in 1693, so must have been on the mission in this year.

Anthony Mongan — On the mission.

Richard Hamet — On the mission.

[The Annual List continues to list its "2 Irish Churchmen" but appends no years of service. This refers to 2 out of the Trener, Carolan and Hannat group.]

John Trener, *Patrick Carolan*, *Jacques Hannat* — 2 out of 3 of these were on mission, though it may also have been all 3.

[*Cornelius Coan* — Still held captive.]

1693

Hugh Ryan — Still on the mission.

James Devoyer — Died on 20 August 1693 from a disease which was exacerbated by fatigue, study and bad nourishment. He had been ill for 6 months.

John Cahassy — Still on the mission.

Anthony Mongan — Still on the mission.

Richard Hamet — Still on the mission.

[Annual List mentions "2 Irishmen" and attributes 6 years service to them, so this must be 2 of the Trener, Carolan, Hannat group again.]

John Trener, *Patrick Carolan*, *Jacques Hannat* — 2 out of 3 of these were on mission, though it may also have been all 3.

[*Cornelius Coan* — Still held captive.]

1694

Hugh Ryan — In Inverness on 20 August 1694 with the other Irish priests, where he signed the letter to Mr. Talon.

John Cahassy — Still on the mission. One of the signatories of the 1694 letter.

[This is the last year in which the "2 Irishmen" are mentioned in the Annual List.]

Patrick Carolan — One of the signatories of 1694 the letter. [He stayed on the mission, even though he later fell ill.]

Jacques Hannat — One of the signatories of the 1694 letter, signing as "Hannater." There are no specific references to him after this.

John Trener Did not sign the 1694 letter. He worked, in general, in Braemar and Glengairn.

Anthony Mongan One of the signatories of the 1694 letter. Before the end of this year he retired to the continent because he wrote, on 13 December, from somewhere unspecified abroad to William Leslie, agent in Rome. He was sent to France in October to represent the missionaries' condition.

Richard Hamet One of the signatories of 1694 letter so he was, therefore, in Inverness in this year. [His signature is the last which may indicate that he was the youngest.]

Alexander McNeill (Neill) This priest was the bearer of the '6 letter'. He had been on the mission previously in 1687 but there is no indication as to when he returned. Clapperton's 'Memoirs' tentatively suggests that he might have been one of the 4 Irish priests said to have come to Scotland with Dr. Nicolson in 1687, if any came, which is held in doubt. He was said to be a "fellow traidder" so he was a missionary. Mr. Whytford of the Scots College in Paris wrote of him to William Leslie, on 6 December 1694, saying that he had met with "one of our Irish missioners lately come from Scotland," which definitely identifies him as Irish. He wrote, in the same letter, that he "will return again shortly, if he can get any assistance." However, McNeill does not seem to have done so.

[*Cornelius Coan* On 16 October 1694, the Synod of Argyll noted that Coan, allegedly a Protestant by this time, was "banished by the Earl of Seaforth from the societie of men in the Isle of fladda [Floday?]. A letter was to be written to Col. Hill, Governor of Fort William, entreating his release.

1695

[This was a time of persecution at home, and of war abroad. There was little communication with the continent. The mission must, inevitably, have suffered through the death of Mr. Talon which was reported in a letter of October 1695. Also mentioned was the death of a Mr. Bailly who had also taken interest in the mission.]

Hugh Ryan In Strathglass.

William Ryan Said to be going to the Isles, in May 1695, where there was another priest. Sent to assist his brother Hugh, in the Western Isles, in June 1695. Probably spent the whole space of his brief labours in that difficult and fatiguing mission.

John Cahassy Still on the mission.

Patrick Carolan Still on the mission.

Anthony Mongan On 28 May he was in Camphere with 2 companions, preparing to return to Scotland. He said, in a letter to Mr. Louis Innes, that they had found a vessel going to within 16 miles of Castle Gordon, probably to Banff. He was going north to put his master's (the

	son of Lord Tarbat) affairs in order. Mongan is said to have entered his old field of service - that is, Skye - and continued there for several years. He worked effectively, a fact which was later recognised. (See 1698 below.)
Richard Harnet	Still on the mission, probably in Uist.
John Trener	Still on the mission.
"Am brathair bochd"	Martin Martin wrote of a lay Capuchin on Benbecula in this year, known as "am brathair bochd." Though he was not necessarily Irish, it is more likely, given that many of the regulars were Irish at this time, that he was. [There is some possibility that this may have been Charles O'Hara - see 1699.]
[*Cornelius Coan*	Still held captive.]

1696

Hugh Ryan	Munro, writing from Paris, on 12 November 1696, said that he was apprehended with Ryan in Strathglass, whom he left in a dying condition in Edinburgh. He died in November after 17 years on the mission.
William Ryan	Still on the mission, probably still in the Western Isles.
John Cahassy	Still on the mission.
Patrick Carolan	Still on the mission.
Anthony Mongan	In Skye.
Richard Harnet	Still on the mission, probably in Uist.
John Trener	Still on the mission.
[*Cornelius Coan*	According to the Synod of Argyll, on 14 October 1696, he was confined in the Isle of Rona "for turning Protestant."

1697

William Ryan	Still on the mission.
John Cahassy	Still on the mission.
Patrick Carolan	The Protestant record notes him as being in Barra and South Uist.
Anthony Mongan	Still on the mission.
Richard Harnet	The Protestant record notes him as being in Barra and South Uist.
John Trener	Still on the mission.

[*Cornelius Coan* The Synod of Argyll stated that he was imprisoned during 1697 and during the following year. According to Lieut. Walkingshaw who was sent by the Privy Council to investigate his situation, he was held by the MacLennans, tacksmen of Little Bernera.]

1698

[John Irvine reported 10 missionaries in the Highlands in September 1698, of which 8 were Irish and 2 Scottish.]

William Ryan Left Scotland and returned to Ireland, in June 1698, in order to receive medical attention. [In a letter of 13 September 1699 to Mr. Innes at the Scots College in Paris, he recommended the bearer, Peter Hogan, for service on the Scots mission, though there is no indication that anything came of this.] He asked for correspondence to be directed to him, via a merchant in Limerick, in the parish of O'Gonally in County Clare.

John Cahassy Still on the mission.

Anthony Mongan Still on the mission.

Richard Harnet Left the mission in June of this year. [William Ryan, in a letter of 13 September 1699, said that 2 monks had retired from Ireland by act of Parliament [The Bishops' Banishment Act of 1697, 9 Will. III c. I] and that one of them was keeping Harnet's place. These were probably O'Shiel and Heachean - see below.] Mongan insinuated, in a letter of 5 June, that Fr. Columba MacLennan (below) caused him to leave the mission by spreading calumnies against him.

John Trener In the Braemar and Glengairn district of the Highland mission until May of this year. Left Strathdon for Ireland in about May 1698. [He left the work of his two districts - Braemar and Glengairn - to Thomas Innes who also had his own two districts - Glenlivet and Strathdon - to cope with. Mongan, in a letter of 5 June 1699, insinuated that Fr. Columba MacLennan had also forced Trener to retire to Ireland by spreading calumnies against him, as with the two other priests.]

Patrick Carolan Incapable of service owing to a 'hypocondrick discomposition.' [His localities were being served by the other of the 2 monks from Ireland.]

[*Columba MacLennan* (Benedictine) Came to the mission in this year from the Benedictine monastery of Wurzburg in Bavaria and was supported by the mission fund, as a secular, like most of his brethren. His name at birth was Donald MacLennan and he was from Stornoway in the Isle of Lewis. He was placed in Knoydart and continued for years to serve that area and Skye. He interacted a good deal with the Irish priests.]

[*Cornelius Coan* A scroll letter, dated 10 November 1698, from Louis Innes to John Irvine, priest in Rome assisting the Scots agent, said that Coan was presented to the Privy Council and cast into prison. He had been released by Lady Seaforth, in August 1698, in an

attempt to improve the situation for her husband who had been imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in the previous month.

1699

[*William Ryan* Wrote from Paris, on 13 September 1699, to Louis Innes in Paris, having recently left Scotland. Mongan insinuated that Fr. Columba MacLennan had also caused Ryan, as well as Harnet, to leave the mission by spreading calumnies.]

John Cahassy Ryan's letter (above) mentioned that he was still alive but very weak and infirm, yet, though he could not run the hills, he was not idle. Records allude to him as an invalid until his death. He was referred to once as having been sick for 6 years.

Anthony Mongan The Annual List mentions that he went to Ireland and returned within the year. [No primary source reference to this short flight has been discovered.]

[*Columba MacLennan* In a letter of Thomas Innes in Glenlivet to his brother in Paris he is described as a "mauvais esprit" who had "endeavoured to ruin the Irishmen's credit in the west" and would probably be dismissed. However, he seems to have stayed for at least another ten years which shows how desperate the mission must have been for staff.]

[Six Irish Franciscans also came on the mission in this year - 3 came over from Ireland to escape the persecution there, the others came from France. It is likely that 2 of these are the 2 priests stated by Ryan in his letter of 1699 to have come from Ireland because of an act of parliament. It is implied that they came after Harnet departed in 1698, perhaps even late in 1698, though they were definitely there in 1699. However, no names are given and they are not mentioned in the Annual List. One served Carolan's localities and the other Harnet's localities, that is, Barra and South Uist. Morever, with this many Franciscans their presence could conceivably be referred to as a third Franciscan mission.]

James O'Shiel (Franciscan) Came from Ireland via France and was placed first in Braemar. He is said to have converted 60 people in Braemar in 2-3 months. However, there was contention between him and a Jesuit who stated that Braemar was his territory, even though he spoke no Gaelic. Bishop Nicolson apparently confirmed O'Shiel in his position but advantage was taken of the strife by the Protestants and a garrison of soldiers was apparently sent to the area. O'Shiel was, thus, sent to Uist, the largest mission in the west. Nicolson's report states that he was banished from Ireland. [The Annual List states that he apostatized, but this is not likely since he is mentioned in Uist in 1701.]

Anthony Logan (Franciscan) Came from France. Served in Lochaber and Moidart.

----- O'Beirne (Franciscan) Came from France. Served in Lochaber and Moidart.

Charles O'Hara

(William / Patrick) (Franciscan) Came on the mission. Laboured in Canna and Eigg and the adjacent islands during all his period on the mission.

William Heachean

(Hachen / Hackeen) (Franciscan) Also mentioned in Nicolson's report asbanished from Ireland.

Colin McFie

(McOvie) (Franciscan) Came on the mission, may have been in Uist.

[*Cornelius Coan* The Synod of Argyll stated that he was released from prison in this year.]

[In June 1699 Louis Innes wrote that he had found two Irish to go to Scotland. He was not particularly keen to send them, but thought that they should go because the King (James VII) wished it and so that they could supply what Mr. Trener used to serve. No date is given for their departure and they are next referred to in 1701.]

1700

John Cahassy In Morar.

Anthony Mongan On the mission. This was the year in which he was created pro-vicar of the Isles. This gave him jurisdiction over the mission in the Islands, but did not include the mainland.

Patrick Carolan Ill in Barra.

[*Columba MacLennan* In Knoydart.]

James O'Shiel Mentioned in June 1700 as serving in South Uist. Said to be a good enough man but without letters.

Anthony Logan Served in Lochaber and Moidart with Fr. O'Beirne.

------ O'Beirne Dismissed in July 1700 during Nicolson's visitation.

Charles O'Hara In Canna, and probably also visited Eigg and Rhum. Said to be under the direction of Mr. Mongan who goes there from time to time.

William Heachean In Barra with Carolan. [Nicolson is said to have left a missionary in Barra during his visitation who, therefore, was probably Heachean.]

Colin McFie Still on the mission.

1701

John Cahassy In Morar.

Patrick Carolan In Barra. He was mentally ill in this year. [Said to be broken down in mind and health after many years of service on the mission in Strathdon and other parts of the

Highlands. After being carefully nursed in Barra for 3 years and unable to perform any duty, he left Scotland for Ireland. See below.]

Anthony Mongan Was certainly in Scotland in this year, for in April a rumour was spreading that he was contemplating a second flight. [He was, nonetheless, praised at this time as the best of the labourers.] He seems, instead, to have attended a meeting of the clergy at Gordon Castle in May. He stated that there were several regulars on the mission at that time but, with the exception of one or two, they were not cut out to serve. Said to have been on the mission for 13 years. Captured in this year and taken prisoner to Edinburgh.

[*Columba MacLennan* Still on the mission.]

James O'Shiel In Uist. He was ranked second only to Mongan as a missionary, and this in spite of his lack of letters previously referred to.

Anthony Logan In Moidart.

Charles O'Hara In Canna, Eigg and Rhum.

William Heachean In Barra with Carolan, according to the Annual List, and in South Uist according to Clapperton. [No contemporary source has been found, but Clapperton is more reliable.]

Colin McFie In Uist with Mr. O'Shiel.

[2 *Irish* are spoken of in letter of 10 March 1701 in which they were said to be "so weak in every way and so raw & void of improvements necessary for trade." These are, perhaps, Logan who later fled in disgrace, and O'Beirne who was dismissed in the following year. If they were the two Irishmen originally spoken of in Louis Innes' letter, it is clear that they had not been allocated to Trener's localities of Braemar and Glencairn as anticipated.]

1702

John Cahassy On the mission.

Patrick Carolan Still ill in Barra.

Anthony Mongan Returned to the continent sometime during the first half of this year. He never came back to Scotland.

[*Columba MacLennan* On the mission.]

James O'Shiel Left the mission in bad health in November (according to Clapperton), but if he did he must have returned for he was in Benbecula in 1704.

Anthony Logan Still on the mission.

Charles O'Hara In Canna and the adjacent islands.

William Heachean	Still on the mission.
Colin McFie	Still on the mission.
1703	
John Cahassy	In Morar.
Patrick Carolan	Ill and banished to Vatersay, a small island near Barra, by MacNeill of Barra.
[*Anthony Mongan*	Had been on the continent for more than a year according to a letter written on 12 July 1703 to Thomas Innes in Paris. By his letter of 19 November he had accepted the cure of Prunay le Gilon, near Chartres.]
[*Columba MacLennan*	Serving in Knoydart.]
James O'Shiel	In Uist.
Anthony Logan	In Moidart. Served the Small Isles with O'Hara. Fled in disgrace, after grievous misconduct.
Charles O'Hara	In Arisaig. Served the Small Isles also.
William Heachean	In the Barra and Uist region.
Colin McFie	In Uist.
1704	
John Cahassy	He mentioned in a letter of 12 November 1704 that Mr. Cahassy had died on the mission. In the early summer he is said to have been in the Uist, having been removed previously to "Bravarive" out of fear of some soldiers, apparently groundlessly. His health was worse on his return to the island and seemed to sap the remainder of his strength. Young MacDonald of Glengarry visited him on his deathbed. He died about the middle of September 1704 with Mr. MacLennan and Mr. 'Hara' [O'Hara], in attendance. His dying wish to be laid beside Mr. Devoyer in a ruined chapel on the coast opposite the Eilean Bàn in Loch Morar was fulfilled. He was said to have been esteemed both in the Highlands and the Low Country.
Patrick Carolan	Still ill in Vatersay. Eventually returned, in this year, to his own country of Ireland.
William Heachean	The Protestant record identifies a 'Fr. William' in Barra in this year.
Patrick O'Callaghan (*alias* *Thomas Campbell*)	(Franciscan?) Lived and worked on Eigg. [There is a similarity between this name, noted in the original Protestant sources as "O'Kalligan" and Patrick Carolan above, who has been referred to as "O'Kerulan." However, two priests seem to be referred to. If

	he was the priest said to have been in the Small Isles in 1707, he was possibly a Franciscan.]
[*Columba MacLennan*	Said to travel between Arisaig and Knoydart. He had a mass-house built above Keppoch in Arisaig. Dwelt largely with old Glengarry at Inverguseran in Knoydart, at Lochnevis, about 40 miles northwest of the garrison.]
James O'Shiel	In Benbecula. Left the mission in this year and returned to Ireland. [See 1713.]
Charles O'Hara	In Canna and the adjacent islands. A 'Hara' was said to be in attendance at death of Cahassy in Uist.
----- *O'Raigan*	Mentioned as being in Barra with Heachean. There is no further mention of this priest.
Colin McFie	In Ormacleit in South Uist, acting as chaplain to the Captain of Clanranald.

1705

	[Only MacLennan and 3 Irish are said to have remained on the mission in this year.]
[*Anthony Mongan*	There was further correspondence between Mongan and Thomas Innes in the November. After this no more is heard of Mongan.]
[*Columba MacLennan*	He was still on the mission in 1709, so was probably still there in this year.]
Charles O'Hara	In Canna and the adjacent islands.
Colin McFie	Still on the mission.
3rd Irish priest	Identity unknown. [But possibly either O'Callaghan or O'Raigan who were present on mission in 1704.]

1706

[*Anthony Mongan*	He seems to disappear. On 8 March 1706 Mr. Louis Innes wrote that he had failed to find news of him, though he had spared neither time nor expense to find him.]
[*Columba MacLennan*	Still on the mission.]
Patrick O'Callaghan	Apprehended on 5 January with George Ross. On 15 January 1706 he was before the Justice Depute of Argyll accused of being a trafficking priest.
Charles O'Hara	In Canna and the adjacent islands.
Colin McFie	Still on the mission.
Peter Mulligan *(alias MacDonald)*	(Augustinian) Came on the mission in this year. Arrived in Aberdeen on 27 July. He resided in Glengarry and adopted the alias MacDonald.

1707

[*Columba MacLennan*	Still on the mission.]
Charles O'Hara	Died on 21 March 1707, in Arisaig, after 9 years on the mission.
Colin McFie	Still on the mission.
Peter Mulligan	In Glengarry.

1708

[*Columba MacLennan*	Still on the mission.]
Colin McFie	Still on the mission.
Peter Mulligan	Still on the mission.
Peter Cluan (Cloan/Colman)	(Irish Dominican) Came to the mission from Paris. His services were procured by James Gordon. He worked in Glengarry and Lochaber.
John Gusman	(Irish Dominican) Came to the mission from Paris. Also procured by James Gordon.

1709

[*Columba MacLennan*	In Knoydart. Spoken of very unfavourably by Bishop Gordon on his visitation who was in Knoydart on 25 July. Gordon said that they must part with him - "I believe 'twill be next spring."]
Peter Mulligan	Still on the mission.
Peter Cluan	Still on the mission.
John Gusman	Still on the mission.

1711

Colin McFie	The only one of the six Franciscans who came in 1699 who was still left on mission. [He appears in a mission list for this year.]
Peter Mulligan	Still on the mission.
Peter Cluan	Still on the mission.
John Gusman	Still on the mission.

1713

Peter Mulligan	Persuaded to stay for another year. In fact, he stayed for many more.
Peter Cluan	Persuaded to stay for another year.

John Gusman — Persuaded to stay for another year. Bishop Gordon thought that the Dominicans' departure could probably not be avoided in the following year. [The Dominicans probably went after this. Certainly no further contemporary record of them survives.]

[*James O'Shiel* — In an account of the dioceses of the province of Ulster sent to Propaganda in this year, Dr. MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, recommended the appointment of Fr. James O'Shiel of the order of St. Francis, to the See of Down. The diocese was said to have lain vacant for 40 years, having only had a vicarate appointment. Having been born in the diocese of Down, O'Shiel had returned there after his years of service on the Highland mission. MacMahon indicated that O'Shiel registered as a secular priest and served a parish [unspecified] in the diocese for 10 years. The diocese of Down and Connor was conferred on O'Shiel in 1717.]

1714

Peter Mulligan — Resided in Abertarff and sometimes in Glengarry. He kept mass openly in the house of MacDonald of "Kiltrie" [Coiltry].

Peter Cluan — Probably left the mission.

John Gusman — Probably left the mission.

1718

Peter Mulligan — Still on the mission.

1720

Peter Mulligan — Said formerly to have resided at Glengarry and now to have taken up residence in the parish of Kilmonivaig, Braes of Lochaber. He visited Auchnadaal, within 4 miles of the garrison at Fort William, and invited the people of the area to hear him.

1722

Peter Mulligan — Left after 16 years on the mission.

1725

Anthony Kelly — (Franciscan) Probably came on the mission late in this year, from France, since he was in Moidart in February 1726.

Bernard McHenry — (Dominican) Came from France with Kelly.

1726

Anthony Kelly — In Arisaig with Hugh MacDonald on 2 February. By 21 February he was in Eigg.

------ *Gallagher* — (Capuchin) On the mission.

Bernard McHenry — Still on the mission.

1727

Anthony Kelly Still on the mission.

1728

[There were said to be 3 popish priests in Vatersay in this year - identity unknown. Some may have been Irish.]

Anthony Kelly Still on the mission.

1729

Anthony Kelly Still on the mission.

Michael O'Mulrian (Ryan/O'Mulraine) (Irish Dominican) Came on the mission in about July. Worked in Glengarry.

[Of the 2 Irish friars who had come to the mission a few years before, one is said to have died and one to have gone back to Ireland for his health. These were probably Gallagher and McHenry.]

1730

Anthony Kelly In Barra where he worked for a good deal of his mission.

Michael O'Mulrian In Glengarry.

[*Peter Mulligan* Provided to the diocese of Armagh in Ireland 8 years after he left the mission. He died some years later on 23 July 1739.]

1731

Anthony Kelly Still on the mission.

Michael O'Mulrian Was suspected of a crime against chastity. Although not proven, the bishop was obliged to order him away about October.

1732

Anthony Kelly Still on the mission.

1733

Anthony Kelly Still on the mission.

Ambrose Conar (O'Connor) (Franciscan) Came to the mission in this year.

1734

Anthony Kelly Still on the mission.

Ambrose Conar Still on the mission.

1735

Anthony Kelly Still on the mission.

Ambrose Conar Still on the mission.

1736

Anthony Kelly Left the mission, and became a provincial of his order in Ireland.

Ambrose Conar Still on the mission.

1737

Francis Kelly (O'Kelly) (Franciscan) A cousin of Anthony Kelly's he came to the mission in this year. He was certainly on the mission by 13 August, probably earlier. He came from Ireland and settled in Mr. Leslie's place, in Arisaig and Clanranald's Morar.

Ambrose Conar Left the mission in July.

1738

Francis Kelly Still on the mission.

[Note that a Peter Kelly is mentioned in the Archives of Propaganda Fide for his fabrication concerning the Highland mission, though it is not stated whether he was on the mission.]

1739

Francis Kelly Still on the mission.

1740

Francis Kelly Still on the mission.

Dominic Colgan (O'Colgan) (Franciscan) On mission. [It is not clear if this was his first year on the mission or not.]

1741

Francis Kelly Still on the mission.

Dominic Colgan Still on the mission.

1742

Francis Kelly Still on the mission.

Dominic Colgan Still on the mission.

1746

Dominic Colgan Fled with the Pretender. Later he apparently became a novice master in Rome.

[The next Irishman, the Dominican Matthias Wynne, came in 1766. He served in South Uist from 1766-1770 and then on the mainland until 1774, after which he returned to Ireland. Another Dominican, Dominic Bragan (Brogan), came 2 years later in 1768. He served in Glenlivet from 1768-1772.]

APPENDIX IX Comparative land and produce prices mentioned in Sir William Burrell's tour of Ulster and the west coast of Scotland, 1758

SCOTLAND	Arable	Meadow	Moss	Oats	Wheat	Barley	Manure, marl, dung	Potato seed	Flax	Mutton, beef, lamb, veal	Labour per day
Kenmore Breadalbane Perthshire	10s per acre					12 s per boll	2d per load	10s.8d per boll	12s per stone		2½d - 5d per day + meals, in summer, or 6d without
Breadalbane estate Argyll											£2.0.0 p.a. + 6½ bolls meal #
Perth	Land from £2.0.0 - £2.10.0 per acre										
Blairvochy estate near Luss	Land from 12s - 20s per acre										
Lochnell estate Argyll	6d per acre	2d per acre	1d per acre								
Airds estate Argyll	Land at 5s per acre										from 6d - 8d per day
Inverness	2s.6d - 5s per acre										6d per day

IRELAND	Arable	Meadow	Marl	Oats	Wheat	Barley	Manure, marl, dung	Potatoes	Flax	Mutton, beef, lamb, veal	Labour per day
Belfast	£1.10.0 - £2.10.0 per acre	£4.0.0 per acre		9s per 100wt	8s.6d per 100wt	4s per 100wt	2d per load	1s per bushel	12s per stone		
Antrim	20s per acre	£1.8s.0 per acre		7s per barrel	£1.2.6 per barrel					2d per pound	6d per day + meals in harvest
Ballymony	7s.6d per acre										
Donaghadee Down	from £1.16.0 per acre	from £1.16.0 - £2.0.0 per acre	£1.10.0 per acre	(oatmeal) £0.9.0 per 100wt	8s.6d per 100wt	4s per 100wt		1s per bushel	12s per stone		5d per day + 4 meals

Notes * In Winter they are glad to work for victuals only and whatever the person is willing to give.
The lowest price of meal is 10s per boll = £3.5.0 ; at the highest £1 per boll = £6.10.0.

APPENDIX X

Abstracts from Vols. 1, 2 & 3 of the Campbeltown Collectors' Quarterly Customs Accounts [SRO E504/8/1, 2 & 3.]

	£ s d
Xmas Quarter 1743	002 17 00
Ladyday Quarter 1744	008 16 07¾
Midsummer Quarter 1744	369 00 07½
Michaelmass Quarter 1744	095 03 06
Xmas Quarter 1744 (subsidy outwards)	001 01 02
Ladyday Quarter 1745 (subsidy outwards)	000 05 04
Midsummer Quarter 1745	092 15 05¾
Michaelmass Quarter 1745	047 10 10¼
Xmas Quarter 1745	000 00 00
Ladyday Quarter 1746	002 17 00
Midsummer Quarter 1746	000 00 00
Michaelmas Quarter 1746	000 00 00
Xmas Quarter 1746	078 15 09½
Ladyday Quarter 1747	000 00 00
Midsummer Quarter 1747	000 00 00
Michaelmass Quarter 1747	166 02 07¾
Xmas Quarter 1747	001 11 08¾
Ladyday Quarter 1748	019 15 11¼
Midsummer Quarter 1748	003 17 00
Michaelmass Quarter 1748	005 08 06¾
Xmas Quarter 1748	003 06 04¾
Ladyday Quarter 1749	003 06 04¾
Midsummer Quarter 1749	214 17 07½
Michaelmass Quarter 1749	206 11 10
Xmas Quarter 1749	003 12 07

Ladyday Quarter 1750	020 18 04¼
Midsummer Quarter 1750	000 15 03¾
Michaelmass Quarter 1750	140 15 09
Xmas Quarter 1750	000 00 00
Ladyday Quarter 1751	001 00 11½
Midsummer Quarter 1751	020 18 10¾
Michaelmass Quarter 1751	111 10 11
Xmas Quarter 1751	143 17 03¾
Ladyday Quarter 1752	023 19 00½
Midsummer Quarter 1752	428 12 04¾
Michaelmass Quarter 1752	202 07 02
Xmas Quarter 1752	008 19 00
Ladyday Quarter 1753	019 16 05¾
Midsummer Quarter 1753	116 12 07¾
Michaelmass Quarter 1753	125 10 10
Xmas Quarter 1753	008 19 00
Ladyday Quarter 1754	223 18 16
Midsummer Quarter 1754	066 18 11¾
Michaelmass Quarter 1754	348 05 01¾
Xmas Quarter 1754	003 03 07¼
Quarter ending 5 April 1755	012 16 01½
Quarter ending 5 July 1755	012 01 03
Quarter ending10 October 1755	446 04 02¾
Quarter ending 5 January 1755	030 11 03¼
Quarter ending 5 April 1756	000 07 09
Quarter ending 5 July 1756	272 12 04
Quarter ending 10 October 1756	049 07 00¾
Quarter ending 5 January 1757	010 12 07¾

Quarter ending 5 April 1757	000 00 00
Quarter ending 5 July 1757	122 02 09½
Quarter ending 10 October 1757	014 12 00½
Quarter ending 5 January 1758	002 00 00
Quarter ending 5 April 1758	000 10 03½
Quarter ending 5 July 1758	111 03 04½
Quarter ending 19 October 1758	053 16 04¾
Quarter ending 5 January 1759	006 01 04¾
Quarter ending 5 April 1759	000 05 03
Quarter ending 5 July 1759	137 15 01¼
Quarter ending 10 October 1759	014 02 00
Quarter ending 5 January 1760	006 01 06¾
Quarter ending 5 April 1760	001 01 06½
Quarter ending 5 July 1760	004 05 10½
Quarter ending 10 October 1760	150 00 04
Quarter ending 5 January 1761	012 00 02½

APPENDIX XI

List of Irish burgesses of Inveraray, 1707-1754

[Argyll and Bute District Archives, List of names extracted from BI/1/1-2, Minute Books of the burgh of Inveraray 1655-1721, 1721-1775.]

The Irish burgesses detailed within this are:-

1707, 12 Feb.	McCorquodill, Archibald, merchant in the County of Armagh, Ireland.
1712, 20 Oct.	Cowan, John, one of the Aldermen of the City of Londonderry.
1718, 14 Jan.	Campbell, Alexander, of Barraphaile, chirurgeon in Coleraine, County Londonderry, Ireland.
1718, 11 Apr.	Campbell, Alexander of Barraphaill, chirurgeon. (Probably a defective second entry, or possibly a namesake son of the above, though presumably the entry would specify this.)
1718, 9 Aug.	Getty, Mr. Samuel, minister of the gospel of Larne in Ireland.
1727, 11 Apr.	McCulloch, James, son to John McCulloch, merchant in Larne.
1731, 9 Dec.	Galbraith, Capt. Arthur, of the City of Dublin, Esq.
1738 (.) March.	McCallach, Patrick, in Belfast.
1740, 29 May	McNeil, Capt. John, of Moybuy, County Antrim, Ireland. Quigg Daniel, his servant.
1741, 21 July	Johnston, Arthur, Esq., of Belfast.
	McMeachan, Mr. John, probationer, his governor.
	Innes, William, Esq., of Red Ammon in Ireland.
	King, Mr. John, his governor.
1742, 17 July	Montgomery, Mr. Robert, merchant in Larne in Ireland.
	Montgomery, Mr. William, merchant in Larne in Ireland.
1742, 11 Oct.	Campbell, John, slater in Down.
1748, 27 Oct.	Smith, Nathaniel, Esq., of Balliphillips in Ireland.
1749, 5 May	Sinclair, George, Esq., of Ulster.
1751, 9 Sept.	O'Kaine, Ealin, harper from Coleraine in the County Derry, Ireland.
1753, 10 Oct.	Mathew, Robert, in Glenarm in Ireland.*
1754, 7 Oct.	Sinclair, Angus, merchant in Belfast in Ireland.
1754, 11 July	Haxley, Mr. John, of Dublin, merchant.+

Following the last date, there appears to be no mention of the creation of Irish burgesses until well outside the period, on 19 September 1787, when "Boyd, Hugh Esq. of Ballicastle in the Kingdom of Ireland" and "Babbington, The Rev. Thomas of Rockfield in the County of Antrim" were honoured.

* This reference is lacking in the published list of burgesses: Elizabeth A. Beaton and Sheila W. MacIntyre (editors), *The Burgesses of Inveraray 1665-1963,* Scottish Record Society, New Series, 14, (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 66.

+ This reference has been added from Beaton and MacIntyre, p. 67.

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